PUBLIC PAPERS
OF THE
PRESIDENTS

Richard Nixon

1970

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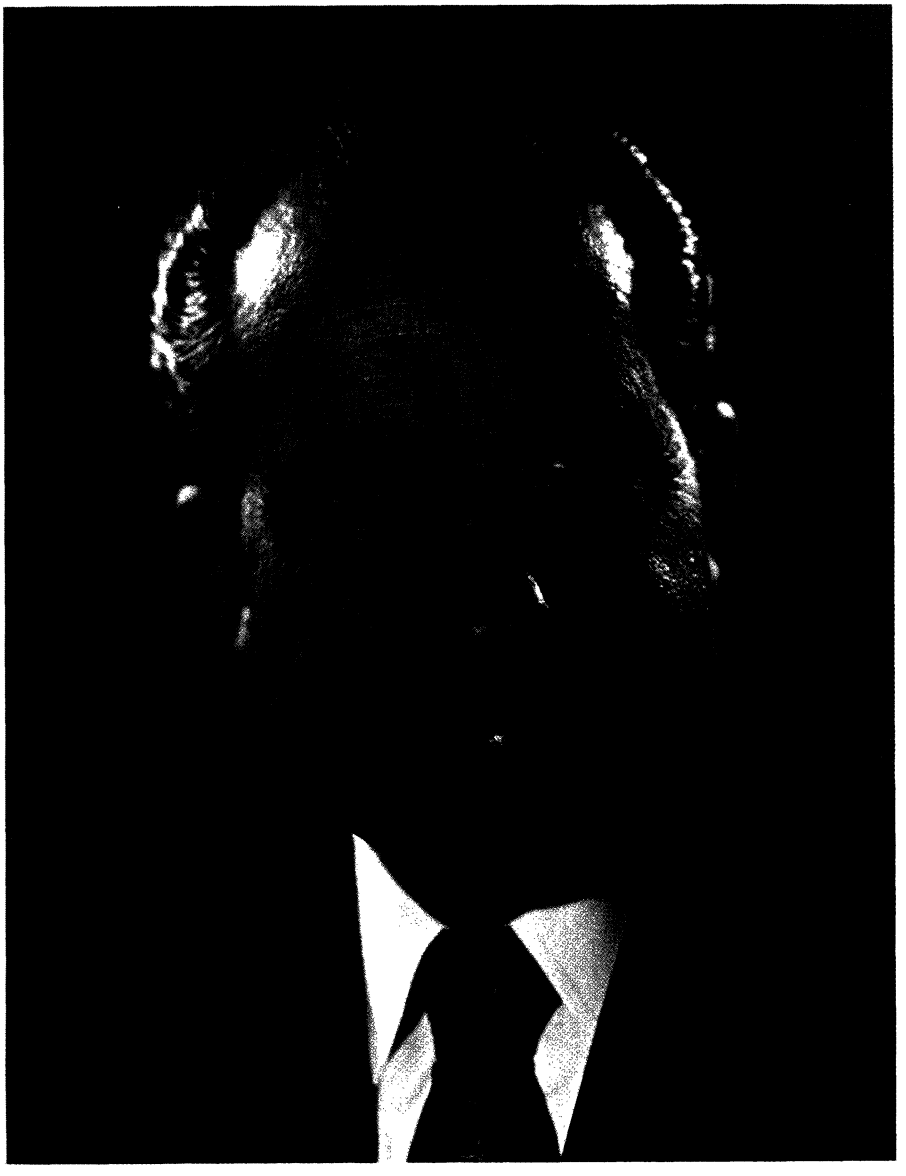

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

Richard Nixon

Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President

1970

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FOREWORD

A NEW number on man's calendar does not, by itself, put a new face on his world. Yet the very turning of a fresh page in history can open our minds and stir our hopes in ways that trigger chain reactions of change. So it was with the coming of the 1970's in America.

The year 1969 had seemed to be marked by the close, or at least the waning, of several epochs all at once: of a generation of cold war tensions in a bipolar world; of the middle third of the century, when American government grew on what often appeared to be the simple premise that more is better; of the decade of the Sixties when our society was riven by its deepest divisions since the Civil War. Inevitably, though, the sense of new balance and new directions was only tentative at first. In 1970 it began to take on a greater feeling of permanence.

At the same time, there were old echoes in the name of this new year, echoes that brought the 1770's to mind again. Americans began to think in terms of the Nation's coming Bicentennial. It was a time to measure today's reality against the dreams of the Founding Fathers, to quicken our pace with a new Spirit of '76, and to "Honor America" on Independence Day. It was the year in which our Gross National Product reached the trillion dollar mark—and also in which we committed the Nation's third century to the quality of life, as boldly as our first two were committed to quantity.

The story of the year, for me and for the administration team working with me, was above all a story of building for peace. Peace, we believed from the beginning, does not come to the passive; and so we pressed on through 1970 with a determination that the United States should act creatively, not merely react reflexively, on the world stage. We were able to move more rapidly

toward the end of American military involvement in the Indochina War after border operations in Cambodia successfully defended the Allied flank. With North Vietnam still unwilling to negotiate an end to the war despite a new American peace offer in the fall, year's end saw South Vietnam and its beleaguered neighbors Cambodia and Laos all more nearly self-sufficient, as a result of our programs of Vietnamization and other aid.

Around the world, war and the threat of war receded. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was ratified, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union gathered momentum. In the Middle East an American-proposed truce bolstered peace hopes along the Suez Canal, and firm, quiet diplomacy ended a crisis in Jordan. The work of rescaling our international security commitments to reflect the enlarged capabilities of friends and allies went forward under the Nixon Doctrine. We were able to present a Federal budget that, for the first time in 20 years, provided more for human needs than for defense—one more sign that a full generation of peace was nearer reality.

The broad agenda of domestic reform which the new administration had put forward during our first year began coming to life in practice during our second. Postal reform was enacted, draft reform moved another step toward the all-volunteer goal, welfare reform stood at the brink of passage when the 91st Congress expired. Legislators gave the executive new tools to fight crime and drug abuse, and guaranteed American working men and women new standards of safety and health on the job. We halted the rise in the rate of inflation and increased the pressure to turn it downward. We registered long gains in equal opportunity for education, jobs, and enterprise. We launched a massive campaign for environmental quality, and established new institutions for both policy-making and enforcement in this crucial field.

It was not a tranquil time for America. But what is important is that such rancor, such violence, such hatred of law and freedom as still troubled us—that these had been put in retreat, and remain so. The good and the decent in men's souls—the "better angels of our nature," in Lincoln's phrase—held the upper hand in our national life, and advanced steadily.

When I spoke, upon entering the Presidency, about the end of a long night of the American spirit and the sight of the first rays of dawn, it was as much in hope as in surety. But 1969, and then 1970, gave proof. This great people have indeed not cursed the remaining darkness; rather they have steadfastly gathered the light. They—we—have fought the good fight. In this volume is part of the record.

Richard Nixon

PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the 37th President of the United States that were released by the White House in 1970. Similar volumes are available covering the administrations of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

The series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Until then there had been no systematic publication of Presidential papers. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then various private compilations have been issued but there was no uniform publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted at page 1212 as Appendix F.

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during the period as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. Original source materials, where available, including tape recordings, have been used to protect against errors in transcription.

56-087—71——1

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date that fact is shown in the note immediately following the item. Textnotes, footnotes, and cross references have been supplied where needed for purposes of clarity.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated. All times shown are local time.

Items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom during 1970 will find them listed in the index under the heading "Awards and citations."

Appendices A through E have been provided to deal with special categories of Presidential issuances and actions, as noted below.

White House releases not included as items in this volume and not appearing in later appendices are listed in Appendix A beginning on page 1169.

Though not all proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* were issued as White House releases during 1970, a complete listing of these documents by number and subject appears on pages 1199 through 1205 in Appendix B.

Reports of task forces established by the President are listed in Appendix C on page 1206.

Posthumous awards of the Congressional Medal of Honor and Presidential Unit Citations awarded during 1970 are listed in Appendix D on pages 1207 and 1208.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to the Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed in Appendix E beginning on page 1209.

This series is under the direction of Fred J. Emery, Director of the Office of the Federal Register. The editor of the present

volume was Ernest J. Galdi, assisted by Peter J. Haley, Faye Q. Rosser, and Ruth C. Pontius. Special Assistant to the President Raymond K. Price, Jr., Cecilia Bellinger of Mr. Price's staff, and John J. Ratchford, Executive Clerk of the White House, provided aid and counsel in the selection and annotation of the materials. C. W. Shankland of the Government Printing Office developed the typography and design.

JAMES B. RHOADS
Archivist of the United States

ROBERT L. KUNZIG
Administrator of General Services
December 1971

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Richard Nixon

1970

1 Remarks on Signing the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. *January* 1, 1970

AS YOU KNOW, the bill we are signing today is the environmental bill. There is one line in there that I am particularly stimulated by, when I said we had to work on the environment because it is now or never.

If you look ahead 10 years, you project population growth, car growth, and that means, of course, smog growth, water pollution, and the rest.

An area like this will be unfit for living; New York will be, Philadelphia, and, of course, 75 percent of the people will be living in areas like this.

So unless we start moving on it now—there is a lead time—unless we move on it now, believe me, we will not have an opportunity to do it later, because then when people have millions more automobiles, and, of course, the waters and so forth developing in the way that they do without plants for purification, once the damage is done, it is much harder to turn it around. It is going to be hard as it is.

That is why I indicate here that a major goal, when you talk about New Year's resolutions, I wouldn't say for the next year but for the next 10 years—and I don't mean that I intend to run for a third term—for the next 10 years for this country must be to restore the cleanliness of the air, the water, and that, of course, means moving also on the broader problems of population congestion, transport, and the like.

We are going to have more to say about it in the State of the Union Message, but this is the time to say some of it.

Congress has acted very commendably in setting up the Environmental Council [1] by this bill. We already have an environmental council within the administration.

A great deal more needs to be done. There are many areas where you can work, maybe this year or 5 years or 10 years from now. It is a question of whether you put it off or do it now. This is an area where we have to do it now. We may never have a chance later. That is the way I feel.

Then when you look at it, too, I have noted in all my conversations with the heads of government of the major industrial nations—for example, Sato in Japan, Wilson in England, the German leaders, the new Chancellor, Brandt, the French leaders, the Italians, and all the rest—all of them have similar problems.

That is why we have raised this issue in the whole NATO Council, in the challenges of modern society. Moynihan has been meeting with them, as you know.[2]

What we really confront here is that in the highly industrialized, richest countries, we have the greatest danger. Because of our wealth we can afford the automobiles, we can afford all the things that pollute the air, pollute the water, and make this really a poisonous world in which to live.

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[1] Council on Environmental Quality.

[2] Establishment of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society by the North Atlantic Council was announced in Brussels, Belgium, on November 6, 1969. Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan served as United States representative to the first meeting. Announcements of Dr. Moynihan's participation in the Committee are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 5, pp. 1198 and 1564).

That doesn't mean that the less advanced countries don't have problems, in Africa, in parts of Asia and so forth, although the greatest cities in many of those areas are beginning to confront the same problems. Some of the worst traffic jams I have ever seen are in Bangkok, even Djakarta.

Incidentally, this has to be done on a bipartisan basis and it also has to be on a bigger than Federal Government basis. You have to get the State governments in it and the city governments. It is a place particularly where massive volunteer activities are going to be necessary because of some of the problems involved.

It doesn't involve just air, water, and traffic, which are the obvious ones, but it also involves open space, leisure time. What are people going to do?

As we drove along, for example, we saw a sign pointing to Leisure World. I don't know whether any of you have been there. I was there a few years ago, 15 years ago. This is one of several very exciting projects that are being developed for older people, where they live. The people live longer if they retire sooner, if they have longer vacations. There is the question of what are we going to do with them, where are they going to go. This is why we are looking into these problems in terms that are much broader than simply the immediate ones of air, water, and so forth.

Well, I will talk some more on that later.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in his office at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, the bill (S. 1075) is Public Law 91-190 (83 Stat. 852).

2 Statement About the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. *January* 1, 1970

IT IS particularly fitting that my first official act in this new decade is to approve the National Environmental Policy Act.

The past year has seen the creation of a President's Cabinet committee on environmental quality,[1] and we have devoted many hours to the pressing problems of pollution control, airport location, wilderness preservation, highway construction, and population trends.

By my participation in these efforts I have become further convinced that the 1970's absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to the past by reclaiming the purity of its air, its waters, and our living environment. It is literally now or never.

I, therefore, commend the Congress and particularly the sponsors of this bill, Senators Stevens and Jackson and Representative Dingell, for this clear legislative policy declaration. Under the provisions of this law a three-member council of environmental advisers will be appointed. I anticipate that they will occupy the same close advisory relation to the President that the Council of Economic Advisers does in fiscal and monetary matters. The environmental advisers will be assisted by a compact staff in keeping me thoroughly posted on current problems and advising me on how the Federal Gov-

[1] The Environmental Quality Council, established May 29, 1969, by Executive Order 11472 and renamed the Cabinet Committee on the Environment on March 5, 1970, by Executive Order 11514.

ernment can act to solve them.

In the near future I will forward to the Senate names of highly qualified individuals to help both the Cabinet and me in the critical decisions that will affect the quality of life in the United States for years to come. I will then take the necessary executive action to reconstitute the Cabinet committee and its staff to avoid duplication of function.

On the latter point, I know that the Congress has before it a proposal to establish yet another staff organization to deal with environmental problems in the Executive Office of the President. I believe this would be a mistake.

No matter how pressing the problem, to over-organize, to over-staff, or to compound the levels of review and advice seldom brings earlier or better results.

We are most interested in results. The act I have signed gives us an adequate organization and a good statement of direction. We are determined that the decade of the seventies will be known as the time when this country regained a productive harmony between man and nature.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

A White House announcement of January 1, 1970, summarizing the major provisions of the act is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 12).

On March 5, 1970, the President issued Executive Order 11514 detailing responsibilities of Federal agencies in protecting and enhancing the environment.

3 Exchange of Remarks With Bob Hope. *January* 3, 1970

I JUST had an opportunity to express appreciation to Bob Hope for his trip abroad, in which again he has entertained our servicemen in areas all over the world and also in Vietnam.

And one different aspect of this trip that particularly was emphasized was that the education benefits under the GI bill were brought home to our servicemen in Vietnam.

In checking the statistics, I have found, as far as those who apply under the GI bill of rights are concerned, that the number to date from Vietnam is less than those who applied after World War II and the Korean war. We have given a tremendous impetus to those applications as a result of the whole trip.

Neil Armstrong was with him on the trip, and he pointed out that had it not been for the education that he was able to get through the GI bill of rights he might not have been an astronaut. We are not suggesting by that that the way to go to the moon is to apply for an education under the GI bill of rights. But over 50,000 GI's in Vietnam signed up for their education benefits. These applications will be processed by the Michigan State University and then those who are applicants will receive recommendations as to the type of education that they should then proceed to follow.

I think this is really an enormous achievement. We know that these trips that Bob Hope takes abroad are giving a great lift to our men abroad. But here we have given them an opportunity for something that will carry them on after they leave the service, and we are most grateful to you, Bob, for what you have done.

MR. HOPE. Thank you, Mr. President.

I found it very interesting. And these kids actually didn't believe that these educators—they sent over 10 educators, my son-in-law, Sam McCullough, was one of them and they went out to the fire bases and recruited some of these boys—these kids were amazed that these educators would come out to the fire bases.

In fact, they caught a torpedo in one of the bases. They threw a rocket in or something while they were signing them up for the GI bill.

They signed up 50,000 and expect to sign up 30,000 more. And, of course, I think this is great morale for these kids. They really enjoyed—the fact that the country is thinking about them is very, very important.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are awfully glad that your trip gave them the idea which they needed, just that little extra boost.

Now that we are going out to play golf, I guess we could say that what is really needed now is followthrough when we get on the golf course. And these fellows now will have followthrough after they complete their service.

MR. HOPE. Well, I am a little apprehensive about this because I understand you were practicing yesterday and you may be after my vaudeville money.

THE PRESIDENT. It was only practice I can assure you, but today we are partners, you know.

MR. HOPE. We better go on the course and practice together.

THE PRESIDENT. Fine.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:34 p.m. at Mr. Hope's home in North Hollywood, Calif.

4 Telephone Conversation With King Hassan II of Morocco. *January* 7, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Hello, Your Majesty.

KING HASSAN. Hello, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, Your Majesty?

KING HASSAN. Yes, how are you, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Just very well, and it is a very great pleasure to speak to you again. I well remember our meeting when I was in Africa in 1957.

KING HASSAN. On this occasion I would like to express to you a second time my best wishes for your health, your happiness, your success, and for the prosperity and glory for the United States of America.

And I wish to meet you as soon as possible to talk about the problems interesting our countries.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Your Majesty, I look forward to our having a meeting later this year. I well recall our meeting when we met in Rabat in 1957. And I believe that it is vitally important that we have a common policy in that area of the world, one which is mutually to our benefit.

KING HASSAN. I shall be very happy to visit your country and to visit you, Mr. President. I address to you my best wishes.

THE PRESIDENT. We are very proud that the first communications satellite—the first one in Africa—is in Morocco, and that is very appropriate because the relations between the United States and Morocco, from the time of George Washington, have been close and friendly. And we know they will continue to be close and friendly.

KING HASSAN. And this satellite will be a new bridge between our continent and our countries.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. It is very good. Your voice is clear, and your sentiments also are very welcome here. We certainly reciprocate in every respect.

KING HASSAN. Good evening, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. We will look forward to seeing you later in this year in person. Goodby.

KING HASSAN. Goodby. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:26 a.m. in San Clemente, Calif. His conversation with King Hassan II inaugurated the new communications satellite service which was made possible by the first ground station in Africa, built near Rabat as a joint U.S.–Moroccan venture.

5 Remarks at the Swearing In of Caspar W. Weinberger as Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. *January* 13, 1970

BEFORE the swearing in, I would like to say a personal word. I know the new Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission. I have known him for, I think, over 20 years.

I have known him as one who has been and could be an enormous success in private practice of the law, who has a distinguished career in State government, and one who now comes to the Federal service as well qualified as any man who has ever received an appointment from this administration.

I know these are glowing words, but they are deserved in the case of Cap Weinberger. And we are most fortunate that we were able to get him and his wife to leave California, a State which they love, as I do, to come to Washington and to take this very important assignment as Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission.

Judge Fickling will administer the oath, and Mrs. Weinberger will hold the Bible.

[At this point the oath of office was administered by Judge Austin L. Fickling of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, you seldom have an opportunity to say a word at the White House because this is an independent agency. It is supposed to be independent. But in any event, you can say a word now, if you like.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:38 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. Mr. Weinberger's response to the President's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 43).

6 Statement About the Construction of Airport Facilities in South Florida. *January* 15, 1970

THE AGREEMENT governing future airport construction in the south Florida area is an outstanding victory for conservation. Airport facilities already constructed on the site near the Everglades National Park will be used as temporary training facilities only. The training operation itself will proceed under exacting

environmental safeguards, and will be shut down as soon as an acceptable alternate site is available.

I congratulate Secretary Volpe, Secretary Hickel, Governor Kirk [of Florida], the Dade County Port Authority, and the private organizations and individual citizens whose hard work and concern for our environment made this agreement possible.

The agreement affirms the need to conserve our natural heritage; it does not deny the need for new airport facilities in Florida. The Federal Government will cooperate in finding ways to create such facilities without new threats to the environment.

We have learned that the development of major facilities, such as a regional jetport, may have widespread environmental and social consequences that cannot wisely be left entirely to local initiative and local decision. I am directing Secretary Volpe to consider the merits of legislation which will insure adequate representation of the national interest in the development of regional airports. This is part of the broad new approach we must take to make certain that our environment is treated with greater wisdom and care.

NOTE: The agreement reached between the Department of Transportation, the Department of the Interior, the State of Florida, the Dade County Port Authority, and Collier County was signed in Miami on January 16, 1970. On January 15 the White House Press Office released the text of a news briefing on the agreement by Secretary of the Interior Hickel and Secretary of Transportation Volpe. A fact sheet on the jetport is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 44).

7 Statement About the Housing Crisis and the Economy. *January* 21, 1970

YESTERDAY I met with Secretary Romney, Louis Barba,[1] and officials of the National Association of Home Builders to discuss the crisis situation we are facing in the housing of our people. The continuing decline in housing production, the outflow of funds from savings institutions supporting the housing market, and the drying up of traditional mortgage sources are contributing to a serious housing shortage which is of grave concern to our national well-being.

Housing and the industry which provides it are bearing a disproportionate burden of both current inflationary pressures and the anti-inflation measures instituted to restore price stability. As a result, a major national resource—the productive capability of our private home-building industry to meet our national housing needs—is being greatly threatened.

The decline in housing production must and will be stopped. The private sector and all levels of government must take the steps necessary to assure that the Nation's housing needs are more fully met now.

There are no easy answers to the housing problem, and a full solution will require time. Extraordinary and unprecedented steps have already been taken. These include extensive direct support to the mortgage market through the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board. In addition, the Department of Housing and

[1] President, National Association of Home Builders.

Urban Development has authorized issuance of mortgage-backed securities fully guaranteed by the Government and has released $1,150 million of funds to provide special assistance in the financing of housing production for low- and moderate-income families.

The need now is to go beyond these steps—to change basic attitudes and reexamine old patterns of activity—so that we can reach more quickly the full solution we seek.

The first step is for all sectors of our economy—business, labor, consumers, and all levels of government—to be fully aware of the nature of this crisis, and for each of them to address itself vigorously within its sphere of responsibility toward adequate solutions. The need to regain early control over inflation is paramount, and voluntary steps to restrain unnecessary spending can play a vital role. In this connection, I have firmly committed the Federal Government to do its part.

In order to maintain a surplus in the budget, I have cut Federal spending to the minimum possible levels this year and next. Some needed Federal programs simply will have to be postponed, so that we live within our means. This will help free resources for housing.

I urge the private sector to follow this example by also postponing avoidable expenditures and increasing savings.

Some time ago I cautioned business and labor against continuing to base price and wage decisions on the expectation of continued inflation. Those who do are bound to lose. The sooner this is realized the better off they—and the Nation as a whole—will be.

Lack of mortgage money is perhaps one of the most pressing immediate restraints on housing. Needed housing must and will be financed and built. All financial institutions—commercial banks, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations, life insurance companies, pension funds, and trust funds—should recognize the investment opportunities that will exist in this field over the years ahead. They should seek now to move affirmatively into a better position to capitalize on these opportunities.

I pledge that this administration will take every possible step to solve this most serious housing problem consistent with the overriding need to contain inflation. The housing of our people is and must be a top national priority.

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by Dr. Paul W. McCracken, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

8 Statement About the Death of George M. Humphrey. *January* 21, 1970

GEORGE HUMPHREY was a man of firm purpose, unremitting effort, and high dedication. His great contributions to American life—both in industry and Government—leave all of us in his debt. As I mourn the loss of a friend, I offer my most sincere condolences to his family. I know that they will be sustained in this time of grief by the realization that George Humphrey leaves an outstanding legacy of achievement and service.

NOTE: Mr. Humphrey died in Cleveland, Ohio,

on January 20, 1970, at the age of 79. He had served as Secretary of the Treasury in the Eisenhower administration from 1953 to 1957.

The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler during his regular news briefing at the White House on January 21, 1970.

9 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. *January* 22, 1970

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, our distinguished guests and my fellow Americans:

To address a joint session of the Congress in this great Chamber in which I was once privileged to serve is an honor for which I am deeply grateful.

The State of the Union Address is traditionally an occasion for a lengthy and detailed account by the President of what he has accomplished in the past, what he wants the Congress to do in the future, and, in an election year, to lay the basis for the political issues which might be decisive in the fall.

Occasionally there comes a time when profound and far-reaching events command a break with tradition.

This is such a time.

I say this not only because 1970 marks the beginning of a new decade in which America will celebrate its 200th birthday. I say it because new knowledge and hard experience argue persuasively that both our programs and our institutions in America need to be reformed.

The moment has arrived to harness the vast energies and abundance of this land to the creation of a new American experience, an experience richer and deeper and more truly a reflection of the goodness and grace of the human spirit.

The seventies will be a time of new beginnings, a time of exploring both on the earth and in the heavens, a time of discovery. But the time has also come for emphasis on developing better ways of managing what we have and of completing what man's genius has begun but left unfinished.

Our land, this land that is ours together, is a great and a good land. It is also an unfinished land, and the challenge of perfecting it is the summons of the seventies.

It is in that spirit that I address myself to those great issues facing our Nation which are above partisanship.

When we speak of America's priorities the first priority must always be peace for America and the world.

The major immediate goal of our foreign policy is to bring an end to the war in Vietnam in a way that our generation will be remembered—not so much as the generation that suffered in war, but more for the fact that we had the courage and character to win the kind of a just peace that the next generation was able to keep.

We are making progress toward that goal.

The prospects for peace are far greater today than they were a year ago.

A major part of the credit for this development goes to the Members of this Congress who, despite their differences on the conduct of the war, have overwhelmingly indicated their support of a just peace. By this action, you have completely demolished the enemy's hopes that they can gain in Washington the victory our fighting men have denied them in Vietnam.

No goal could be greater than to make the next generation the first in this century in which America was at peace with every nation in the world.

I shall discuss in detail the new concepts and programs designed to achieve this goal in a separate report on foreign policy, which I shall submit to the Congress at a later date.

Today, let me describe the directions of our new policies.

We have based our policies on an evaluation of the world as it is, not as it was 25 years ago at the conclusion of World War II. Many of the policies which were necessary and right then are obsolete today.

Then, because of America's overwhelming military and economic strength, because of the weakness of other major free world powers and the inability of scores of newly independent nations to defend, or even govern, themselves, America had to assume the major burden for the defense of freedom in the world.

In two wars, first in Korea and now in Vietnam, we furnished most of the money, most of the arms, most of the men to help other nations defend their freedom.

Today the great industrial nations of Europe, as well as Japan, have regained their economic strength; and the nations of Latin America—and many of the nations who acquired their freedom from colonialism after World War II in Asia and Africa—have a new sense of pride and dignity and a determination to assume the responsibility for their own defense.

That is the basis of the doctrine I announced at Guam.[1]

Neither the defense nor the development of other nations can be exclusively or primarily an American undertaking.

The nations of each part of the world should assume the primary responsibility for their own well-being; and they themselves should determine the terms of that well-being.

We shall be faithful to our treaty commitments, but we shall reduce our involvement and our presence in other nations' affairs.

To insist that other nations play a role is not a retreat from responsibility; it is a sharing of responsibility.

The result of this new policy has been not to weaken our alliances, but to give them new life, new strength, a new sense of common purpose.

Relations with our European allies are once again strong and healthy, based on mutual consultation and mutual responsibility.

We have initiated a new approach to Latin America in which we deal with those nations as partners rather than patrons.

The new partnership concept has been welcomed in Asia. We have developed an historic new basis for Japanese-American friendship and cooperation, which is the linchpin for peace in the Pacific.

If we are to have peace in the last third of the century, a major factor will be the development of a new relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I would not underestimate our differences, but we are moving with precision and purpose from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation.

Our negotiations on strategic arms limitations and in other areas will have far greater chance for success if both sides enter them motivated by mutual self-inter-

[1] See 1969 volume, Item 279.

est rather than naive sentimentality.

It is with this same spirit that we have resumed discussions with Communist China in our talks at Warsaw.

Our concern in our relations with both these nations is to avoid a catastrophic collision and to build a solid basis for peaceful settlement of our differences.

I would be the last to suggest that the road to peace is not difficult and dangerous, but I believe our new policies have contributed to the prospect that America may have the best chance since World War II to enjoy a generation of uninterrupted peace. And that chance will be enormously increased if we continue to have a relationship between Congress and the Executive in which, despite differences in detail, where the security of America and the peace of mankind are concerned, we act not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.

As we move into the decade of the seventies, we have the greatest opportunity for progress at home of any people in world history.

Our gross national product will increase by $500 billion in the next 10 years. This increase alone is greater than the entire growth of the American economy from 1790 to 1950.

The critical question is not whether we will grow, but how we will use that growth.

The decade of the sixties was also a period of great growth economically. But in that same 10-year period we witnessed the greatest growth of crime, the greatest increase in inflation, the greatest social unrest in America in 100 years. Never has a nation seemed to have had more and enjoyed it less.

At heart, the issue is the effectiveness of government.

Ours has become—as it continues to be, and should remain—a society of large expectations. Government helped to generate these expectations. It undertook to meet them. Yet, increasingly, it proved unable to do so.

As a people, we had too many visions—and too little vision.

Now, as we enter the seventies, we should enter also a great age of reform of the institutions of American government.

Our purpose in this period should not be simply better management of the programs of the past. The time has come for a new quest—a quest not for a greater quantity of what we have, but for a new quality of life in America.

A major part of the substance for an unprecedented advance in this Nation's approach to its problems and opportunities is contained in more than two score legislative proposals which I sent to the Congress last year and which still await enactment.

I will offer at least a dozen more major programs in the course of this session.

At this point I do not intend to go through a detailed listing of what I have proposed or will propose, but I would like to mention three areas in which urgent priorities demand that we move and move now:

First, we cannot delay longer in accomplishing a total reform of our welfare system. When a system penalizes work, breaks up homes, robs recipients of dignity, there is no alternative to abolishing that system and adopting in its place the program of income support, job training, and work incentives which I recommended to the Congress last year.

Second, the time has come to assess and reform all of our institutions of government at the Federal, State, and local level.

It is time for a New Federalism, in which, after 190 years of power flowing from the people and local and State governments to Washington, D.C., it will begin to flow from Washington back to the States and to the people of the United States.

Third, we must adopt reforms which will expand the range of opportunities for all Americans. We can fulfill the American dream only when each person has a fair chance to fulfill his own dreams. This means equal voting rights, equal employment opportunity, and new opportunities for expanded ownership. Because in order to be secure in their human rights, people need access to property rights.

I could give similar examples of the need for reform in our programs for health, education, housing, transportation, as well as other critical areas which directly affect the well-being of millions of Americans.

The people of the United States should wait no longer for these reforms that would so deeply enhance the quality of their life.

When I speak of actions which would be beneficial to the American people, I can think of none more important than for the Congress to join this administration in the battle to stop the rise in the cost of living.

Now, I realize it is tempting to blame someone else for inflation.

Some blame business for raising prices.

Some blame unions for asking for more wages.

But a review of the stark fiscal facts of the 1960's clearly demonstrates where the primary blame for rising prices must be placed.

In the decade of the sixties the Federal Government spent $57 billion more than it took in in taxes.

In that same decade the American people paid the bill for that deficit in price increases which raised the cost of living for the average family of four by $200 per month in America.

Now millions of Americans are forced to go into debt today because the Federal Government decided to go into debt yesterday. We must balance our Federal budget so that American families will have a better chance to balance their family budgets.

Only with the cooperation of the Congress can we meet this highest priority objective of responsible government.

We are on the right track.

We had a balanced budget in 1969.

This administration cut more than $7 billion out of spending plans in order to produce a surplus in 1970, and in spite of the fact that Congress reduced revenues by $3 billion, I shall recommend a balanced budget for 1971.

But I can assure you that not only to present, but to stay within, a balanced budget requires some very hard decisions. It means rejecting spending programs which would benefit some of the people when their net effect would result in price increases for all the people.

It is time to quit putting good money into bad programs. Otherwise, we will end up with bad money and bad programs.

I recognize the political popularity of spending programs, and particularly in an election year. But unless we stop the rise in prices, the cost of living for millions of American families will become unbearable and government's ability to plan programs for progress for the future will become impossible.

In referring to budget cuts, there is one area where I have ordered an increase

rather than a cut—and that is the requests of those agencies with the responsibilities for law enforcement.

We have heard a great deal of overblown rhetoric during the sixties in which the word "war" has perhaps too often been used—the war on poverty, the war on misery, the war on disease, the war on hunger. But if there is one area where the word "war" is appropriate it is in the fight against crime. We must declare and win the war against the criminal elements which increasingly threaten our cities, our homes, and our lives.

We have a tragic example of this problem in the Nation's Capital, for whose safety the Congress and the Executive have the primary responsibility. I doubt if many Members of this Congress who live more than a few blocks from here would dare leave their cars in the Capitol garage and walk home alone tonight.

Last year this administration sent to the Congress 13 separate pieces of legislation dealing with organized crime, pornography, street crime, narcotics, crime in the District of Columbia.

None of these bills has reached my desk for signature.

I am confident that the Congress will act now to adopt the legislation I placed before you last year. We in the Executive have done everything we can under existing law, but new and stronger weapons are needed in that fight.

While it is true that State and local law enforcement agencies are the cutting edge in the effort to eliminate street crime, burglaries, murder, my proposals to you have embodied my belief that the Federal Government should play a greater role in working in partnership with these agencies.

That is why 1971 Federal spending for local law enforcement will double that budgeted for 1970.

The primary responsibility for crimes that affect individuals is with local and State rather than with Federal Government. But in the field of organized crime, narcotics, pornography, the Federal Government has a special responsibility it should fulfill. And we should make Washington, D.C., where we have the primary responsibility, an example to the Nation and the world of respect for law rather than lawlessness.

I now turn to a subject which, next to our desire for peace, may well become the major concern of the American people in the decade of the seventies.

In the next 10 years we shall increase our wealth by 50 percent. The profound question is: Does this mean we will be 50 percent richer in a real sense, 50 percent better off, 50 percent happier?

Or does it mean that in the year 1980 the President standing in this place will look back on a decade in which 70 percent of our people lived in metropolitan areas choked by traffic, suffocated by smog, poisoned by water, deafened by noise, and terrorized by crime?

These are not the great questions that concern world leaders at summit conferences. But people do not live at the summit. They live in the foothills of everyday experience, and it is time for all of us to concern ourselves with the way real people live in real life.

The great question of the seventies is, shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land, and to our water?

Restoring nature to its natural state is a cause beyond party and beyond factions.

It has become a common cause of all the people of this country. It is a cause of particular concern to young Americans, because they more than we will reap the grim consequences of our failure to act on programs which are needed now if we are to prevent disaster later.

Clean air, clean water, open spaces—these should once again be the birthright of every American. If we act now, they can be.

We still think of air as free. But clean air is not free, and neither is clean water. The price tag on pollution control is high. Through our years of past carelessness we incurred a debt to nature, and now that debt is being called.

The program I shall propose to Congress will be the most comprehensive and costly program in this field in America's history.

It is not a program for just one year. A year's plan in this field is no plan at all. This is a time to look ahead not a year, but 5 years or 10 years—whatever time is required to do the job.

I shall propose to this Congress a $10 billion nationwide clean waters program to put modern municipal waste treatment plants in every place in America where they are needed to make our waters clean again, and do it now. We have the industrial capacity, if we begin now, to build them all within 5 years. This program will get them built within 5 years.

As our cities and suburbs relentlessly expand, those priceless open spaces needed for recreation areas accessible to their people are swallowed up—often forever. Unless we preserve these spaces while they are still available, we will have none to preserve. Therefore, I shall propose new financing methods for purchasing open space and parklands now, before they are lost to us.

The automobile is our worst polluter of the air. Adequate control requires further advances in engine design and fuel composition. We shall intensify our research, set increasingly strict standards, and strengthen enforcement procedures—and we shall do it now.

We can no longer afford to consider air and water common property, free to be abused by anyone without regard to the consequences. Instead, we should begin now to treat them as scarce resources, which we are no more free to contaminate than we are free to throw garbage into our neighbor's yard.

This requires comprehensive new regulations. It also requires that, to the extent possible, the price of goods should be made to include the costs of producing and disposing of them without damage to the environment.

Now, I realize that the argument is often made that there is a fundamental contradiction between economic growth and the quality of life, so that to have one we must forsake the other.

The answer is not to abandon growth, but to redirect it. For example, we should turn toward ending congestion and eliminating smog the same reservoir of inventive genius that created them in the first place.

Continued vigorous economic growth provides us with the means to enrich life itself and to enhance our planet as a place hospitable to man.

Each individual must enlist in this fight if it is to be won.

It has been said that no matter how many national parks and historical monuments we buy and develop, the truly sig-

nificant environment for each of us is that in which we spend 80 percent of our time—in our homes, in our places of work, the streets over which we travel.

Street litter, rundown parking strips and yards, dilapidated fences, broken windows, smoking automobiles, dingy working places, all should be the object of our fresh view.

We have been too tolerant of our surroundings and too willing to leave it to others to clean up our environment. It is time for those who make massive demands on society to make some minimal demands on themselves. Each of us must resolve that each day he will leave his home, his property, the public places of the city or town a little cleaner, a little better, a little more pleasant for himself and those around him.

With the help of people we can do anything, and without their help, we can do nothing. In this spirit, together, we can reclaim our land for ours and generations to come.

Between now and the year 2000, over 100 million children will be born in the United States. Where they grow up—and how—will, more than any one thing, measure the quality of American life in these years ahead.

This should be a warning to us.

For the past 30 years our population has also been growing and shifting. The result is exemplified in the vast areas of rural America emptying out of people and of promise—a third of our counties lost population in the sixties.

The violent and decayed central cities of our great metropolitan complexes are the most conspicuous area of failure in American life today.

I propose that before these problems become insoluble, the Nation develop a national growth policy.

In the future, government decisions as to where to build highways, locate airports, acquire land, or sell land should be made with a clear objective of aiding a balanced growth for America.

In particular, the Federal Government must be in a position to assist in the building of new cities and the rebuilding of old ones.

At the same time, we will carry our concern with the quality of life in America to the farm as well as the suburb, to the village as well as to the city. What rural America needs most is a new kind of assistance. It needs to be dealt with, not as a separate nation, but as part of an overall growth policy for America. We must create a new rural environment which will not only stem the migration to urban centers, but reverse it. If we seize our growth as a challenge, we can make the 1970's an historic period when by conscious choice we transformed our land into what we want it to become.

America, which has pioneered in the new abundance, and in the new technology, is called upon today to pioneer in meeting the concerns which have followed in their wake—in turning the wonders of science to the service of man.

In the majesty of this great Chamber we hear the echoes of America's history, of debates that rocked the Union and those that repaired it, of the summons to war and the search for peace, of the uniting of the people, the building of a nation.

Those echoes of history remind us of our roots and our strengths.

They remind us also of that special genius of American democracy, which at one critical turning point after another

has led us to spot the new road to the future and given us the wisdom and the courage to take it.

As I look down that new road which I have tried to map out today, I see a new America as we celebrate our 200th anniversary 6 years from now.

I see an America in which we have abolished hunger, provided the means for every family in the Nation to obtain a minimum income, made enormous progress in providing better housing, faster transportation, improved health, and superior education.

I see an America in which we have checked inflation, and waged a winning war against crime.

I see an America in which we have made great strides in stopping the pollution of our air, cleaning up our water, opening up our parks, continuing to explore in space.

Most important, I see an America at peace with all the nations of the world.

This is not an impossible dream. These goals are all within our reach.

In times past, our forefathers had the vision but not the means to achieve such goals.

Let it not be recorded that we were the first American generation that had the means but not the vision to make this dream come true.

But let us, above all, recognize a fundamental truth. We can be the best clothed, best fed, best housed people in the world, enjoying clean air, clean water, beautiful parks, but we could still be the unhappiest people in the world without an indefinable spirit—the lift of a driving dream which has made America, from its beginning, the hope of the world.

Two hundred years ago this was a new nation of 3 million people, weak militarily, poor economically. But America meant something to the world then which could not be measured in dollars, something far more important than military might.

Listen to President Thomas Jefferson in 1802: We act not "for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race."

We had a spiritual quality then which caught the imagination of millions of people in the world.

Today, when we are the richest and strongest nation in the world, let it not be recorded that we lack the moral and spiritual idealism which made us the hope of the world at the time of our birth.

The demands of us in 1976 are even greater than in 1776.

It is no longer enough to live and let live. Now we must live and help live.

We need a fresh climate in America, one in which a person can breathe freely and breathe in freedom.

Our recognition of the truth that wealth and happiness are not the same thing requires us to measure success or failure by new criteria.

Even more than the programs I have described today, what this Nation needs is an example from its elected leaders in providing the spiritual and moral leadership which no programs for material progress can satisfy.

Above all, let us inspire young Americans with a sense of excitement, a sense of destiny, a sense of involvement, in meeting the challenges we face in this great period of our history. Only then are they going to have any sense of satisfaction in their lives.

The greatest privilege an individual can have is to serve in a cause bigger than himself. We have such a cause.

How we seize the opportunities I have described today will determine not only our future, but the future of peace and freedom in this world in the last third of the century.

May God give us the wisdom, the strength and, above all, the idealism to be worthy of that challenge, so that America can fulfill its destiny of being the world's best hope for liberty, for opportunity, for progress and peace for all peoples.

NOTE: The President delivered his address at 12:30 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol before a joint session of the Congress. He was introduced by Speaker of the House of Representatives John W. McCormack of Massachusetts.

On the same day an advance text of the President's address was released by the White House Press Office.

10 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Eugene Ormandy. *January* 24, 1970

Mr. Louchheim, Mr. Ormandy, members of the orchestra, all of the distinguished performing artists tonight, and all of those in this great American Academy of Music—that was its original name you know, and after tonight it is the American *Academy of Music:*

Those in this room are indeed fortunate to be here on this special day honoring Eugene Ormandy. Because only a few could be here, you are the special few.

I want you to know that for me it was a very special honor to be here, because I am in a much larger audience, the audience that does not live in Philadelphia, the audience as a matter of fact—and I was saying this to Mr. Ormandy before—I am one of those millions of people in America and the world who never before has heard the Philadelphia Symphony with Eugene Ormandy conducting in person. I know him and the orchestra through the records.

And I want to say, Mr. Ormandy, that when I was growing up as a child in California, and my mother was making me practice the piano and the violin, I never dreamed that someday they might be playing "Hail to the Chief" to me, but certainly the highest experience that could ever have come is to have "Hail to the Chief" played by the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra under Eugene Ormandy.

The highest honor that can be paid to a private citizen by the Government of the United States is the Medal of Freedom. The first award of this Medal in the decade of the seventies is to be made tonight.

Usually the awards are made in the White House. I found, however, when I suggested that Mr. Ormandy might come to the White House for the award, he said: "Only if I can bring the 105 people in my orchestra—all 105."

Now, we would have been delighted to have the 105 in the orchestra there but we could not have had any guests. And so, since the orchestra could not come to Washington, I thought that the President ought to come to Philadelphia and come to the orchestra.

I now will read the citation to you.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AWARDS THIS PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM TO EUGENE ORMANDY

From early childhood he has possessed superb musical gifts. For thirty-four years he

has brought these gifts to the conducting of the Philadelphia Orchestra, a name synonymous with excellence in music. Yet he brings to each performance something more precious than his great gifts; he brings himself. From the rich experiences of his life in music he has fashioned a unique and unforgettable orchestral sound, the sound of Ormandy. He has reminded audiences here in his adopted country and all over the world that the heart of music is a human heart and that the glory of music reflects and sustains the true glory of the human spirit.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:03 p.m. at the Academy of Music of Philadelphia. Stuart Louchheim was president of the Academy. Following the President's remarks, Mr. Ormandy responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, and my beloved friends in the orchestra:

I hope you will not be surprised when I tell you that this is the most exciting day of my life and, I may add, in the life of 105 members of my orchestra.

Our beloved President and his beloved First Lady came to Philadelphia to celebrate the 113th birthday of this hall and the 70th birthday of both the orchestra and myself. What greater honor can come to any one person?

I am very humble in accepting this greatest of all honors, Mr. President, and in accepting this honor, may I say that you are honoring the Philadelphia Orchestra as well.

Thank you, sir.

11 Message to the Congress Transmitting an Amendment to the Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom on Uses of Atomic Energy. *January* 26, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 as amended, I am submitting to the Congress an authoritative copy of an amendment to the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for Cooperation on the Uses of Atomic Energy for Mutual Defense Purposes of July 3, 1958, as amended. The Amendment was signed at Washington on October 16, 1969.

The Agreement as amended included a provision (Paragraph A of Article III *bis*) under which the Government of the United States agreed to transfer to the Government of the United Kingdom for its atomic weapons program prior to December 31, 1969 in such quantities and on such terms and conditions as may be agreed non-nuclear parts of atomic weapons and atomic weapons systems as well as source, by-product and special nuclear material. A second provision of the Agreement (Paragraph C of Article III *bis*) stipulated that the Government of the United Kingdom would transfer to the Government of the United States for military purposes such source, by-product and special nuclear material, and equipment of such types, in such quantities, at such times prior to December 31, 1969 and on such terms and conditions as may be agreed.

Under the Amendment submitted herewith the period during which the provisions of Paragraphs A and C of Article III *bis* of the Agreement for Cooperation remain in force would be extended for five

years so that transfers could be made any time prior to December 31, 1974. The continued authorization of the two Governments to cooperate with each other in these respects would contribute to our mutual defense, particularly in the North Atlantic Treaty area.

I am also transmitting a copy of the Secretary of State's letter to me accompanying authoritative copies of the signed Amendment, a copy of a joint letter from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Secretary of Defense recommending approval of this Amendment, and a copy of my memorandum in reply thereto, setting forth my approval.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
January 26, 1970

NOTE: The text of the amendment is printed in United States Treaties and Other International Agreements (21 UST 1064).

12 Message to the National Emergency Conference on Peace in the Middle East. *January* 26, 1970

I AM AWARE of your deep concern that Israel may become increasingly isolated. This is not true as far as the United States is concerned.

The United States stands by its friends. Israel is one of its friends.

The United States is deeply engaged in trying to help the people of the Middle East find peace. In this effort, we are consulting fully with all those most concerned.

The United States believes that peace can be based only on agreement between the parties and that agreement can be achieved only through negotiations between them. We do not see any substitute for such negotiations if peace and security arrangements acceptable to the parties are to be worked out.

The United States does not intend to negotiate the terms of peace. It will not impose the terms of peace. We believe a durable peace agreement is one that is not one-sided and is one that all sides have a vested interest in maintaining. The United Nations resolution of November 1967, described the principles of such a peace.

We are convinced that the prospects for peace are enhanced as the governments in the area are confident that their borders and their people are secure.

The United States is prepared to supply military equipment necessary to support the efforts of friendly governments, like Israel's, to defend the safety of their people. We would prefer restraint in the shipment of arms to this area. But we are maintaining a careful watch on the relative strength of the forces there, and we will not hesitate to provide arms to friendly states as the need arises.

The United States has as its objective helping the people of the Middle East build a peaceful and productive future. I believe that all Americans can unite for that goal.

NOTE: The message was sent to a conference of American Jewish leaders meeting in Washington, D.C. The text was posted for the press.

13 Remarks on Vetoing the Labor-HEW-OEO Appropriations Bill. *January* 26, 1970

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

I would like to share with you tonight a decision that is one of the most difficult decisions I have made since I assumed the Office of the Presidency a year ago.

I have here on my desk a bill, a bill [H.R. 13111] which has been passed by the Congress and sent to me for signature. For the first time, I am exercising tonight the constitutional power of the President to veto a bill and send it back to the Congress for further consideration.

This decision is particularly difficult because this bill provides funds for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Now let us clearly understand the issues. The issue is not whether some of us are for education and health and others are against it.

There are no goals which I consider more important for this Nation than to improve education and to provide better health care for the American people.

The question is: How much can the Federal Government afford to spend on these programs this year?

In April I asked the Congress to appropriate more for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare than it has ever appropriated before. This means that this year the Federal Government will spend 13 percent more on programs for health, education, and welfare than it spent last year. For Federal programs that affect education, we will spend over $10 billion. Now in this bill that I have before me, the Congress has increased the amount that I recommended by $1 billion 260 million. Over $1 billion of this increase is in the field of education.

Now why, in an election year particularly, would a President hesitate for one moment to sign a bill providing for such politically popular causes as this one? The reason is this: The President of the United States has an obligation to consider all the worthy causes that come before him and he is to consider them having in mind only one principle—What is best for all the people of the United States?

I believe that the increase over the amount that I recommended, the increase which is contained in this bill passed by the Congress, is not in the best interests of all the American people, because it is in the wrong amount for the wrong purposes and at the wrong time.

Let me address myself first to the questions of the amount of spending involved.

This Nation faces a crisis which directly affects every family in America—the continuing rise in the cost of living. From 1960 to 1970, the cost of living went up 25 percent in this country. Now, for the average family of four in America that meant an increase of $2,400 a year in the items that go into your cost of living—your grocery bills, your housing, your transportation, your medical costs.

A major reason for this increase in the cost of living is that in that same 10-year period, from 1960 to 1970, the Federal Government spent $57 billion more than it took in in taxes.

I think this was wrong. That is why as your President I intend to do everything that I can to see that the Federal Government spends less in Washington so that you can have more to spend at home.

If we are to stop the rise in the cost of living which is putting such a strain on the family budgets of millions of Americans, we have to cut the Federal budget.

That is why I ordered cuts of $7 billion in Federal spending in 1970. That is why, for example, the budget I will submit to Congress for 1971 will call for a smaller percentage of Federal spending for defense than in any year since 1950.

For the first time in 20 years, the budget will provide more funds for human resources than for defense.

Now, if I approved the increased spending contained in this bill, I would win the approval of many fine people who are demanding more spending by the Federal Government for education and health. But I would be surrendering in the battle to stop the rise in the cost of living, a battle we must fight and win for the benefit of every family in this Nation.

A second reason I am vetoing this bill is that I believe that it increases spending for the wrong purposes. The increased spending ordered by Congress for the most part simply provides more dollars for the same old programs without making the urgent new reforms that are needed if we are to improve the quality of education and health care in America.

I believe that when we consider how much we are putting into education in the United States, that we are entitled to get more out in terms of better quality in education. That is why in my education message which I shortly will be submitting to the Congress I will propose a new and searching look at our American school system. In this examination we will look at such basic questions as why millions of our children in school are unable to read adequately; we will put emphasis on improving the quality of education for every child in America.

An example of the unfairness of this bill is the impacted aid program which is supposed to help areas which need assistance because of the presence of Federal installations. The bill provides $6 million for the one-half million people who live in the richest county in the United States, and only $3 million for the three million people that live in the 100 poorest counties in the United States.

President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson all criticized this program as being unfair. And yet the Congress in this bill not only perpetuates this unfair program, it adds money to it.

The third reason I am vetoing this bill is because it requires the money to be spent at the wrong time. We are now nearly three-quarters of the way through the school year. This bill forces us to spend the money it appropriates—and we would have to spend it all before June 30.

When money is spent in a hurry, a great deal is wasted. There is no good time to waste the taxpayers' money, but there is no worse time to waste it than today.

The Congress will determine on Wednesday whether it will sustain or override my veto of this legislation. If the veto is sustained, I will immediately seek appropriations which will assure the funds necessary to provide for the needs of the Nation in education and health.

You can be sure that no school will need to be closed. No school child will be denied an education as a result of the action I take tonight. I will work with the Congress in developing a law that will ease the transition to education reform and do so without inflation.

I realize that a number of Congress-

men and Senators, as well as many who are members of what is called the education lobby, disagree with the views I have expressed tonight. I respect their different viewpoint. I deeply share the concerns of those who want more funds for education and for health and for other worthy causes in this country.

But it is my duty to act on behalf of the millions of Americans, including teachers and students, as well as patients in our hospitals, who will pay far more in the rise in the cost of living than they will receive from the increased spending provided for in this bill.

We spend more for health and education than any nation in the world. We are able to do this—and I hope we can continue to do so in the future—because we have the great good fortune to be the richest nation by far in the whole history of the world.

But we can spend ourselves poor. That is why no matter how popular a spending program is, if I determine that its enactment will have the effect of raising your prices or raising your taxes, I will not approve that program.

Now for these reasons, for the first time, tonight, instead of signing a bill which has been sent to me by the Congress, I am signing this veto message.

[At this point the President signed the veto message. He then resumed speaking.]

My fellow Americans, I believe this action is in the long-range interests of better education and improved health care. But most important, I believe that this action that I have just taken is in the vital interests of all Americans in stopping the rise in the cost of living.

Thank you, and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in his office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day the White House also released an advance text of the President's remarks.

14 Veto Message on the Labor-HEW-OEO Appropriations Bill. *January* 27, 1970

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 13111, an Act, "Making Appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare and Related Agencies for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1970, and for Other Purposes."

The issue is not whether some of us are for education and health programs and others against.

There are no goals which I consider more important for this nation than to improve education and to provide better health care for the American people.

The question is how much can the Federal Government afford to spend on those programs this year?

The enrolled bill is $1.3 billion over my budget request for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

It is the largest increase over my budget recommendations of any appropriations bill for 1970.

It is the largest excess over a Presidential request ever provided by the Congress for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I have taken this action for four reasons:

One, these increases are excessive in a period of serious inflationary pressures. We must draw the line and stick to it if we are to stabilize the economy.

Two, nearly nine-tenths of these increases is for *mandatory* programs which leave the Executive Branch no discretion whatever either as to the level or the purpose of the added expenditures. This fact sharply differentiates this appropriation from other inflated measures that I have approved.

Three, the added funds are largely for lower priority programs.

Four, because of the lateness in the fiscal year, increases of this magnitude cannot be used effectively in many cases.

Deficits Feed Inflation

The inflation we have at the start of the Seventies was caused by heavy deficit spending in the Sixties. In the past decade, the Federal Government spent more than it took in—$57 billion more. These deficits caused prices to rise 25% in a decade.

That is why I ordered Federal spending cut this year.

In April 1969, I reduced the 1970 budget proposed by President Johnson by $4 billion. In July, I cut another $3.5 billion. Seventy-five percent of new direct Federal construction projects were deferred.

But Congress increased other spending by three and a half billion dollars.

Priorities Have Been Reassessed

Of the $7.5 billion reduction I proposed for 1970, $4.1 billion was in defense spending. We are reducing defense spending to the minimum consistent with our national security. Defense spending went *down* from 1969 to 1970. It will go *down again* in 1971.

HEW spending is rising. Outlays for the Department are presently estimated to increase in fiscal 1970 by $6.1 billion above 1969, a 13% rise. They will increase further in 1971.

For the first time in twenty years, next year's budget will provide more funds for human resources than for defense.

The Fiscal 1970 Budget

For the Congress and the Nation to understand my decision on the HEW appropriations, I must report today on current budget estimates for fiscal year 1970.

There are essentially two kinds of Federal Government spending:

—*uncontrollables,* which are already committed either because a program is automatic or because contracts were let before the fiscal year began and now payment is due; and

—*controllables,* where budget decisions can be made to have programs reduced or eliminated to hold spending down.

Although we made deep cuts in "controllables" in 1970, the overruns in "uncontrollables" have fully absorbed these cuts and now *far* exceed them.

The original spending ceiling set by the Congress in July was $191.9 billion, plus $2 billion allowance for designated uncontrollables. Actions taken by the Congress since then, and those now anticipated, would increase the ceiling another $1.8 billion. The result is an automatically revised Congressional ceiling of *$195.7 billion.*

It is the "uncontrollable" outlays—

driven upward by the very inflationary forces we were trying to contain—that have frustrated the efforts of both the Executive and the Congress to hold down spending.

Since I submitted my budget estimates in April, interest on the public debt has increased $1.5 billion. Spending for health insurance has increased $.7 billion, in large part because inflation requires us to pay higher hospital and doctor bills for the senior citizens entitled to care.

Taking into account all the changes which we can presently assess, we now estimate 1970 outlays at close to *$198 billion,* more than $2 billion in excess of the ceiling. All of this overrun is attributable to "uncontrollables."

We faced these difficult budgetary facts of life in preparing the 1971 budget which I will send to the Congress on February 2. I will submit a budget for fiscal 1971 which will sharply reduce "spending momentum," evidence of my determination to restore price stability.

The Decision on H.R. 13111

Confronted with these budget overruns in 1970, I reached my decision in December to veto the HEW appropriation unless it was reduced by the Congress, and publicly stated my position.

Over four-fifths of the increase in H.R. 13111 is for education. Even without this large increase in education funds, the Federal Government in 1970 will spend over $10 billion for education—the most in our history. We care deeply about the need to improve our Nation's schools. But we must ask two questions:

First, will the $1.1 billion which the Congress added for education go to those who need it the most?

Second, will it increase the quality of American education? This is the appropriate role of the Federal Government in a system in which Federal aid for public schools is 8% of the $40 billion total spent by State and local governments.

My answer is that these congressional increases do not target the scarce resources of the Federal Government in ways I can accept in this period of budget stringency. I must veto H.R. 13111.

Schools have as much at stake as anyone in our efforts to curb inflation. As an official of a major school system recently wrote: "the Cost-of-Education Index makes it abundantly clear that inflation itself is far more damaging than any of the attempts to bring it under control."

Another 6% rise in prices this year would add more than $2¼ billion to the costs of public schools without any improvements in either quality or quantity. Twice as much as the $1.1 billion in increases for education proposed by the Congress will be swept away if we do not hold firm in our resolve to curb inflation.

Impacted Areas Aid

Nearly $400 million of the HEW increase would be for grants to schools in federally-impacted areas. In 1968, this program paid $5.8 million to the Nation's richest county (which had a population of 500,000) and a total of $3.2 million to the 100 poorest counties (with a combined population of over 3 million).

For many school districts, these payments exceed the cost to local schools of educating the children of Federal employees. Often, the program enables wealthy districts to exert a lower tax effort than other districts in the same State.

Four successive Presidents have tried to

reduce or reorient this program. Yet the Congress in this bill not only perpetuates this unfair program, it adds money to it. It is wrong to sharply increase the impacted school aid program in the face of the need to make long-overdue reforms in this law. The Administration will make recommendations for reform of this program based on a study requested by the Congress. I will submit these recommendations shortly.

Excessive Increases

The Conference Bill would increase the 1970 budget by $575 million for vocational education, equipment and other categorical education grants, and for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

This is a 34% increase over the 1969 appropriations for these programs. In 1970, these increases—some for worthy programs—are just too large. Moreover, they come at a critical time in the development of education policy. The present system of Federal aid to education is much too inflexible; it frustrates planning by local officials and the development of creative new programs. Results—in terms of improved student performance—have fallen far short of our expectations.

That is why in my education message which I will shortly be submitting to the Congress I will propose a new and searching look at our American school system.

We are placing new and strong emphasis on experimentation and evaluation to learn about more effective approaches to education. We have undertaken a thorough review of the Title I program for disadvantaged children to repair its deficiencies. I have proposed consolidation of grant authorizations to give States and localities more flexibility and responsibility for action. I will recommend other actions in the coming weeks.

Inefficient Use of Limited Federal Resources

The Conference Bill provides $100 million in Federal appropriations for college construction grants and capital contributions for National Defense Student Loan funds above my request. For both construction and college student aid, the Congress has already authorized Federal interest subsidies for loans by private lenders. This is a much more efficient method of financing, which takes advantage of the loan placement and collection machinery of private lending institutions, while reserving Federal appropriations for other purposes where loans cannot be used.

Failure To Recognize Priorities

At the same time that the Congress was adding large amounts to these existing education support programs, it refused to vote the $25 million I requested for innovation in elementary and secondary education. These funds would have been used to develop and test promising approaches for improving student achievement—such as new ways to teach reading and the use of older children to teach younger children.

The refusal to grant these modest research and development funds comes at a time when the Nation is devoting less than one-half of one percent of its total investment in education to research. We

do not know enough about how to get more for our education dollars; we must intensify our efforts to find out.

THE PROBLEM OF CONGRESSIONAL DELAY

The lateness of congressional action on the appropriations for HEW creates serious problems.

School budgets are prepared in the early months of a calendar year. Teachers are customarily employed in the Spring and early Summer before academic sessions begin in September. Large, unplanned Federal grants coming only a few months before the close of the year will, if experience is a guide, be used disproportionately to substitute for other school revenues and to make hasty purchases, not essential for school improvement.

The Nation has had bitter experience with the waste of large amounts allocated to education late in the school year. This was particularly true in the first year of funding for Title I. Money to help educate poor children went—not for teachers and well-planned programs—but often for unneeded equipment. A pattern of spending was established that has plagued this program ever since, creating management and operational problems that are still unsolved.

Not only does late funding result in waste when a full year's appropriation is crammed into three or four months, it also creates a spending rate bulge. This is the kind of "on-again, off-again" relationship with States and localities that we are trying to avoid, because it hampers intelligent community planning.

MISDIRECTED HEALTH FUNDS

For HEW in 1970, the Congress also added $104 million above my request to the Hill-Burton appropriation for grants to build and modernize community hospitals. This increase was voted despite the growing awareness that a more pressing need is to fund ambulatory care facilities which offer an alternative to expensive hospital care. This is what was proposed to the Congress last April. While this point is recognized in the report of the Senate Appropriations Committee, the appropriation bill itself allocates most of the increased funds to grants for lower priority purposes rather than for needed out-patient facilities.

For hospital construction, the Administration has recommended legislation authorizing guaranteed loans, which would create a program much more responsive to today's needs. Combined with the reimbursement formulas for construction under Medicare and Medicaid, this approach is efficient and equitable, and avoids having the Federal Government pay twice for hospital beds.

The amounts added by the Congress for health research represent less than one-half of 1% of the total appropriation. Taken separately, I would not have vetoed these increases. On the contrary, when the budget for 1971 is submitted to the Congress it will make a strongly increased commitment for health research, where advances can be made to serve the health needs of the Nation—cancer, heart disease, population research and environmental health.

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Forced Spending

Nearly nine-tenths of this congressional increase—about $1.1 billion—is for *mandatory* programs. The Executive Branch would have no control over these appropriations once H.R. 13111 was signed into law.

Left without any latitude in these areas, we may be faced with the need to make offsetting and disproportionate reductions in high-priority programs. Because so much of the budget at this time of the year is already committed, the areas remaining where offsetting reductions can be made are limited. To a disturbing degree, they consist of health service programs, scientific research, manpower training, food and nutrition, and other programs that continue to be identified by the Administration and the Congress as vital to the Nation's needs.

Office of Economic Opportunity Earmarking

One issue remains to be dealt with that has arisen since my decision of last December to veto H.R. 13111. I am very concerned about a provision which was struck from the bill last week. The effect of this action would be to require the Executive to allocate funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) according to specific earmarks.

The amount available for OEO programs is *not* at issue. Rather, the issue is the effective use of resources.

To set requirements upon the use of OEO funds with less than 5 months of the fiscal year left will disrupt many of its programs. We will be forced to increase some programs well beyond planned spending levels and to make damaging reductions in others, particularly Head Start, Legal Services, VISTA, JOBS, and programs for migrants and senior citizens.

I ask the Congress to reconsider its action, and restore the flexibility necessary to enable OEO to use its funds to the best advantage of the poor. The Congress will shortly begin its review of my 1971 budget recommendations. This will provide an opportunity for a timely and orderly examination of the objectives of OEO, its performance and program levels.

What Next?

I have vetoed this bill because the increases for HEW voted by the Congress are mandatory, and because in the context of present efforts to curb inflation they are misdirected and excessive.

If the veto is sustained, I will immediately seek appropriations which will assure the funds necessary to provide for the needs of the nation in education and health. No school will need to be closed, no child need have his education interrupted or impaired as a result of this veto action.

Another approach to a solution would be for the Congress to remove the requirement in the law that all formula grant funds must be spent, leaving it to the Executive Branch to take the necessary action. (In its actions setting ceilings on obligations and expenditures for fiscal years 1968 and 1969, the Congress provided such flexibility.)

Provision must also be made so that impacted area aid funds are not cut off for hardship-case school districts. Until we come to agreement on a basic reform of this program, I believe we should work out a temporary solution which involves full funding for children whose parents live

and work on Federal installations and partial funding for children whose parents do not live on Federal installations. In addition, I favor a specific "No Hardship Clause" which will guarantee that no school district will, as a result of these changes in the impacted school aid program, have a school budget less than 95% of what it had in 1969.

In working together to resolve this appropriations problem, care must be taken to avoid the extreme rhetoric which freezes positions. All Americans are "for schools" and "against inflation." The suggestions which I have made will do much to meet both objectives.

I believe this action is in the long-range interests of better programs for education and health. Above all, it is in the vital interests of all Americans in stopping the rise in the cost of living.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
January 26, 1970

NOTE: The veto message, dated January 26, 1970, was transmitted to the House of Representatives on January 27, 1970.

A letter, dated January 6, 1970, from Bryce N. Harlow, Counsellor to the President, to Republican Senators and Representatives stating the President's opposition to the bill and an analysis of the bill are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 33).

On January 28, 1970, the House of Representatives sustained the President's veto. A new bill was approved by the President on March 5, 1970 (Public Law 91-204, 84 Stat. 23).

15 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Great Britain. *January* 27, 1970

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I am delighted to welcome you here today as an old friend; as an old friend not only in government, but as an old friend personally.

I noted from reading the background, that this is your 21st visit to the United States, and your seventh visit as Prime Minister of your government.

And I noted, too, in looking at the relationship that we have had since I assumed office a year ago, that we met twice in London, once in February, again in August; that we have had a great deal of correspondence; we have talked several times on the telephone. But what is even more important is the substance of those conversations.

The substance did not involve differences between your country and ours. The substance of those conversations was with regard to the great issues in which we have a common interest and a common purpose, the development of peace in the world, progress for your people, for our people, for all people. This is the way it should be. This is the way we both want it. And it is an indication of the way to the future.

Winston Churchill once said on one of his visits to this country that, if we are together, nothing is impossible. Perhaps in saying that nothing is impossible, that was an exaggeration. But it can be said today—we are together, and being together, a great deal is possible. And I am sure that our talks will make some of those things possible.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:42 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where Prime Minister Wilson was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 17.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

I should like to thank you, Mr. President, most warmly for your welcome to the White House this morning.

This is, as you say, the third opportunity I have had for discussions with you on world affairs, and on the mutual problems of our two countries and the world, since your inauguration just a year ago.

Today my colleagues, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary [Michael Stewart], and I will have the privilege of discussing with you, with the Secretary of State, and other leading members of your administration, many of the pressing and urgent problems of world affairs, particularly those on which you and I have been exchanging messages over recent months and, as you say, we shall be doing this together; discussions on grave international human problems, the suffering and hunger in Nigeria and what we can do, each of us, to meet the requests which the authorities there addressed to us; discussions on world aid and poverty; discussions on international problems of war and disarmament; on international economic and financial problems.

It is urgent, too, that we discuss together the immediate prognosis in world economic affairs.

But I believe the circumstances of our meeting which you have described are such that we may have more time on this occasion, not only to discuss the immediately urgent issues, but to take a longer and cooler look at the problems of the world—of Europe and Asia and Africa and elsewhere—through the seventies and beyond.

And in the spirit of some words I addressed on American soil last night, I know we are both ready to exchange and to share on the basis of common problems our common experience and common thinking on the challenging issues which confront almost every advanced industrial civilization; issues which have always been there which conventional establishment thinking has tended to brush aside, but which now a new generation of statesmen have determined shall not be thrust aside; issues which must now be put in the forefront of national and international agendas.

It is in that spirit, Mr. President, I sought in New York last night to interpret what our historic special relationship of the past will mean in the seventies and the eighties. That relationship was born of an alliance directed to fighting evil and repressive forces in world affairs. Now I hope it will be increasingly directed to the examination of social evils in our own countries and throughout the world.

For the message of the 1970's for all of us is that it is not enough to achieve and to defend our traditional freedoms. Freedom can be eroded from within. Our countries have not led the world in the assertion of freedom in order that our people shall become the slaves of a scarred and poisoned environment of our own making.

Mr. President, my colleagues and I look forward to the talks we shall be having and conscious, as we all are, of the importance and the extent of the challenge facing us on this occasion, I will delay the start of these talks not a moment longer.

Mr. President, I thank you.

16 Remarks to a Fundraising Dinner for the Eisenhower Medical Center. *January* 27, 1970

I'M GLAD to have this opportunity to express my best wishes to all of those who are attending the dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria for the Eisenhower Medical Center. And I just regret that the fact that we're giving a state dinner for Prime Minister Wilson in the White House makes it impossible for Mrs. Nixon and me to be with you tonight.

We are there in spirit. We're there in spirit for a number of reasons, but particularly because Bob Hope has given so much of his time through the years for other causes, and this is the first dinner

he's ever asked his friends to come to for a cause in which he himself deeply is personally interested.

I'm glad that so many of you are there. And I hope that those who are there will continue to support the Eisenhower Medical Center, because when I think of President Eisenhower and the many monuments to his memory across this Nation, I don't believe there's one to which he would be more dedicated than the Eisenhower Medical Center.

He liked Palm Springs. He liked going there. He liked the people there. But beyond that, he was a man who was deeply interested in health. He was a man who triumphed over some very severe physical problems when he was President of the United States. And he was always interested in any kind of research which would enable the people of the United States to enjoy a better health and a better life.

And the fact that so many of his friends are gathered tonight in New York for the purpose of making his dream come true, of a medical center in Palm Springs which he loved so much—the fact that you are gathered there, I think, is something for which he would be deeply grateful.

Again, thank you very much for the opportunity to talk to you this way through a film. And I hope that before too long we can meet again in person.

NOTE: The President's filmed remarks were shown at the dinner. They were also broadcast during Bob Hope's television show at 9 p.m. on February 16, 1970.

17 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Wilson of Great Britain. *January* 27, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Wilson, all of our distinguished guests this evening:

We are very honored for the first time in this house, since we have been here in the office that I presently occupy, to welcome the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

While it is the first time for us to welcome him here in an official capacity, of course it is not the first time that he has been here. As I pointed out this morning, he has been to the United States, according to those who keep records of these things in the passport department and visa department, 21 times. He may have come in other times, but people didn't know.

He has been here at least five times officially since he has been Prime Minister, and he is always welcome, and particularly welcome tonight, because of our personal friendship as well as our political responsibilities.

I was delighted that both Mrs. Wilson and the Prime Minister approved of the musical selections tonight. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Wilson was so kind as to refer to the quality of the music as we walked down the red carpet to this room, and also to say that she was pleased that the Strolling Strings, that she had heard once before, were here again.

I think, however, the Prime Minister will note how we selected the numbers with somewhat more diplomacy than we have on other occasions—because I have heard it recorded on one of his previous visits, when his country had some monetary problems—incidentally, if you have found any solution for yours, tell us how to solve ours—that the Marine Band on

that occasion played numbers of George Gershwin, and the first number they played was "I've Got Plenty of Nothin'." They compensated by playing "It Ain't Necessarily So."

Tonight we are delighted that there are no monetary problems, or at least no significant ones, that needed to be discussed on this visit, and that the problems that we discussed were in the mutual interests of our two countries for peace and progress in the world.

But I would not want this occasion to pass without saying to the Prime Minister, to Mrs. Wilson, and to all of our guests from Great Britain today, and also for the benefit of our American guests—say something that I feel very deeply about the heritage we share in common.

Some of you may recall that, when I delivered a eulogy to President Eisenhower, I quoted from what I think was probably the finest and most eloquent speech he ever made, a speech at Guildhall right after World War II's great victory. Some of you around this table may have heard it. I only had the opportunity to read it.

In that speech, a very brief one of about 15 minutes, he had several memorable lines. One thing that he said that I quoted in the eulogy was, "I come from the heart of America." He also said, by implication, that he came from the heart of Britain, because he described most eloquently the common traditions that we have—the common law, a common language, and great principles for which we have fought together in two wars.

And then he said, when we think of these great principles, "the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas."

And so it is, as we think of our country and yours, Mr. Prime Minister, we think of those great values, those great principles which do draw us together, and I think of them also in a much larger sense. I think of my travels around the world and of those countries all around the world which have had the same heritage and which still have the common law, which still have the English language and still have—even though the colonial ties may have been completely severed or partially severed—still have adherence to those basic principles which are yours and which are ours as well.

I know it is, of course, the fashion these days to find nothing good to say about any kind of colonialism. I will depart from that fashion by simply saying that the proud heritage that the British people have left around the world in institutions, institutions which, as President Eisenhower said, draw the valley of the Thames closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas—these great principles, these great institutions are a heritage far more important than military might or economic strength that might exist in those areas of the world because of the power that you might have.

So, speaking as an American to our friends in Britain, we can only say that we are very proud to have you in this house as representing your country; and also it gives me an opportunity to present you to our guests by indicating one area where we have departed from your custom in our own system.

The language we try to speak, not well, but we try to speak; the common law the Chief Justice tries to interpret, and interpret it all over the Nation in the same way, sometimes with some objections; but

in terms of the system in our House of Representatives and in our Senate, we have departed somewhat from your system.

We think that it is quite an ordeal to go through a televised press conference in that East Room where we met you a few moments ago. I will be doing one on Friday of this week, where you stand before the press for 30 minutes on live TV, before 60 million or 70 million people, trying to answer their questions. Incidentally, I usually turn to the Vice President for my advice for the press these days.

But I want to say to our guests here that while I think that is certainly an exquisite type of political torture, to see a Prime Minister of Britain in the House of Commons in the question period, that is, in my view, the greatest example of intellectual acrobatics in the whole political field, and Prime Minister Wilson, whom I did see in this situation, when I was privileged to be in the House of Commons, as the first American President ever to be present as President in a session of the House, I must say that I could see why he had earned the reputation of being one of the most skilled politicians in his country, and after seeing him, I would say, one of the most skilled politicians in the world.

And so finally, I would simply say that I ask you to join me in saluting him and his country today, not simply for those personal virtues and for those political virtues, but because he represents a nation to whom we owe so much and with whom we are so proud to work together for these great principles that transcend all of the differences that we might have.

I know that you would want to rise and raise your glasses to Her Majesty, the Queen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 15.

Prime Minister Wilson responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Vice President, Secretary of State, Senators, Congressmen, ladies and gentlemen. As an Englishman, I feel tempted also tonight to say "Mrs. Miniver."

May I first thank you, Mr. President, for the very kind welcome you have extended to Mary and myself, to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Mrs. Stewart, his Mary, and to those who have come to Washington with us, and that you have unearthed the fact that I have been here 21 times. I am even more glad that it has been authenticated by the passport and visa authorities. There was that little problem about the McCarran Act, I remember one time, and I had to fill in the form that was rather difficult. They asked me what race I was. Well, I mean, what answer would you give to that question? I said "Human race," and I found it wasn't what they really wanted to know about. At about that point they stopped asking, but then there was the problem about an ethnic qualification.

Well, can any of us answer that question? When I said "Yorkshire" again we had a little problem there, but now I am delighted to feel I am a guest of a President who, amongst his other many qualifications, actually has a Yorkshire Terrier on his establishment.

Sir, you quoted your moving eulogy to the late President Eisenhower to whom you were, yourself, so close. It was my privilege, at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, when representatives of our country—and what a tremendous gathering that was—paid our tribute to General Eisenhower and I find—and I am glad to hear you confirm this again tonight—that both of us on that occasion quoted from that memorable speech of his at Guildhall when that great American became equally a citizen of London and one of ourselves. I am glad you reminded us of that this evening.

Mr. President, this morning at the memorable welcoming ceremony to which you invited us, I expressed my hopes about the talks that were about to start. I suppose we might say that tonight we are at the halfway stage

and I feel that you will agree, Mr. President, as will your colleagues in the administration, that what we then hoped this morning is being realized. We have already covered a very wide area of world affairs and some particular issues that we ranged over this morning have been further examined in great depth in the concurrent talks between the Secretary of State and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.

Again, as we hoped, we have examined together what each of our two countries, and indeed those other countries with whom we work in close partnership, can do to deal with the most urgent, the most human, indeed, some of those we discussed, the most poignant of world affairs.

As is fitting at the first major Anglo-American meeting of the 1970's, we have been able to begin to look forward through the years ahead to some of the main developments of world affairs. And we have begun in these meetings today to prepare an agenda for further cooperation between us to help to shape those years of the seventies and beyond.

This afternoon I derived both enjoyment and encouragement through talks that I had with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the designate-Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

And if it is true that the musically minded once greeted me with the song "I've Got Plenty of Nothin'," it is true that we had transmuted, like the alchemists of old, but in reverse, a lot of our gold into dollars; and I am very happy to say that we have not lost by it. There were others at that time who were transmuting their dollars into gold and they were sorry they did it.

And we, this afternoon, were encouraged by what we were able to discuss together. All our discussions this afternoon reflected the keen interest that each of us, and indeed countries far over the world, take in our progress and our problems and our actions.

We are meeting at a time today when for the first time for many years international economic relationships are more settled; when, after years of effort and patient endeavor, we are able to record a significant move forward in world monetary cooperation, a move forward that would not have been possible, I believe, without the cooperation of our two countries.

We meet at a time when the international monetary scene, the position of leading currencies is no longer beset with the turbulence of recent years, when we may fairly claim that international statesmanship and cooperation are matching up to the challenges of what not long ago seemed to be blind economic forces capable of engulfing the whole monetary system.

And this is very significant in terms of our discussions this afternoon, Mr. Secretary, that there is no one following those discussions who wants to ask any questions about sterling or about the dollar. Not for the first time in our meetings, Mr. President, I have felt that we have been able, because I have had this experience twice over the past year when you have visited Britain, that we have been able to cover a wide area of world affairs, to do it in depth because of common understanding between our two countries.

It is not simply the advantage of a common language, it is the background of common experience, more particularly common understanding, which enables us to say what needs to be said in a very few words, in a very few words because each of us is aware that behind those few words lie volumes of thought and experience which do not need to be made articulate.

Even behind those volumes of thought—because we do understand one another and don't need to spell everything out—is, as you have said, the whole record of centuries of understanding and of common ideals and of the thought and the education and the background that has made each of our two countries what they are.

That is why, when I referred last night in New York to the new concept of the special relationship which should guide us in the 1970's, I laid stress also on the common problems of our two societies and on how much each of us has to give to the other in the experience of dealing with those problems.

You and I recognize, Mr. President, that sharing experience, sharing thinking, spelling out more clearly our social ideals for the 1970's, is not a task for governments only, for Parliament and Congress only, but for our social

administrators and social workers, for our managements and our trade unions, our students and our children.

We have the privilege of feeling, Mr. President, that the relations between our two countries have never been closer and that that expresses not just the talks that are held from time to time between representatives of government, but between all the contacts that go on between our two countries, contacts—and I would like to say this tonight—that have been so enriched by the work of our respective Ambassadors from our two countries in their relations with each of the governments to which they are accredited.

It has been our privilege to welcome our new Ambassador to the Court of St. James, as you have welcomed Her Majesty's Ambassador here in Washington, and to express jointly our confidence in what each of them are doing. For very many years it has been the position, I think, in Anglo-American relations that when you send us an Ambassador or when we send you one—yes, we send them to represent our own country, to the other—but before very long they are claiming your representative in London and you are claiming our representative in Washington as "our man."

I believe that is true of both of our distinguished colleagues and friends, personal friends, both of them, of mine, who are engaged in this most vital task of representing not two governments to one another, but two peoples.

In that spirit, Mr. President, may I ask all here to join with me in drinking to the health of the President of the United States and Mrs. Nixon.

18 Remarks Announcing Nominees to the Council on Environmental Quality. *January* 29, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

You will recall that the first bill that I signed on January 1, 1970, was the Jackson bill, which set up the Council on Environmental Quality.

Today I am presenting to you the three members of the Council which is set up under that bill: Mr. Russell Train, who is from the District of Columbia; Mr. Robert Cahn, who comes from the State of Washington, but lives in Washington, D.C., at the present time; and Dr. Gordon MacDonald, who is from the State of California, who is an expert, incidentally, on the Santa Barbara oil problem. That is where I first became acquainted with him.

This Council, to give you who are members of the White House press corps an understanding about it, is parallel in responsibility to the Council of Economic Advisers. For example, it will prepare for the President a report that will be made annually, the first one on July 1, on the environment.

The Council will also have responsibility for examining the facts on the environment, for setting up an early warning system with regard to how we can avoid some of the problems which may come back to haunt us, 5, 10, 15, even 20 years from now, and setting up programs for legislation as well as programs for the Federal agencies which may not require legislation, to deal with environmental problems.

I think this is not only an historic occasion, because it happens to be a new organization, but I think it is most appropriate to present the three members of the Council to the members of the press and to the Nation at this time because, as I indicated in my State of the Union Message, a major priority—it could turn out

to be the major domestic priority for the 1970's—will be problems of the environment, in the very broadest sense.

This Council has a broad charter. The members of the Council have my complete confidence, and they will have my support. Of course, the members of the Cabinet and the Cabinet Committee on the Environment—Dr. DuBridge, of course, is here, who has been working with that Committee as the White House representative—we will depend upon the Council for its advice, and we trust that they will give us some of the answers to some of these problems that we have been looking for.

The members of the Council will have their names sent to the Senate today. Senator Jackson has indicated that he believes that Senate confirmation will be much easier than it is when we send down a name for a Justice of the Supreme Court. But at any event, we expect confirmation very soon.

Their offices will be in the White House area, just as is the case of the Council of Economic Advisers, and you will be seeing a lot of them, I trust, during the next few years as members of this Council.

Gentlemen, you can answer any questions you would like.

Mr. Train, we are sorry to lose you at Interior but we are glad to get you here at the White House.

MR. RUSSELL E. TRAIN. Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. You don't mind moving from California?

DR. GORDON J. F. MACDONALD. Yes, I do, but it is a great opportunity.

THE PRESIDENT. He is from the smog-free part—Santa Barbara.

You are already here, anyway.

And incidentally, I asked the three gentlemen, "Now, which one of you shall I call a doctor?" Of course, Dr. MacDonald is from the University of California, at Santa Barbara. Russell Train said, no, don't call him a doctor, although I do think he has an honorary degree, and Mr. Cahn said, "No, I am just a journalist."

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:34 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

19 Statement About the Council on Environmental Quality. *January* 29, 1970

TODAY I am announcing the appointment of Russell E. Train, Robert Cahn, and Gordon J. F. MacDonald as members of the new Council on Environmental Quality which has been established under the provisions of a law which I signed on January 1. Mr. Train, as Chairman of the Council, will be my chief officer in the effort which this administration is making to protect and restore the American environment.

The new Council will have a number of major responsibilities. The most important of these will be:

1. *To study the condition of the Nation's environment.* This responsibility parallels that which the Council of Economic Advisers exercises in the economic area. For more than 20 years, the Council of Economic Advisers has helped us to

understand better the complex forces which govern our economy; the economic decisions of Government have been sounder as a result. The forces which shape the environment are just as subtle and difficult to master as those which shape the economy. This new Environmental Quality Council, drawing on the research facilities of industry, the universities, and the Government, can help us to understand those forces better and direct them toward desirable ends.

2. *To develop new environmental programs and policies.* The new efforts which I will recommend to the Congress in the coming weeks will not be the last such proposals this administration will make. The new Council will monitor the effectiveness of all our programs and will recommend modifications and new approaches as they prove necessary. It will also look into new problems for which little government policy now exists: matters such as noise pollution, the growth of debris and solid wastes, and other unanticipated byproducts of our advancing technology.

3. *To coordinate the wide array of Federal environmental programs.* Literally scores of Federal programs—scattered through many executive departments—touch on environmental concerns. We must be sure that all these programs work in harmony with one another, with as little friction and duplication as possible. The new Council will take on this assignment and will also recommend appropriate organizational changes.

4. *To see that all the activities of the Federal Government take environmental considerations into account.* A wide range of Government activities—large construction projects, for example—can have important environmental effects. The Council will review all such activities and will issue guidelines to ensure that they will be conducted in a way which does not degrade the environment, but instead enhances it.

5. *To assist the President in preparing an annual Environmental Quality Report.* This report, which will assess our major environmental problems and the ways in which we are trying to solve them, will be used both to stimulate public understanding and to guide Government decision-making. The first such report is due on July 1st of this year.

I would note at this point that the present Cabinet-level body which bears the name "Environmental Quality Council" will be renamed the Cabinet Committee on the Environment and will be used as a forum in which the President and appropriate Cabinet officers can discuss environmental issues.

Environmental problems occur today because we were not alert enough, informed enough, or farseeing enough yesterday. The new Council on Environmental Quality will work to remedy these deficiencies and will thus contribute, in a most significant way, to the quality of American life for all of our tomorrows.

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the transcript of a news conference held by Dr. Lee A. DuBridge and the nominees to the new Council. Biographies of the nominees are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 90).

20 The President's News Conference of *January* 30, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Will you be seated, please.

QUESTIONS

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

[1.] Mr. Cornell [Douglas B. Cornell, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, for several days I have been collecting some headlines that sort of point up the question I would like to put to you. I would like to run over some of these headlines with you: "Balance of trade makes slight progress in 1969," "Circus rings up record 1969 profits"—Ringling Brothers, "Big firms, 1969 profits down," "Dow average hits new low for 3 years," "GNP rise halted," "Ford joins GM, Chrysler in work cutbacks," "Wholesale prices show sharp rise," "U.S. Steel will raise sheet prices February 1."

The question is, how, sir, do you assess the possibility that we may be in for perhaps the worst possible sort of economic conditions—inflation and a recession?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Cornell, the major purpose of our economic policy since we came into office a year ago has been to stop the inflation which had been going on for 5 years without doing it so quickly that it brought on a recession. Now, as a result, we are now in a position, the critical position, in which the decisions made in the next month or two will determine whether we win this battle.

In my view, the budget that we will announce on Monday, that I understand has received some attention already—but that budget will be a major blow in stopping the inflation psychology. Now, whether we can anticipate now whether we are going to have a recession, as some of those figures that you gave would imply, I would simply say that I do not expect a recession to occur.

Our policies have been planned to avoid a recession. I do expect that the present rate of inflation, which was less in the second half of 1969 than in the first half, will continue to decline and that we will be able to control inflation without recession.

THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

[2.] Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, how do you view the possibility and size of a new Tet offensive in Vietnam and a hot war in the Middle East in view of the rising violence there?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, with regard to Vietnam, we are watching that situation closely, particularly in view of new inflation figures. The inflation—I mean, we were talking about inflation—I meant infiltration.

The infiltration in Vietnam, and, of course, that means inflation as far as the number of forces of the enemy in South Vietnam is concerned, has gone up in January. However, the number of infiltrators is still not of a size to provide what we believe is the capability the enemy would need to mount and sustain a prolonged offensive beyond that which we are able to contain.

We are continuing to watch the situation, and we will be prepared to deal

with it. I would remind everybody concerned, and particularly remind the enemy, however, of what I said on November 3d, and repeated on December 15th. If, at a time that we are attempting to deescalate the fighting in Vietnam, we find that they take advantage of our troop withdrawals to jeopardize the remainder of our forces by escalating the fighting, then we have the means—and I will be prepared to use those means—strongly to deal with that situation, more strongly than we have dealt with it in the past.

SALE OF ARMS TO THE MIDDLE EAST

[3.] Q. Mr. President, on the Middle East, you recently said we will not hesitate to supply arms to friendly states as the need arises.

Has the sale of 100 jets to Libya by the French caused an imbalance in the Mideast arms situation, enough so that the United States should now expedite the sale of additional jets to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Jarriel [Thomas Jarriel, ABC News], the problem of the sale of arms to Libya has been one that does concern us. As you know, that involves our relations also with the French Government. Now, one encouraging thing that has happened since we came into office is some improvement in our relations with the French.

One of the reasons that those relations have improved—and that improvement began when I visited President de Gaulle last February—is that we have had better consultation and discussion with regard to our differences, and those differences exist primarily in two areas, our policies toward the Mideast and our policies toward NATO.

President Pompidou will be here next month, and I will be discussing a number of problems with him. I would not want to speculate now as to what I will be discussing with him, except to say that all of those differences, naturally, will be on the table.

As far as our own policy toward the Mideast is concerned—a question which was the latter part, incidentally, of Miss Thomas' question—as far as our own policy toward the Mideast is concerned, let me put one thing in context: I have noted several recent stories indicating that the United States one day is pro-Arab and the next day is pro-Israel. We are neither pro-Arab nor pro-Israel. We are pro-peace. We are for security for all the nations in that area. As we look at this situation, we will consider the Israeli arms request based on the threats to them from states in the area and we will honor those requests to the extent that we see—we determine that they need additional arms in order to meet that threat. That decision will be made within the next 30 days.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS IN VIETNAM

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in June, I believe it was, you told us that you hoped to be able to beat former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford's projected timetable for the withdrawal of all ground combat troops, and I want to get this exactly correct, by the end of this year. Your present rate of withdrawal does not seem to be beating that timetable. Could you tell us if you still hope to be able to do that, and, if not, why?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Pierpoint [Robert C. Pierpoint, CBS News], that is our goal. Our goal, of course, is to end the war in Vietnam, preferably by negotiation, as quickly as possible. If not by nego-

tiation, through Vietnamization, in which the South Vietnamese will assume the primary responsibility for their own defense.

We are moving on schedule on Vietnamization. More announcements will be made. I do not want to speculate now as to whether we will beat the requirement that—or at least the proposal that Clark Clifford put out. I do say, however, that that is our goal, and we hope to achieve it.

"JAWBONING" IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, on Mr. Cornell's question of inflation and recession, a former Johnson administration official feels he has figures to prove that jawboning was effective in holding down prices, and he also claims that the rate of inflation was greatest during 1969, your first year, than in any other single year in the decade.

I am wondering if the decisions you say you will be making in the next month or two might include considering jawboning?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the official statement to which you refer, of course, is correct. The rate of inflation in 1969 was greater than in any other year in the decade. But what happens in any particular year is not a result of the policy of that year. It is caused by what was done prior to that time, and for 5 years prior to 1969 this Nation, by going into debt to the tune of $57 billion, planted the inflationary seeds which grew into almost an uncontrollable situation in 1969.

Now starting in 1969, and again in 1970, and again in 1971, we have balanced budgets. That kind of policy we believe will turn it around. It is the best way to turn it around, and the only effective way.

Now, with regard to jawboning, we think that the policy of so-called jawboning failed and was no longer used in 1966 and 1967. It is effective, certainly, when the President of the United States calls in a big steel company or a big automobile company and says, "Lower prices. If you don't, we will do this or that with regard to Government contracts."

But that is effective with regard to that company. It is not effective with regard to the whole problem, and it is basically unfair. We are going to continue on our present course. We believe it is the right course.

VIETNAMIZATION POLICY

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Rogers and Vice President Agnew have both said, with somewhat different emphasis, that the course of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam is irreversible. You have just issued a warning about the level of enemy activity.

Do you mean, sir, that, if there is a rise in the level of enemy activity, that it could cause a halt in the withdrawal program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what Secretary Rogers and the Vice President very properly referred to was my speech on November 3d in which I said we had implemented a plan in which the United States would withdraw all of its combat forces as Vietnamese forces were trained and able to take over the fighting. That policy of Vietnamization is irreversible.

Now, as far as the timing of the plan is concerned, how many, and at what time they come out, that, of course, will depend on the criteria that I also set forth in that speech—the criteria of the level of enemy activity, the progress in the Paris peace

talks, and, of course, the other matters, the problems particularly with regard to the rate of training of the Vietnamese forces.

As far as what I answered in Miss Thomas' question was concerned, I am simply repeating again what I said on November 3d when I announced this policy of withdrawal of our forces.

If the enemy, when we are withdrawing, does then jeopardize our remaining forces by stepping up the fighting, we will react accordingly and we have the means to do so which I will not hesitate to use.

NOMINATION OF JUDGE G. HARROLD CARSWELL

[7.] Q. Mr. President, if you had known about the speech in which he advocated white supremacy, would you have nominated Judge Carswell to the Supreme Court?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would. I am not concerned about what Judge Carswell said 22 years ago when he was a candidate for a State legislature. I am very much concerned about his record of 18 years—as you know, he had 6 years as a U.S. Attorney and 12 years as a Federal District Judge—a record which is impeccable and without a taint of any racism, a record, yes, of strict constructionism as far as the interpretation of the Constitution and the role of the Court, which I think the Court needs, the kind of balance that it needs. Those are the reasons that I nominated Judge Carswell.

I should also point out that, looking at a man's record over the past, any individual may find instances where he has made statements in which his position has changed. I was reading for example, referring to the press corps here, a very interesting biography of Ralph McGill [1] the other day. In 1940 he wrote a column in which he came out unalterably against integration of education of Southern schools.

He changed his mind later. As you know, he was a very great advocate of integration. That doesn't mean that you question his integrity in his late years because in his early years in the South he took the position that other Southerners were taking.

I believe that Judge Carswell will be approved by the Senate overwhelmingly. I think he will make a fine judge. And I think that he will certainly, in this whole field of civil rights, interpret the Constitution and follow the law of the land in a fair and equitable way.

BLACK PEOPLE AND THE ADMINISTRATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, how do you feel you stand, now that you have been in office a year, in terms of having the confidence and trust of the black people in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been concerned, Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News], about polls and statements by some black leaders, and some white leaders who purport to speak for black people, to the effect that while the administration seems to be doing rather well among most of the American people, that we do not have the confidence that we should have among black people.

Let me, however, respond to what I intend to do about that in this way: I

[1] Editor and publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, who died on February 4, 1969.

think the problem we confronted when we came in was a performance gap with regard to black people in America—big promises and little action and, as a result, immense frustration which flared into violence.

Now I know all the words. I know all the gimmicks and the phrases that would win the applause of black audiences and professional civil rights leaders. I am not going to use them. I am interested in deeds. I am interested in closing the performance gap. And if we can get our welfare reform, if we can stop the rise of crime which terrorizes those who live in our central cities, if we can move on the programs that I mentioned with regard to rural America where 52 percent of the black people live, if we can provide the job opportunity and the opportunity for business enterprise for black people and other minority groups that this administration stands for, then when I finish office I would rather be measured by my deeds than all the fancy speeches I may have made. And I think then that black people may approve what we did. I don't think I am going to win them with the words.

JUDGE CARSWELL

[9.] Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, United Press International].

Q. Could you tell us, going back to the Carswell matter, whether or not the two controversial issues raised in the hearings were brought to your attention before you submitted the nomination, during the screening process?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they were not. The two controversial issues—I assume you meant the speech that Judge Carswell made when he was a candidate for office and the fact that he had belonged to a restricted golf club—yes. I can only say with regard to the restricted golf club that—I did not know, of course, about the speech—as far as the restricted golf club is concerned, if everybody in Washington in Government service who has belonged or does belong to a restricted golf club were to leave Government service, this would have the highest rate of unemployment of any city in the country.

And as far as Judge Carswell is concerned, I think that he has testified very openly about his membership in the club, and the members of the Senate committee overwhelmingly have considered those matters and have decided that he is not a racist and that he will be a fair and, it seems to me, a very competent judge of the Supreme Court.

EXPANSION OF THE ABM SYSTEM

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I wanted to know if you have decided whether you are going to recommend an expansion of the ABM system?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it was approximately a year ago, not quite a year ago, in a press conference in this room, that I announced we were going to go forward with an ABM system with two purposes in mind:

First, a purpose of defending our Minutemen sites against any major nuclear power, and, second, an area defense to cover the possibility of attack by any minor nuclear power.

As far as that decision was made then, I said then that I would reexamine it annually. I have reexamined it in a meeting of the National Security Council last week. I have decided to go forward with both the first phase and the second phase of the ABM system, and Secretary

Laird will announce the details of the program in about 30 days.

RELIEF EFFORTS IN NIGERIA

[11.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with Biafran relief, some people seem to think that the United States should put more pressure on the Nigerian central government in order to speed up the relief operations.

Are you satisfied with the efforts the United States has made and with the pace of the relief effort?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star], we have done everything that we think it is proper to do to bring to the attention of the Nigerian Government the concerns that we have and the reports that we have received that they may not have received with regard to starvation in Biafra. We all have to understand, of course, that no relief can get into Biafra unless we do it through the Nigerian Government. And that is why we have brought these matters to the attention of the Nigerian Government.

I would add one further thing, that there are two questions here that sometimes become confused on Biafra. There is first the question of politics and second the question of people. The question of politics involves who is to blame for the starvation. Is it the defunct government of Biafra who is to blame or is the Nigerian Government to blame?

We're not interested in the politics. We are interested in the people. If there are starving people, and there have been reports that there are numbers of starving people, perhaps hundreds of thousands, then it is our desire to get food to them. We have made considerable progress in getting the Nigerian Government to accept our offer of trucks, hospitals, food, and we are going to continue to press in the interest of helping hungry people and not involving ourselves in the politics of who was responsible for the starvation where it exists.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Le Duc Tho, one of Hanoi's chief negotiators, has arrived in Paris. I wondered, sir, if you plan to take advantage of his stay there either to make new proposals yourself or to try in more detail to get North Vietnam's position?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, Le Duc Tho, at least according to press reports, has arrived in Paris to attend a Communist Party meeting that is being held there. Now, whether he will now participate in the negotiations again or whether we could have an opportunity to have discussions with him remains to be seen. I can only say that we have a very competent Ambassador there in Mr. Habib. He has instructions to explore every possible avenue for a breakthrough in the negotiations, and if an opportunity is presented, he will do so.

THE ABM AND AREA DEFENSE

[13.] Q. Sir, in connection with the ABM, there have been suggestions that expanding the ABM from a protective system for Minutemen into an area defense of cities might raise problems in connection with the negotiations on arms control.

Without going into too much detail, can you tell us whether your decision to proceed with the second phase involves area

defense or simply an additional defense of Minutemen like the first phase?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Star and Tribune], our decision involves area defense. The Minuteman defense is only effective insofar as an attack by a major power, taking out our retaliatory capacity.

The area defense, on the other hand, is absolutely essential as against any minor power, a power, for example, like Communist China. I don't anticipate an attack by Communist China, but if such a power had some capability with ICBM's to reach the United States, an area defense, according to the information we have received, is virtually infallible against that kind of potential attack, and, therefore, gives the United States a credible foreign policy in the Pacific area which it otherwise would not have.

FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

[14.] Q. Mr. President, would you tell us what you had in mind a few moments ago when you said that the decisions to be made in the next month or two would determine whether we have inflation or how we go on the road toward greater economic stability?

THE PRESIDENT. I think first we must put this in the context of the action of the Congress just a couple of days ago on the HEW veto.

I think the significance of that action—and I am not here to gloat over it because what we have to do now is to work together toward getting the right kind of bill that will be noninflationary—but the significance of that action, and it is a signal to the country, is that we are not going to have a runaway Congress and, therefore, not going to have a runaway budget and a runaway inflation.

Now, with this administration submitting a hard budget, not a bargain basement budget—I could have, by a little gimmickry, gotten this down to $199.8 rather than having it $200.7. But $200.8, which is the figure that we finally agreed upon, is a hard figure. It is an honest budget, we can keep it, and we have a surplus which is a real surplus.

Having made those decisions, this means that the Federal Reserve can now consider the fact that we do have fiscal restraint in determining whether or not this is the time to loosen up on monetary policy.

Now, let me be quite precise in this respect. The Federal Reserve is independent and the new Chairman, who will be sworn in here tomorrow, is one of the most independent men that I know.

As President of the United States, I am not saying what the Federal Reserve ought to do; I do know, though, that if monetary policy remains too restricted too long, we have a recession, and monetary policy will remain restricted unless the Federal Reserve and those who are in charge of monetary policy are convinced that fiscal policy is responsible. Fiscal policy is responsible, and as a result of that I think the time is coming when monetary policy can be relaxed and that would lead to what I mentioned a moment ago.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

[15.] Q. In a news conference early in your administration, you noted that the North Vietnamese would not negotiate in earnest unless the country supported and was behind your Vietnam position.

Now that there has been a virtual moratorium on criticism, do you feel that the

chances are improved for a settlement in Paris or for a breakthrough, and do you feel this is having any effect on the North Vietnamese?

THE PRESIDENT. We have had no evidence of any effect yet on the North Vietnamese. They are just as recalcitrant in their position as they have been and just as stubborn. On the other hand, we haven't given up hope. We continue to meet with them each week. We continue to be as forthcoming as we can.

I would say that the fact that we have had more support, and I should say perhaps more understanding of our policy and, therefore, more support for it than previously, should be an incentive for the North Vietnamese to negotiate, because that is a message to them that they aren't going to win—they have nothing to gain by delay. They are not going to win their ends by a division in the United States.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN LAOS

[16.] Q. Senator Mansfield has asked for details of the military involvement of the United States in Laos. So far the administration has said nothing beyond your recent statement that we have no combat troops there.

Just how deep is this country's involvement in Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. I answered that same question in my press conference approximately a month ago in this room and I will not go beyond that answer at this point, except to say that the North Vietnamese have 50,000 troops in Laos and thereby threaten the survival of Laos.

Our activities there are solely for the purpose of seeing that the Laotian Government—which was set up by the Laotian accords, and at their request—for the purpose of seeing that they are not overwhelmed by the North Vietnamese and other Communist forces.

AMERICAN FORCES IN VIETNAM

[17.] Mr. Roberts [Chalmers M. Roberts, Washington Post].

Q. Mr. President, to go back to Vietnam a moment, assuming the best on the military front and that you can continue to take troops out, the text of the remarks of the Air Force Secretary the other day about turning over gradually the air jobs to the Vietnamese made it sound as though at least air units and presumably combat units which are tactical are going to have to remain in Vietnam for many, many years.

Could you give us your feeling about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Roberts, first, how long any units remain in Vietnam will depend upon whether we have a breakthrough in negotiations.

Assuming—and I assume this is the basis for your question—there is no breakthrough in negotiations, then we still stand on what I announced on November 3d, that our plan envisages the complete withdrawal of all American combat forces. But it does also envisage support for the South Vietnamese logistically and, until they are ready to take over, support in the sea and support in the air, where you have highly sophisticated training programs involved, will stay there for a longer time than support in terms of ground forces. I think I will just stand on that statement.

ABM SYSTEM AND PACIFIC DEFENSE

[18.] Q. Mr. President, you said a minute ago that your expansion of the ABM

system will provide a credible defense in the Pacific. Do you mean in part by that that it will expand your options in the war in Vietnam and the war in Laos in the event of unanticipated difficulties?

THE PRESIDENT. No, what I was referring to was the time span of perhaps 10 years from now, and we must do now those things that we may be confronted with 10 years from now, to deal with those things.

Ten years from now the Communist Chinese, for example, among others, may have a significant nuclear capability. They will not be a major nuclear power, but they will have a significant nuclear capability. By that time the war in Vietnam will be over. By that time, I would trust, also, the Laotian war may be resolved.

But, on the other hand, with a significant nuclear capability, assuming that we have not made a breakthrough—and we are going to try to make the breakthrough in some normalization of our relationships with Communist China—then it will be very important for the United States to have some kind of defense so that nuclear blackmail could not be used against the United States or against those nations like the Philippines with which the United States is allied in the Pacific, not to mention Japan.

Helen Thomas, United Press International: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President's ninth news conference was held in the East Room at the White House at 6:30 p.m. on Friday, January 30, 1970. It was broadcast live on radio and television.

21 Remarks at the Swearing In of Dr. Arthur F. Burns as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. *January* 31, 1970

DR. BURNS, I want to bring you with me more often. I never heard so much applause in this room for some time.

This is an historic occasion and if you will permit a personal reference, I would like to relate my own life to the situation which we presently will be commemorating in swearing in Dr. Burns as the new Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

I was born in the year 1913; the Federal Reserve Board was born in the year 1913. And from 1913 until the present time we have had a total of 10 Presidents of the United States. From 1913 until the present time we have had nine men who have served as head of the Federal Reserve Board. I say "as head of" it because seven of those nine were simply the top Governor among equals—or six—and three of them will have been Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

So, today Arthur Burns' appointment as Chairman of the Federal Reserve evens it up. We will have had as many Chairmen of the Federal Reserve as we will have had Presidents over this period of time of 57 years.

He is an economist and this is really a very happy day for what Carlyle called the gloomy science, to have Arthur Burns elevated to this very high post as head of the Federal Reserve.

I was thinking of what the future might hold for him, and I recall that just a few days ago our guest in this house was the Prime Minister of Great Britain. He also

was an economist. He is now the head of his government. I don't know whether the country could afford an economist as President or not, but at least if the Dow-Jones goes up maybe, Arthur, you can look toward 1976.

Now, a word, if I could, about the position that he presently assumes. The Federal Reserve Board is known to all the sophisticates in this room for the enormous impact it has on the economy of this country. It is not known generally to the public because its activities are in areas which are not susceptible even to understanding by a Cabinet, let alone the general public.

For example, at the present time we are confronted with the problem of inflation, and the Federal Reserve Board plays a very great role in determining whether that inflation will be checked and how it will be checked. And I think, perhaps, it could be said that it requires a very wise man to be Chairman of the Federal Reserve or to be a member of the Board, with all of that responsibility.

I think Arthur Burns would put it this way: that it is a great hardship on some people to do those things that control inflation, but it is a greater hardship on all people to allow inflation to go on.

Now, of course I am not suggesting by that that the Federal Reserve Board should stop inflation at the cost of recession. That is where the wisdom comes in. I am suggesting only that I am glad we have in Arthur Burns a man who has demonstrated through the years I have known him to be a very wise man and also something else, and I say this in a personal sense and all of you who know him would agree: This man who has such a brilliant academic background, who shows such wisdom and understanding in the discussion of great issues, is a man of very great heart and because I think that in this position, this position that deals with money, those impersonal factors, economic factors, that have such an enormous effect on people throughout the country, that having a man who knows all about the money, but also has great heart, that he is the right man in the right job at the right time.

We are very happy to have him and we are also very happy to have you, Mr. Justice Brennan, one of Arthur Burns' old and dear friends, to conduct the swearing-in ceremony.

[At this point, Associate Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

You see, Dr. Burns, that is a standing vote of appreciation in advance for lower interest rates and more money.

Ladies and gentlemen, as all of you know, the Federal Reserve is independent, certainly independent of the President, although the Congress would suggest that it is not independent of the Congress.

I respect that independence. On the other hand, I do have the opportunity as President to convey my views to the Chairman of the Federal Reserve in meetings with the Quadriad,[1] along with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

I have some very strong views on some of these economic matters and I can assure you that I will convey them privately and strongly to Dr. Burns in the meetings of the Quadriad. I respect his independ-

[1] An informal group comprised of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, who meet periodically with the President to discuss economic policy.

ence. However, I hope that independently he will conclude that my views are the ones that should be followed.

[At this point Dr. Burns addressed the group. His remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 98). The President then resumed speaking.]

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we would like to invite you all to congratulate the new Chairman in the State Dining Room. I understand they have something to drink there—coffee. We are trying to help the balance of payments for Brazil, I think.

But in any event, I am very sorry that Mrs. Nixon could not be here today, but our daughter Tricia, as you may have read, because these things do get out where the First Family is concerned, has been ill. She had the flu first and yesterday she contracted the measles. Having gone through that agony myself when I was 40 years of age, I called her on the phone last night. She is in Florida. I told her that she is going to feel terrible for 3 days, but after she got over it, that she would feel much better because you never appreciate how nice it is not to have the measles until you have had the measles.

Thank you very much. And we hope you enjoy meeting Arthur Burns and the coffee.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

22 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1971. *February* 2, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I have pledged to the American people that I would submit a balanced budget for 1971. This is particularly necessary because the cost of living has been rising rapidly for the past five years.

The budget I send to you today—the first for which I bear full responsibility as President—fulfills that pledge.

Outlays are estimated at $200.8 billion, with receipts at $202.1 billion, yielding a surplus of $1.3 billion.

This anti-inflationary budget begins the necessary process of reordering our national priorities. For the first time in two full decades, the Federal Government will spend more money on human resource programs than on national defense.

A budget must be a blueprint for the future. In the 1971 budget, I seek not only to address today's needs, but also to anticipate tomorrow's challenges. Only with a plan that looks to the years ahead can we gain control over the long-range use of our resources, and mark a clear course for meeting national goals. Most worthwhile objectives are costly. Therefore, we must pursue our purposes in an orderly fashion, measuring our efforts to accord with the budget resources likely to be available.

A balanced plan for resource allocation does not require Federal domination. On the contrary, by placing greater reliance on private initiative and State and local governments, we can more effec-

tively mobilize our total resources to achieve national purposes over the long run.

This comprehensive perspective was instrumental in shaping the 1971 budget.

THE BUDGET AT A GLANCE

[In billions]

Item	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*
Receipts	$187.8	$199.4	$202.1
Outlays	184.6	197.9	200.8
Surplus	3.2	1.5	1.3

With this budget we will move ahead to:

- Meet our *international responsibilities* by seeking an honorable peace in Vietnam, by maintaining sufficient military power to deter potential aggressors, by exploring with the Soviet Union possible limitations on strategic arms, and by encouraging multilateral aid, expanded trade, and a greater measure of economic self-help for developing nations of the world.
- Help restore *economic stability* by holding down spending in order to provide another budget surplus and to relieve pressure on prices—and to achieve that surplus without income or excise tax increases.
- Launch a major effort to improve *environmental quality* by attacking air and water pollution, by providing more recreation opportunities, and by developing a better understanding of our environment and man's impact upon it.
- Inaugurate the *Family Assistance Program,* fundamentally reforming outmoded welfare programs, by encouraging family stability and providing incentives for work and training.
- Provide major advances in our programs to *reduce crime.*
- Foster *basic reforms* in Government programs and processes by making entire program systems operate more effectively, and by encouraging responsible decentralization of decision-making.

The proposals in this budget are important steps toward these goals. Even so, taking these steps requires difficult choices.

The need to choose among alternative uses of our resources is a basic fact of budgetary life. In the past few years, too many hard choices were avoided. Inflation was permitted to steal purchasing power from us all, and to work particular hardship on the poor and the millions of Americans who live on fixed incomes, as well as on the housing industry, small businesses, and State and local governments.

Indeed, the willingness to make hard choices is the driving force behind my 1971 budget proposals.

Overview of the 1971 Budget

All Government spending flows from budget authority that is enacted by the Congress. Budget authority for 1971 is estimated at $218.0 billion. Of the total, $148.1 billion will require current action by the Congress, with the balance becoming available automatically as the result of past congressional actions.

Budget outlays for 1971 will be held to $200.8 billion, which is only $2.9 billion more than in 1970. The 1971 total consists of $200.1 billion in expenditures and $0.7 billion for net lending.

SUMMARY OF THE BUDGET AND FINANCIAL PLAN

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*
Budget authority (largely appropriations):			
Previously enacted	$133.2	$133.9	.....
Proposed for current action by Congress	.....	5.1	$148.1
Becoming available without current action by Congress	75.9	84.0	86.7
Deductions for offsetting receipts	−12.9	−13.9	−16.8
Total budget authority	196.2	209.1	218.0
Receipts, expenditures, and net lending:			
Expenditure account:			
Receipts	187.8	199.4	202.1
Expenditures (excluding net lending)	183.1	195.0	200.1
Expenditure account surplus	4.7	4.4	2.0
Loan account:			
Loan disbursements	13.1	9.5	8.6
Loan repayments	11.6	6.6	7.9
Net lending	1.5	2.9	0.7
Total budget:			
Receipts	187.8	199.4	202.1
Outlays (expenditures and net lending)	184.6	197.9	200.8
Budget surplus	3.2	1.5	1.3
Budget financing:			
Net repayment of borrowing to the public	−1.0	−2.6	−1.2
Other means of financing	−2.2	1.1	−0.1
Total budget financing	−3.2	−1.5	−1.3
	1968 actual		
Outstanding debt, end of year:			
Gross Federal debt	$369.8	367.1	374.7	382.5
Debt held by the public	290.6	279.5	278.5	277.3
Outstanding Federal and federally assisted credit, end of year:				
Direct loans [1]	55.3	46.9	52.2	53.8
Guaranteed and insured loans [2]	97.6	105.1	107.6	119.9
Direct loans by Government-sponsored agencies	10.9	27.2	38.5	46.6

[1] Including loans in expenditure account.

[2] Excluding loans held by Government or Government-sponsored agencies.

Revenues are estimated to be $202.1 billion in 1971, exceeding 1970 levels by only $2.7 billion. The small size of the increase reflects the termination of the income tax surcharge and the provisions of the recently enacted Tax Reform Act of 1969.

The surplus for 1971, an estimated $1.3 billion, is essential both to stem persistent inflationary pressures and to relieve hard-pressed financial markets.

Budget surpluses enable us to keep Federal *debt held by the public* from rising. This measure of debt will decline slightly from $279.5 billion at the end of fiscal year 1969 to $278.5 billion at the end of 1970, and drop still further to an estimated $277.3 billion by the end of 1971.

Federal civilian *employment*—as measured by those in full-time, permanent positions—will decline for the second consecutive year. This decline reflects the tight rein I am holding on employment, despite sharp increases in workload. Within this reduced total, selective increases will be permitted to meet such high priority needs as: more effective law enforcement, improvement of the quality of our environment, expansion of airway capacity, medical care of veterans, and payment of social security benefits.

Fiscal Highlights

The 1971 budget was framed in a period of persistent price rises and is designed to help curb the inflation that has gripped our economy too long.

Economic setting.—In the years preceding my inauguration, total demands on our productive capacity increased too rapidly to maintain price stability, largely because of Federal deficits. Government spending rose by more than 50% from 1964 to 1968, fanning the flames of inflation with a 4-year deficit of $39 billion. As a result, increases in consumer prices accelerated during this period, with a rise of almost 6% during the past year.

When I took office last January, the only responsible course was to design a policy that would curb the rising cost of living while avoiding recession and an excessive increase in unemployment.

In our first six months in office, we revised the 1970 budget inherited from the previous Administration to reduce defense expenditures by $4.1 billion, and controllable civilian programs by $3.4 billion more.

We also recommended needed additional revenues, including:

- Continuation of the income tax surcharge at 10% until December 31, 1969, and at 5% until June 30, 1970—yielding $7.6 billion in revenues; and
- Repeal of the investment tax credit and extension of selected excise taxes and user charges, for an additional $2.4 billion.

Responding to inflation, interest rates rose sharply. The restrictive monetary policy of the Federal Reserve System limited the flow of money and credit and created further upward pressure on rates.

Monetary and fiscal policies succeeded in moderating economic expansion as we progressed through calendar year 1969, bringing some reduction of corporate profits and the first signs of a slowing in the rate of price increases. We know from past experience that prices react slowly to changes in economic activity. Thus, it

is not surprising that it is taking time to translate anti-inflationary actions into price relief.

To contain inflation, we must maintain a policy of fiscal restraint in the current fiscal year and continue it in 1971.

For 1971, total outlays can be held to an estimated $200.8 billion only if marginal programs are reduced or eliminated, and some desirable new programs postponed.

Demanding and unpopular actions are essential to a responsible fiscal policy in today's economic setting. They must be taken to:

- Reduce inflationary pressures and expectations; and
- Relieve the pressure in financial markets.

Only in this way can we hope to:

- Improve our balance of international payments position; and
- Achieve a rate of economic growth that is compatible with our longer range objective of high employment with price stability.

REVENUES AND TAX POLICY.—Total receipts are estimated at $202.1 billion for 1971.

The small increase, only $2.7 billion above 1970, reflects offsetting forces. Aside from the income tax surcharge, receipts would have risen $9.7 billion under tax rates in effect through December 1969. This amount includes $1.2 billion from planned administrative steps to speed up the collection of excise taxes and income taxes withheld by employers. Another $1.6 billion results from the proposed revenue recommendations discussed in Part 3 of the budget.

On the other hand, total receipts will be sharply reduced by the expiration of the income tax surcharge on June 30, 1970, and by various tax reductions included in the Tax Reform Act of 1969—reductions that will depress revenues $2.9 billion below my tax proposals in April.

The recently enacted *Tax Reform Act* meets some—but not all—of the objectives sought by the Administration. It provides:

- A low-income allowance that removes the burden of paying Federal income taxes now borne by more than 6 million people with incomes below the poverty level, and reduces the tax burden of an additional 8 million people with incomes only

BUDGET RECEIPTS

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Source	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*
Individual income taxes	$87.2	$92.2	$91.0
Corporation income taxes	36.7	37.0	35.0
Social insurance taxes and contributions	39.9	44.8	49.1
Excise taxes	15.2	15.9	17.5
All other receipts	8.7	9.4	9.5
Total budget receipts	187.8	199.4	202.1
Under existing law	187.8	199.4	200.5
Under proposed legislation	----	(*)	1.6

* Less than $50 million.

slightly above the poverty level;

- A minimum tax on income, which insures that taxpayers heretofore using certain preferences in the law to eliminate their tax liabilities will bear some tax burden; and
- An increase in the personal exemption from $600 to $650, effective July 1, 1970 (eventually rising to $750), and also an increase in the standard deduction.

I urge the Congress to enact the following revenue proposals:

- Additional user charges in the field of transportation, so that those who benefit directly will pay a fairer share of the costs involved (as I proposed last year);
- An increase in the maximum taxable wage base for social security from the present $7,800 to $9,000; and
- Extension of the excise taxes on automobiles and telephone services at their present rates through December 31, 1971.

CONTROLLING GOVERNMENT SPENDING.—The Federal budget must meet the objectives of many individual programs at the same time that the expenditure total must conform to the resources available.

Current fiscal year.—The Congress set a spending ceiling for the Executive Branch for 1970, with provisions allowing the ceiling to be changed by congressional actions that relate to the budget.

The original ceiling set in the law was $191.9 billion. The Congress recognized, however, that a substantial part of Federal spending in any one year is determined by prior legal obligations and is, therefore, beyond the immediate control of the Executive Branch. For this reason, the law provides that the overall ceiling can be raised by up to $2.0 billion to take account of increases above the estimates of selected *uncontrollable* expenditures such as social security and interest on the public debt. Actions of the Congress already taken or projected in this budget are expected to add another $1.8 billion to the ceiling, thus raising the overall ceiling to $195.7 billion. (A more detailed analysis of the factors affecting the budget ceiling is found in Part 2.)

I support the intent of the Congress to maintain firm control of Federal spending. But the $2.0 billion allowance for increases in uncontrollable spending now appears completely unrealistic. Spending for these uncontrollable programs is now expected to be $4.3 billion higher in 1970 than estimated last April. *This is $2.3 billion above the amount allowed for this contingency by the Congress.*

On the other hand, we have held *controllable* spending firmly within the limits set by the Congress. Nonetheless, total 1970 spending is now estimated at $197.9 billion, which is $2.2 billion above the legal ceiling. The excess results entirely from the $2.3 billion increase in outlays for the designated uncontrollable programs. There is a margin of only $0.1 billion under the ceiling on all other spending.

I believe that an overall spending target provides a useful discipline to guide individual actions by the Congress and the Executive Branch. However, an outlay ceiling should include adequate provision for spending on uncontrollable programs.

I recommend, therefore, that the 1970 ceiling be amended in two ways. First, the fixed allowance for uncontrollable outlays should be removed for those outlays that the Congress has already placed beyond the Executive's control. Second, the ceiling itself should be amended so

that the extremely slim margin between the revised ceiling and the current estimate of total outlays is sufficient to permit prudent management of the Government without forcing crippling cuts in vital programs during the few remaining months of this fiscal year. I further suggest that the Congress reconsider the real utility of having a flexible ceiling apply to the Congress while a rigid ceiling is applied to the Executive Branch.

The dedication of this Administration to expenditure control has been demonstrated by the $7.5 billion of reductions we have already made this year. We will continue our vigorous efforts to contain Federal spending. With the cooperation of the Congress, we are determined to hold total spending for 1970 to the revised target of $197.9 billion.

I also recommend that congressional attempts to control outlays in the future focus on the earliest stages of Government spending—authorization of programs and enactment of budget authority.

Based on our experience this past year, I believe that Congress can improve its contribution to better budgeting of national resources by taking steps to:

- Make individual appropriations and other legislative actions consistent with its wishes on overall budget totals;
- Provide a closer link between legislative consideration of receipts and outlays; and
- Enact appropriations before the fiscal year begins, phasing the authorization and appropriation processes in a more orderly way. Many of the appropriations for the fiscal year that began last July were not enacted until December. Two appropriation bills—totaling $22 billion—were not enacted when Congress adjourned in December. The Executive Branch will speed its processes wherever feasible to help make more timely action possible.

It is many years, indeed a generation, since the Congress was able to finish its work in a session lasting 3 to 4 months. The Congress now works the year round. All too often, major appropriation bills are not acted upon until the final weeks of the session, perhaps as long as half a year after the beginning of the fiscal year. Obviously, this causes inefficiency and uncertainty within the executive departments and throughout the country. To bring the appropriation and the administrative cycles back into harmony, suggestions have been made to change the fiscal year to correspond to the legislative year, perhaps with new appropriations scheduled to begin January 1 rather than July 1. However, even if this change were deemed desirable, by itself it would not achieve the desired result. The Congress would also have to revise or speed its authorizing actions, which, by the Congress' own rules, must precede appropriations. I urge Congress to consider this question.

Budget year.—Outlays for 1971 will reach approximately $200.8 billion, only $2.9 billion, or 1.5% more than in 1970.

This is substantially less than the 6% increase in the consumer price index during the past calendar year.

The rise in total outlays in 1971 is also *substantially less* than the increase in outlays that are virtually mandatory under present laws. For example, social insurance trust fund outlays (including Medicare) and public assistance grants (including Medicaid) alone are estimated to increase in 1971 by $6.8 billion.

Aside from these outlays, I have re-

duced the total of other Federal spending below its 1970 level.

New pay raises for Federal civilian and military employees are budgeted for $175 million in 1970 and $1.4 billion in 1971. These increases reflect (1) the pay adjustments accompanying postal reform, (2) the principle of pay comparability of civilian jobs with similar jobs in private industry, and (3) the legal requirement that military salaries be increased in pace with the compensation of Federal civilian employees. The annual survey of the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that a civilian pay raise averaging 5.75% would be consistent with the present legal comparability principle. Because the need to control and contain the inflationary spiral is of paramount importance at this time, however, I recommend that the comparability pay raises (which require congressional action) be deferred six months beyond the recent pattern, and be made effective January 1971.

The 1971 budget shows a significantly different set of priorities from those contained in the budget presented by the previous Administration a year ago. Although 1971 outlays are $5.5 billion higher than the total originally proposed a year ago for 1970, outlays for national defense and space activities have been reduced by $10.8 billion. The current estimate of 1970 spending for defense and space is $4.4 billion less than that recommended last year by the outgoing Administration, and a further reduction of $6.3 billion is proposed for 1971.

A substantial increase in postal revenues is necessary in order to avoid an excessive postal deficit, which would otherwise consume a large part of the resources made available by the difficult cuts we are making in other programs. Enactment of the pending bill to raise postal rates, in addition to other measures currently under study, will cause net outlays for the Post Office to decline by an estimated $866 million from 1970.

The reductions I am proposing make it possible to provide funds for some of our most urgent domestic needs. This is appropriate policy. Burdened by overcommitments of the past, we must pursue our goals prudently. My budget for 1971 includes *increases* of:

- $500 million for starting the *Family Assistance Program,* to replace an unworkable and often inequitable system with one that encourages family stability, provides incentives for work and training, and offers expanded opportunities for day care.
- $275 million for the first quarterly payment under my proposed *revenue-sharing* plan, to go into effect before the end of 1971.
- $310 million for improved *crime reduction* efforts.
- $330 million for air and water pollution control, and for additional parks and open spaces, as integral parts of our efforts to enhance *environmental quality.*
- $764 million for *food assistance* programs, to help eliminate malnutrition and hunger.
- $468 million for *transportation* facilities and services, important ingredients in continued economic growth and job development.
- $352 million for *manpower training,* to help more of our people to become productive and self-supporting.

BUDGET AUTHORITY.—Budget authority—generally in the form of appropriations—must be provided by the Congress before Federal agencies can commit the

SELECTED BUDGET OUTLAYS

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Description	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*	*Change, 1970–1971*
Social insurance trust funds	$39,849	$45,681	$51,667	+$5,986
Public assistance (including Medicaid)	6,281	7,479	8,277	+798
Civilian and military pay increases	.....	[1] 175	[1] 1,400	+1,225
Subtotal	46,130	53,335	61,344	+8,009
National defense	81,240	79,432	73,583	−5,848
Space	4,247	3,886	3,400	−486
Post Office	920	1,247	382	−866
Family Assistance Program	.....	.....	500	+500
Control of air and water pollution, and increased parks and open spaces	644	785	1,115	+330
Crime reduction	658	947	1,257	+310
Revenue sharing	.....	.....	275	+275
Food assistance	1,192	1,514	2,278	+764
Transportation	6,319	7,019	7,487	+468
Manpower training	1,193	1,368	1,720	+352

[1] Includes the projected costs of certain pay adjustments in the Postal Field Service related to postal reform.

Government to spend or lend funds.

I am recommending a total of $218.0 billion of budget authority for fiscal year 1971. This includes $216.8 billion of new obligational authority and $1.3 billion of lending authority.

Not all budget authority requires current congressional action. For example, existing laws provide that the receipts of social insurance trust funds be automatically appropriated as budget authority each year. Similarly, whatever is needed for interest on the public debt is automatically provided under a permanent appropriation. For activities of this nature, $86.7 billion of budget authority for 1971 will become available automatically.

The remaining $148.1 billion is proposed for consideration during this session of Congress. The outlays associated with budget authority requiring current congressional action are estimated to be $93.5 billion in 1971.

FEDERAL DEBT.—This budget provides for a reduction of *Federal debt held by the public* of $1.2 billion from the level on June 30, 1970, and $2.2 billion lower than on June 30, 1969. These repayments of debt out of budget surpluses will afford some modest relief to financial markets to help meet heavy demands for housing and State and local government financing.

At the same time, federally assisted financing outside the budget—both guaranteed and insured loans and loans of Government-sponsored agencies—will be substantially higher both in 1970 and in 1971. This expansion in federally assisted credit programs helps to cushion the impact of tight money on housing.

Gross Federal debt differs from debt held by the public in that the former also

BUDGET AUTHORITY

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*
Available through current action by the Congress:			
Previously enacted	$133.2	$133.9	.....
Proposed in this budget	.....	.....	$136.8
To be requested separately:			
For supplemental requirements under present law	.....	4.4	0.3
Upon enactment of proposed legislation	.....	—*	8.2
Allowances:			
Revenue sharing	.....	.....	0.3
Civilian and military pay increases [1]	.....	0.2	1.4
Contingencies	.....	0.5	1.2
Subtotal, available through current action by the Congress	133.2	138.9	148.1
Available without current action by the Congress (permanent authorizations):			
Trust funds (existing law)	53.1	60.6	64.5
Interest on the public debt	16.6	18.8	19.0
Other	6.2	4.6	3.2
Deductions for offsetting receipts	—12.9	—13.9	—16.8
Total budget authority	196.2	209.1	218.0

* Less than $50 million.

[1] Includes the cost of certain pay adjustments in the Postal Field Service related to postal reform.

FEDERAL DEBT AND BUDGET FINANCING

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	*1969 actual*	*1970 estimate*	*1971 estimate*
Federal debt held by the public (at end of fiscal year)	$279.5	$278.5	$277.3
Plus: Debt held by Federal agencies and trust funds	87.7	96.3	105.2
Equals: Gross Federal debt	367.1	374.7	382.5
Consisting of:			
Treasury debt [1]	352.9	362.1	370.3
Other agency debt	14.2	12.6	12.2
Budget financing:			
Net repayment of borrowing (—)	—1.0	—2.6	—1.2
Other means of financing	—2.2	1.1	—0.1
Total budget financing	—3.2	—1.5	—1.3
Total budget surplus	3.2	1.5	1.3

[1] Excludes notes issued to the International Monetary Fund:

includes debt held within the Government, such as the investments of the social security trust funds in special Treasury issues. Gross Federal debt will continue to rise, from $367.1 billion on June 30, 1969, to an estimated $382.5 billion on June 30, 1971. The increase is more than accounted for by investments by trust funds and other Government agencies of their surplus receipts. In 1971, the surplus in the trust funds will be an estimated $8.7 billion, compared with $8.6 billion in 1970.

The *statutory debt limit* covers almost all of the gross Federal debt, but it excludes most borrowing by Federal agencies other than the Treasury. The present temporary debt limit of $377 billion will expire on June 30, 1970, and the statutory maximum will then revert to the permanent level of $365 billion.

An increase in the statutory limit will be necessary even though the past two budgets and the one proposed for 1971 all show surpluses of receipts over outlays. These surpluses reflect the rise in accumulated balances of trust funds that are invested in Treasury issues—thus increasing the amount of debt subject to the statutory limitation. I will recommend appropriate increases in the statutory limit prior to the end of the fiscal year.

A Strategy for the Seventies

I am pleased to present a budget that demonstrates a shift in priorities; we now begin to turn in new directions.

Changing priorities.—About 41% of estimated outlays in the 1971 budget will be devoted to human resources—spending for education and manpower, health, income security, and veterans benefits and services. Spending for national defense, despite continued improvements in our military forces, will claim a smaller percentage of the budget than in any year since 1950. Although still comparatively small, other major programs of this Administration—pollution control, crime reduction, transportation, and housing—are planned to grow substantially in the years ahead.

Reducing outmoded or uneconomic programs.—I believe strongly that the Federal budget process can no longer confine itself to marginal increases or decreases. Much of the budget is the outcome of program decisions made in years past, or even decades ago. Today, more than two-thirds of Federal outlays are relatively uncontrollable in the near term.

We must begin to cull from the budget

CHANGING PRIORITIES

[Fiscal years. Percentage distribution of total budget outlays]

Program	*1961 actual*	*1969 actual*	*1971 estimate*
National defense	48	44	37
Human resource programs [1]	30	34	41
Other	22	22	23
Total budget outlays	100	100	100

[1] Includes the following functional categories: education and manpower, health, income security, and veterans benefits and services.

mass those programs that are ineffective or poorly designed and those where the original need has long since vanished. Since needs and technology change rapidly, Government programs must keep pace.

Therefore, I propose to restructure, reduce, or terminate a number of outmoded or uneconomic programs that will save $2.1 billion in 1971. These proposals, discussed in detail in Part 2 of the budget, envision that:

- Fundamental *restructuring* of programs will save nearly $1.4 billion in 1971. For example, the basic concept underlying the present objectives of the Nation's stockpile of strategic and critical materials must be re-examined and modernized. Many commodities in the stockpile are now far in excess of foreseeable needs. Expanded authority will be sought to permit the disposal of $750 million of these materials in 1971.
- Program *terminations* will save about $300 million from lower priority activities in 1971. Much of the total is accounted for by eliminating certain agricultural programs which have accomplished their purposes or are no longer high priority.
- *Reductions* in uneconomic programs will total $436 million in 1971. The largest reduction stems from actions taken in manned flight activities of the space program.

These actions will provide more than $2 billion each year to help meet high-priority needs of today and pressing problems of the future.

PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE.—This Administration is placing heavy emphasis on the long-range implications of current decisions. We must become increasingly aware that small decisions today often lead to large cash outlays in the future. Past failure to recognize this fact is responsible for much of the current budgetary inflexibility, hampering our present progress.

The future holds great promise. But looking ahead, we can also foresee that:

- The expected increase in Federal tax revenues will not be sufficient to meet all meritorious claims—a reduction in taxes, a budget surplus with high employment, the initiation of new programs, and the expansion of existing programs—that will be made.
- It will be necessary to evaluate *existing* programs and proposed new programs to ensure that Federal funds are raised and spent in the most effective way. We will have to shift funds from uses with relatively low effectiveness or priority to those uses that now have higher priorities.

Growth of the economy.—From fiscal years 1970 through 1975, the labor force is expected to grow from 85 million to 92 million, a net addition equal to the total employment in the State of California. Coupled with rising productivity and a return to more modest price trends, our gross national product could increase from $960 billion in fiscal year 1970 to nearly *$1.4 trillion* in 1975. It took the Nation 19 decades to reach a total output of $700 billion, but we will double that amount by our Bicentennial.

The growth of our productive capacity will be matched by growth in demand. Population will rise from 205 million to 218 million, a net addition greater than

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the present population of New England. There will be 4 million new family units formed.

Pressures on the Federal budget.—This growth and change will be reflected in Federal Government finances. During fiscal years 1971–1975:

- On the basis of my tax recommendations last April, and those contained in this budget, the increase in personal income, corporate profits, and other sources of revenue would have increased the yield of the tax system to $278 billion in 1975.
- However, the new Tax Reform Act will reduce that potential increase in 1975 by $12 billion. As a result, Federal revenues will be a smaller proportion of gross national product in 1975 than in 1970.

Growth will also require additional Government services and generate greater spending. By 1975 we estimate that:

- The increases in population, wages, and other factors would seem to necessitate growth in many existing Federal services, causing outlays to rise by $28 billion—unless further economies are found.
- Program terminations and restructuring recommended in this budget will reduce the growth in the budget base, however, by $2 billion. Further cuts will be sought in the future.
- New initiatives that I have already proposed or am proposing in this budget are estimated to rise to $18 billion in outlays.

In the past, the Federal Government has been unwilling to pull all the pieces together and present the results of projecting Government finances into the future. I feel that this is an essential part of an enlightened discussion of public policies even though precise figures are, of course, impossible.

Looking ahead, the margin of discretionary Federal resources left over—in a sense, a national nest egg—for distribution to private citizens through tax reduction, for distribution to State and local governments as we move forward with the New Federalism, or for new Federal Government programs, is small. Furthermore, the inherent uncertainty in projecting the future rate of economic growth and unforeseen international tensions could easily alter these projections to show no future resources for discretionary action.

With these qualifications in mind, we can estimate that anticipated revenues are likely to exceed projected outlays by $22 billion in 1975—a margin equal to only 1.5% of our gross national product. Furthermore, our current estimates indicate little, if any, margin for 1972.

Decisions to include new spending programs in this and future budgets will recognize long-run savings that would be lost if action is not taken. For example, the proposed Family Assistance Program is designed to reform our outmoded welfare system. If enacted, it would cost an estimated $4.4 billion in the first full year of effect. However, the incentives to preserve families intact and increase gainful employment will eventually mean a long-run increase in economic self-sufficiency, which I believe far outweighs these substantial, but essential, public costs.

The path to our goals.—Among the meritorious claims on our resources are:

- Protecting our physical environment by taking further actions to reduce air and water pollution, and by providing additional parks, open spaces,

BUDGET PROJECTIONS [1]

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	*1971 estimate*	*1975 projected*
Revenues:		
Tax structure proposed by Administration (April 1969) [2]	$205	$278
Less effect of 1969 Tax Reform Act	−3	−12
Total	202	266
Outlays:		
Current program	200	228
New initiatives reflected in this budget	3	18
Less program termination, restructuring, and reduction currently proposed	−2	−2
Total	201	244
Margin remaining	.....	22

[1] The assumptions and procedures underlying these projections are described in Part 2 of the budget.

[2] Includes revenue effect of legislation proposed in this budget.

and other recreation opportunities.

- Maintaining our physical and economic base by improving transportation systems, and by stimulating the construction of additional low- and moderate-income housing.
- Bringing better health to all, by reforming the health care delivery system, by increasing the Nation's corps of needed health personnel, and by emphasizing areas that promise important breakthroughs in medical research.
- Equalizing career opportunities by investing in new methods of education, in aid to low- and middle-income college students, and in job training.
- Renewing the American education system by emphasizing research and experimentation, by investing in teacher training and new community colleges, and by redressing inequities in educational financing.
- Obtaining budget surpluses in order to generate additional savings so housing and State and local construction can be financed without undue reliance on Federal aid. The absence of such surpluses would tend to keep interest rates high and to make capital markets less efficient.
- Reducing and realigning tax burdens further in a fair and judicious manner, when such action is prudent and desirable in the light of all other national priorities.

As long as the growth of revenues exceeds the growth of "built-in" expenditures we will be able to make some genuine progress toward these goals.

The progress that we make in pursuit of these goals must depend on their relative priority, our ability to design workable programs, and our willingness to raise the required resources.

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

We seek a world in which all men can live in peace, freedom, and dignity.

PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY.—The best way to achieve this goal is through maintaining sufficient strength to deter aggression—and cope with it where necessary—supported by effective and verifiable international agreements, and by collective security and cooperation.

One of my first official acts as President was to direct a comprehensive and orderly review of our national security policies and the programs required to carry them out. This was the most thorough re-examination of its type ever undertaken, designed to bring our strategies, forces, and priorities into proper balance.

This budget reflects the transition from old policies and strategies to the new ones stemming from our review. I have:

- Initiated a plan designed to bring a just and honorable peace to Vietnam. Our approach involves a two-pronged effort to negotiate in Paris and to effect an orderly transfer to the South Vietnamese of the major responsibilities the United States has assumed in that country. We will do so in a manner that will help maintain that country's right of self-determination. While negotiations have been disappointing, progress in Vietnamization has been encouraging and has enabled Vietnamese forces to assume a greater burden on the battlefield. In accord with this plan, I have already announced a series of troop withdrawals that will reduce our authorized forces in Vietnam by 115,500 below that existing when this Administration took office.
- Begun strategic arms limitations talks with the Soviet Union.
- Signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.
- Begun construction of the Safeguard missile defense system, intended to protect the United States from limited nuclear attacks, including an accidental missile launch, and to protect some of our retaliatory forces.
- Renounced biological weapons and initiated disposal of existing bacteriological weapons.
- Appointed an advisory commission to develop a comprehensive plan for eliminating the draft and moving toward an all-volunteer military force.
- Signed into law my proposal for draft reform, to shorten the maximum period of draft vulnerability to one year, thereby reducing uncertainty for millions of our young men.

Looking to the future, both our strategy and forces must be designed to honor our international commitments and to insure our national security. We must make realistic and continuing assessments of the programs required to support these objectives.

The strategy of this Administration, as I stated at Guam, is based on the expectation that our allies will shoulder substantial responsibility for their own defense. With this posture, we can safely meet our defense requirements with fewer resources.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—Early in my Administration, we sought to identify more effective ways to encourage international development and stability with a limited availability of Government funds.

I have concluded that the answers lie in greater initiative by the countries we assist, more trade, a larger role for pri-

vate enterprise, and increased reliance on cooperative, multilateral efforts. I strongly support international organizations as effective channels for development assistance.

We are urging all industrialized countries to reduce trade barriers against products of special importance to developing countries. I urge enactment of trade legislation now before the Congress that would reduce trade barriers and provide more equitable adjustment assistance to industries, companies, and workers injured by import competition.

We are encouraging private enterprise, both locally based and American, to bring its dynamism to the challenge of economic development. To enlarge the role of private enterprise still further, I will establish the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—a recommendation already approved by the Congress.

Trade and private enterprise by themselves are not sufficient. I am also proposing budget authority of $1.8 billion for the Agency for International Development to provide direct aid to developing countries. I will make further proposals to strengthen our aid programs based on a review by my task force on foreign aid.

THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

One of the most important new initiatives that I am proposing for the first time in this budget is to enhance the quality of life—the legacy of one generation of Americans to the next.

Our environment is becoming increasingly unpleasant and unhealthful. We are hampered by polluted air, contaminated rivers and lakes, and inadequate recreation opportunities.

Despite current budget stringency, we must find a way to move aggressively on these problems *now*. Delay would make our environment more unlivable, and raise the costs of what we must do in any event. I will send a Special Message to the Congress setting forth major proposals to improve and protect our surroundings.

Highest priority will go to elements of the program designed to attack water pollution and air pollution—those problems that most directly impinge on our health and well-being.

The major responsibility to reduce pollution rests appropriately with State and local governments and the private sector. However, the Federal Government must exert leadership and provide assistance to help meet our national goals.

CLEAN WATER.—I am proposing a sustained national commitment to meet our water quality goals. I will seek legislation for a 5-year program providing grants to communities for the construction of sewage treatment facilities. This effort will grow in momentum as communities complete their plans and begin construction. When combined with State and local matching funds, this program will provide $10 billion of construction beyond that already appropriated by the Congress.

The proposed environmental financing authority, discussed later in this Message, will help local communities finance their share of the projects.

I am proposing a fundamental reform of the municipal waste treatment program to assure that Federal funds go to areas where the benefits are clear and where State and local governments have developed adequate programs to achieve stated goals. We must also assure that cost sharing for treatment works is equitable and creates incentives for reducing the amount of waste that would otherwise have to be treated in municipal systems.

I am recommending increased assistance to State water pollution control agencies and a strengthening of enforcement provisions.

CLEAN AIR.—We are now asking the States to set standards for two major air pollutants—sulfur oxides and smoke particles. Standards for additional pollutants will be set shortly. I am proposing additional funds and manpower to help the States with this difficult task.

To help control air pollution, we will accelerate efforts to control sulfur and nitrogen oxides. We will call upon private industry to help solve the problem. The airlines have already agreed to abate aircraft smoke emission by 1972. We will increase our own spending for air pollution control by more than 30% in 1971.

OPEN SPACE.—Improving the environment will also require increased efforts to provide adequate park and recreation open space—particularly in and near cities, where the need is the greatest and land prices have been escalating most rapidly. I am recommending appropriation of all the funds presently authorized for the Land and Water Conservation Fund to speed acquisition of Federal park lands and increase assistance to States to provide more recreation opportunities. Wilderness, open space, wildlife—once gone—are lost forever.

CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.—Where technology has polluted, technology can purify. Solutions to many of our problems can be found only through greater understanding of our environment and man's impact upon it. We must also augment our ability to measure and predict environmental conditions and trends.

I am confident that this challenge can be met by our leading research institutions and scientists. To encourage research related to environmental and other national problems, I am recommending that appropriations for the National Science Foundation be increased.

REFORMS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

Reform is the watchword of this Administration. In years past, Federal programs all too often have failed to deliver even a reasonable share of their promises.

Reform touches on nearly every aspect of Government activity. It is demonstrated in this budget by proposals to introduce new, more effective program systems, and to modernize and make responsive Government organization and processes.

INCOME SECURITY PROGRAMS.—When this Administration took office, many of our income security programs were in disarray and in need of long-overdue reforms. Welfare programs were discredited in the eyes of both the recipients and taxpayers. Many of our citizens were going without adequate food and nutrition. Social security benefits had become eroded by inflation. Unemployment compensation failed to cover millions of workers, and payments in many States were inadequate.

I set into motion fundamental reforms in each of these areas. I urge the Congress to move promptly on my proposals which are now awaiting action:

- *The Family Assistance Program* would replace an inequitable and unworkable dole that often disrupts family life, with a comprehensive system for aiding all low-income families with children—including the long-neglected working poor. It features national benefit standards,

promise of greater family stability, and requirements and incentives for work and job-training. This program would be closely integrated with manpower training and with the food benefits made available under the augmented food stamp program.

- *Social security legislation* enacted in December provides an across-the-board benefit increase. I have made other proposals to correct inequities in the program, including a liberalization of the "retirement test" (the current earnings that may be allowed without reducing or eliminating social security benefits), and an increase in widows' benefits to make them comparable with what their husbands would have received.
- The *unemployment insurance proposals* would extend coverage to an additional 5.3 million workers (including many farmworkers), increase the duration of benefit eligibility during any period of high national unemployment, and reform the financing of the system by increasing the taxable wage base.

For the Family Assistance Program, I have included outlays of $500 million in the budget for 1971. This estimate is significantly lower than the $4.4 billion first full-year cost of this program for a number of reasons. Time is required for the various levels of government to prepare to administer elements of the Family Assistance Program that can be put into effect during fiscal year 1971. Many State legislatures will be unable to meet in time to implement the program. Rates of participation in a new program of this scale take time to build up, causing a delay before the program can reach its full operating level. We intend to make every effort now and after the Congress has acted to initiate this high priority program on a responsible and workable basis.

The Family Assistance Program is an essential element of the *income strategy* adopted by this Administration. This approach of directly providing income and work opportunity for the poor is based on the proposition that the goal of self-sufficiency requires continuing emphasis and that the best judge of each family's particular needs is the family itself.

FEDERAL AID SYSTEM.—The old system for providing financial aid to State and local governments has become bogged down in an administrative morass. It breeds excessive centralization of decision-making, and tends to sap local initiative.

This Administration has begun to decentralize domestic programs. We seek to reinvigorate institutions close to the people, and to enlist their support in the solution of local problems before they become national problems. I hope to see new life in local institutions and a new vitality in voluntary action.

Federal *revenue sharing* with State and local governments is one vital element of our decentralization efforts. Revenue-sharing funds will not be frozen into specified program areas. Policy officials at the State and local level will have the responsibility for using these funds to meet high-priority needs. Revenue sharing is based on a formula that encourages State and local governments to increase their own fiscal efforts. I urge prompt action on this important effort to restore balance to our federal system.

Including revenue sharing, total Federal aid to State and local governments will rise to an estimated $28 billion in

1970, nearly four times the amount in 1961.

Recent experience has made it clear that many State and local government units are having serious difficulty securing funds in the municipal bond market. To assure more adequate access of these governments to financial markets, I shall propose the creation of an environmental financing authority to enable such governments to borrow money needed for their share of federally assisted projects for water pollution abatement.

Action is also underway to simplify administrative and technical requirements in Federal assistance programs. By cutting red tape, we can reduce processing time and decentralize decisionmaking. I urge completion of congressional action on my proposals to authorize joint funding of closely related grant projects and grant consolidation.

To achieve better coordination of Federal programs in the field, we have established uniform regional boundaries and regional office locations for the principal agencies involved in urban programs. This action will provide focal points for State and local officials to deal with these Federal field offices. I have also created 10 regional councils, composed of the regional directors of the main grant-making agencies, to mesh Federal activities more closely with State and local programs.

IMPROVED ORGANIZATION.—There is great need for better organization and management of the Federal governmental system. I refer to the legislative branch and the judicial branch as well as to the executive branch. The Advisory Council on Executive Organization is hard at work on plans to strengthen the ability of the Executive Branch to insure that government programs produce the results intended by the Congress and the President.

The Congress has recently established, by law, a Council on Environmental Quality to coordinate efforts to improve our surroundings—an objective which I share.

We have reorganized the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen its capacity for innovation and experimentation in developing programs that effectively meet the needs of the economically disadvantaged. Other agencies, such as the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and Housing and Urban Development, have been reorganized internally to increase their effectiveness.

A blue ribbon panel is studying the Department of Defense, its organization, research and development programs, and procurement practices. I have formed a Defense Program Review Committee to insure that major defense policy and program issues are analyzed in their strategic, economic, diplomatic, and political context.

The Nation's postal system is in need of basic reform. I have recommended complete reorganization of the Post Office along businesslike lines, and repeat my request to Congress for prompt approval.

I have also proposed strengthening our programs dealing with consumer affairs, including creation of an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President and an Assistant Attorney General for Consumer Protection in the Department of Justice.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER.—I place high priority on expanding the use of manpower programs as a means of getting people off welfare rolls and into productive employment. I have proposed a new

comprehensive Manpower Training Act that will bring together a variety of separate programs and will enable State and local units to make more manpower decisions for themselves. These steps will give increased responsibility to State and local governments for planning and operating manpower programs to meet local conditions and the specific needs of each trainee. In the meantime, major operating reforms are taking place in nearly all manpower training programs to increase their effectiveness.

Computerized Job Banks will be in operation in 81 cities by 1971, providing a daily listing of available jobs to help match jobseekers with employment opportunities more rapidly.

We will continue our efforts to insure equal employment opportunities to all Americans. I have already requested the Congress to grant enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I reiterate that request. Under the concept of the "Philadelphia Plan," we will help provide minority groups with fair access to training and jobs with Federal contractors.

The Federal Government is making a substantial investment in the Nation's education system. In 1971, counting all the education-related efforts of Federal agencies, we will spend an estimated $10.7 billion—the largest amount in our history.

This Administration is committed to improved performance in education programs. I have initiated proposals to provide broader support for education, including grant consolidation, and other steps to improve the effectiveness of Federal aid. I am also recommending major new efforts to raise student achievement through research and development projects. We are evaluating and redirecting other programs to assure that Federal assistance is targeted on high priority purposes, such as disadvantaged children, and that it achieves the results we expect.

In the coming weeks I will send further recommendations to the Congress, outlining proposals for educational reform.

CRIME REDUCTION.—Some of my most important legislative proposals still awaiting congressional action are designed to launch a determined attack against crime. The budget for 1971 provides about $1.3 billion for crime reduction, nearly double the outlays in 1969. This budget represents a first step in a comprehensive program for improving all parts of our criminal justice system—at every level of government.

To accomplish this objective, I am proposing:

- A $190 million increase in outlays for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for broad-purpose block grants to States. The responsibility for reducing local crime rests with agencies of State and local governments, but the Federal Government must provide effective assistance when the need is so great.
- Reforms in correctional programs. Outlays will reach $177 million for these purposes in 1971.
- An intensification of the war on organized crime. I propose increasing our strike forces against organized crime to 20 in 1971, and continuing experimentation with strike forces also using State and local enforcement officers.
- An enlarged and more vigorous effort to control the traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs.

- The development and testing of more effective methods for controlling and preventing crime. For the future, we must have a better understanding of criminal behavior, particularly juvenile crime and delinquency.

TRANSPORTATION.—Mobility of people and goods is important to economic growth and personal satisfaction. Today, our mobility is threatened by increasing congestion and aging facilities. This Administration has proposed legislation to:

- Assist urban transportation through a 12-year, $10 billion program of grants to communities to modernize and expand public transit facilities and services. The 1971 budget includes budget authority of $3.1 billion to cover the first 5 years of the program.
- Expand our airways and airports and maintain a high level of safety. We will accomplish this through a 10-year, $3.1 billion program of research and investment in our national airway system, and a $2.5 billion grant program for airfield construction and improvement. These added costs will be financed through increased *user charges.*
- Revitalize our merchant marine through improved techniques of Federal aid for ship construction and operation. This 10-year program envisions building as many as 30 new ships each year, with a gradual reduction in the Federal subsidy. The approach is conditional, challenging the industry to become more efficient and less dependent on Government subsidy.

HOUSING.—The budget includes a substantial effort to help meet our housing needs. In 1971, over 1.9 million low- and moderate-income families will be living in good homes and apartments because costs have been kept within their reach through the Federal Government's actions. Moreover, we are requesting enough authority for new commitments in 1971 to help provide almost 600,000 additional housing units for such families.

We can meet the housing needs of the Nation only if we are able to effect basic reforms in the way we now go about the task. There is growing doubt that the Nation's homebuilding industry has the resources essential to build the needed volume of housing. The housing industry suffers disproportionately from credit shortages. More plumbers, electricians, and other construction workers are needed. Vital materials like lumber may not be available in sufficient quantities at reasonable prices.

We have been actively working to solve these underlying problems. We have inaugurated *Operation Breakthrough.* This experimental effort is designed to link the development of new methods for high-volume housing production with the assurance of housing markets large enough to make volume production feasible.

HEALTH.—In the Sixties, the Federal Government embarked on a number of new health care programs. Medicare currently covers hospital costs and physician services for 20 million aged. Medicaid provides coverage for over 10 million poor.

Serious problems remain. Foremost among them are the rapid rise in medical care prices, inadequate health services for the poor, and other health problems only recently recognized.

To cope with fast-rising demand and health costs, we need to increase the efficiency and supply of our medical resources—both physical and human. We must provide more practicing physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health man-

power. I have proposed revisions in the Hill-Burton program to increase construction of facilities for outpatient care as a means of easing the pressure on hospitalization or inpatient treatment facilities. Modernization needs will be met by a new loan guarantee program. Revisions will also be proposed in Medicaid to stimulate the use of proper, but less expensive, medical treatment outside hospitals and long-term care institutions. Increased emphasis will be given to programs to assess and demonstrate more efficient ways of providing health care.

To provide better health care to the poor, I am increasing the number and services of comprehensive health centers in low-income areas.

To combat growing health problems, I have proposed significant increases in community-based programs for the prevention or cure of drug addiction, rehabilitation of alcoholics, and family planning services and research. Last year I announced a 5-year goal to reach 5 million women who want, but are not receiving, family planning services. The new National Center for Family Planning Services, working with the Office of Economic Opportunity, will reach 2.2 million women in 1971, almost halfway toward our goal.

While continuing general support for medical research, I am also recommending substantial increases in research on cancer, heart disease, serious childhood illnesses, and dental health—where current findings promise significant advances in the future.

SPACE.—Man has ventured to the moon and returned—an awesome achievement.

In determining the proper pace for future space activities, we must carefully weigh the potential benefits of:

- Scientific research by unmanned spacecraft;
- Continued exploration of the solar system, including manned exploration of the planets; and
- The application of space and aeronautics technology to the direct benefit of mankind.

I have reviewed many exciting alternatives for the future. Consistent with other national priorities, we shall seek to extend our capability in space—both manned and unmanned. I intend to do this within total space outlays 12% smaller than in 1970. In our current efforts, we will continue to stress additional uses of space technology. Our actions will make it possible to begin plans for a manned expedition to Mars.

EFFECTIVE PROGRAM PLANNING AND EVALUATION.—The American people rightly demand that Government spending be subjected to tough-minded evaluation so that their tax dollars are used in the most effective way.

I am revitalizing our Government-wide system for program planning and evaluation. Several steps have already been taken this year. I have encouraged the analysis of major policy issues to identify Federal programs that should be redirected, terminated or expanded. This process provided helpful information for many of the major problems addressed by the Executive Branch this year, and helped frame my program proposals for Family Assistance, Food Stamps, and Space.

Long-range planning is receiving increased emphasis in the Bureau of the Budget, and has provided a basis for the longer-range perspective of this budget. To help anticipate future needs, I created

a National Goals Research Staff to examine long-term trends and to explore what America's goals and priorities might be in the years to come. It is my hope that the forthcoming Bicentennial will also focus public attention on the ideals of our American heritage.

I have also taken some first steps to increase the amount of information upon which effective program planning and evaluation must be based. At my direction the Bureau of the Budget instituted a continuing audit of the timeliness of major Federal statistical series. They are now being issued more promptly than a year ago. Still further efforts to strengthen the statistical program are also underway to provide the Executive Branch, the Congress, and the public with data adequate to meet today's needs.

Conclusion

We have begun to travel a new road.

I am confident that this new road will lead us to an honorable peace in Southeast Asia and toward peace and freedom in the years ahead. As we travel that road of responsibility, our economy will overcome its inflationary fever and return to a sustainable rate of growth.

Domestic programs are being reshaped and revitalized to reach and involve the individual American. Guiding us in this effort are five central themes, which are essential elements of the New Federalism:

- An awareness of the growing desire for fairness and equal opportunity in every facet of American life;
- A recognition of the importance of the interests of the individual in the decisions that determine his destiny;
- An emphasis on restructuring basic program systems to ensure that Government efforts deliver the full measure of their promise;
- An understanding that national unity is needed for the setting of goals, and national diversity must be respected in the administration of services; and
- A willingness to return power to the people and dignity to the individual, through financial help to State and local governments and renewed reliance on private, voluntary action.

This budget reflects these principles; it expresses the *shared purposes* of the Nation.

This budget imparts to our goals a sense of timing and commitment appropriate to a vigorous, free people seeking constantly to expand the Nation's potential and improve its performance.

Richard Nixon

February 2, 1970

NOTE: The illustrative diagrams have been deleted from the message as printed above.

23 Annual Message to the Congress: The Economic Report of the President. *February* 2, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

For many years the American people have been seeking, through their Government, the road to full employment with stable prices.

In the first half of the 1960's, we did have price stability—but unemployment averaged 5½ percent of the civilian labor force.

In the second half of that decade, we

did have relatively full employment—but with sharply rising prices.

After 5 years of sustained unemployment followed by 5 years of sustained inflation, some have concluded that the price of finding work for the unemployed must be the hardship of inflation for all.

I do not agree.

It is true that we have just passed through a decade when the economy spent most of the time far off the course of reasonably full employment and price stability. But if we apply the hard lessons learned from the sixties to the decade ahead, and add a new realism to the management of our economic policies, I believe we can attain the goal of plentiful jobs earning dollars of stable purchasing power.

Those lessons are plain:

1. We have learned that Government itself is often the cause of wide swings in the economy.
2. We have learned that there is a human element in economic affairs—habit, confidence, fear—and that the economy cannot be managed mechanistically and will not suspend its laws to accommodate political wishes.
3. We have learned that 1-year planning leads to almost as much confusion as no planning at all, and that there is a need to increase public awareness of long-range trends and the consequences for future years of decisions taken now.

My 1970 Economic Report reflects these lessons. The current actions we are taking are designed to help the American economy regain its balance; the plans we are making are designed to build on that balance as our free economy grows and responds to the needs of its citizens.

"Stability of economic policy," Theodore Roosevelt pointed out, "must always be the prime economic need of this country. This stability should not be fossilization." Stability is a means to an end. The end we seek is steady growth, predictable Government action in maintaining a sound economic climate, and constant involvement of the people in setting their own priorities.

Accordingly, this Economic Report "opens up the books" as never before.

We are making available the facts and figures that will enable the people to make more intelligent judgments about the future. If we are to improve the quality of life in this Nation, we must first improve the quality of debate about our national priorities. In this Report, and in the Budget Message, long-range projections are made that will enable the people to discuss their choices more effectively in the light of what is possible.

In the real world of economics, there is a place for dreams—dreams that are realizable if we make the hard choices necessary to make them come true.

The Uses of Our National Output

We have placed the Nation's larger decisions in the context of a picture of the total resources available and the competing claims upon them. A summary of this analysis is contained in Chapter 3 of the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers; I hope it will be studied carefully and its precedent carried forward in future years.

That analysis is neutral about which options and claims should be chosen. The purpose of the analysis is to help everyone observe the discipline of keeping claims and plans within the limits of our

capacity, and to make sure that excessive claims do not prevent us from achieving our most important goals.

Even in our own highly productive and growing economy, resources are limited. There will be competition between private and government uses for our national income, competition among programs within government budgets, and competition among borrowers for the limited national savings.

Our problem, in short, will be to choose wisely what to do with our output and incomes. Large as they are, the claims upon them, what people expect of them, are even larger. If we add the expenditures that consumers will want to make with larger incomes; the investment that businesses must make to assure rising productivity; the housing construction needed to meet the current shortage and the demands of a growing population with rising incomes; the likely expenditures of the State and local governments; the cost of present Federal programs plus the proposals already recommended by this Administration—we find that the total would nearly exhaust the national output until 1975. And that total would not include tens of billions of dollars of new programs that are commonly urged upon the Government.

We shall have to think carefully about how to choose the claims upon the national output that will be met, since we cannot meet them all. This choice is not made exclusively or even mainly by the Federal Government. It is mostly made by the individuals who produce the output, earn the income, and decide how it should be spent. Nevertheless, a Federal Government with a budget of $200 billion has a great influence on how the national output is used. This influence is not confined to the output the Federal Government uses itself. The taxes the Federal Government collects, the grants it makes to State and local governments, its borrowing or repayment of debt, influence the purchases of private citizens and of State and local governments.

Personal freedom will be increased when there is more economy in government and less government in the economy. Economic domination, like any other government domination, is dangerous to a free society, no matter how benevolent its aims. Freedom depends on our recognizing the line between domination and influence, between control and guidance. The quality of life in America depends on how wisely we use the great influence that Government has.

We know that existing programs of Government and probable demands of the private sector could use up all the output we can produce for several years to come. This does not mean that we cannot do anything new. It does mean that we have to choose. If we decide to do something new, or something more, in one direction we will have to give up something elsewhere. There is no unclaimed pool of real resources from which we shall be able to satisfy new demands without sacrificing or modifying some existing claims.

If we fail to tailor our demands consciously to resources available, the likely consequences would be both misdirection of resources and inflation. We have seen this in the past 5 years. Beginning in mid-1965 the Government imposed on the economy a large increase in nondefense

spending and the demands of the Vietnam War effort. It did not, however, face up soon enough to the need to cut back other demands by raising taxes or by following an adequately restrictive monetary policy. Of course, failing to take these steps did not relieve us of the necessity of cutting back. It only meant that the cutback was imposed unfairly by inflation, rather than in a more deliberate and equitable way.

The Present Inflation

The inflation unleashed after mid-1965 had gathered powerful momentum by the time this Administration took office a year ago. The expectation of more inflation was widespread, as was skepticism of the determination of Government to control it. Businesses, anticipating rising prices and costs, were eager to invest as early as possible and were willing to incur high interest charges that they would pay later in presumably cheaper dollars. Workers demanded large wage increases to catch up with past increases in the cost of living and to keep up with expected future increases. Prices were being boosted to catch up with past cost increases and to keep up with the future.

Inflation was in full tide.

The inflationary tide could not quickly be turned. At least it could not be turned quickly without a serious recession. Such a recession would itself have brought hardship to millions of people. Moreover, it would have been another episode in the history of stop-go economic policy, when the need was to introduce an era of steadiness in policy that could yield stability in the economy.

Our purpose has been to slow down the rapid expansion of demand firmly and persistently, but not to choke off demand so abruptly as to injure the economy. The greater price stability that all desired could not, given a concern about unemployment, come quickly. This transition would take place in several steps, each of which would require time, and only at the end would increases in the price level slow down.

1969 was a year of progress in the fight against inflation. For the first time since the price spiral began, there was a sustained period of combined fiscal and monetary restraint. During 1969 the rise of Federal expenditures was slowed to an increase of $9 billion, compared with an annual average of $20 billion in the 3 preceding years. Instead of the rising budget deficits of earlier years there was a surplus in 1969. Instead of the money supply expanding by 7 percent, as in 1968, it grew at a 4.4-percent annual rate in the first half of 1969 and at a 0.7-percent rate in the second half.

The growth of total spending, public and private, which was the driving force of the inflation, slowed markedly, from 9.4 percent during 1968 to 6.8 percent during 1969 and an annual rate of 4.4 percent in the fourth quarter of 1969. This decline in the growth of spending was inevitably accompanied by what in October I called "slowing pains." Gains in real production slowed down. Industrial production declined. Profits drifted lower as margins were squeezed. All of these slowing pains were increased, and the inflation prolonged, by the failure of productivity to rise, for the first time in many years.

And in the latter part of the year there were the first faint signs of gain on the

price front. Instead of continuing to accelerate, the rate of inflation itself began to level out.

The Outlook for 1970

As we enter 1970 continuation of a low rate of growth of sales, production, and employment for several months seems probable. Thereafter, the performance of the economy will depend on both the continued resolve of the Government and the difficult-to-predict behavior of the private sector.

Government policy must now avoid three possible dangers. One is that after a brief lull the demand for output would begin to rise too rapidly and rekindle the inflationary process, as happened in 1967. This possibility cannot be ignored. The tax bill passed in December reduced revenues for the next fiscal year by close to $3 billion, compared to my original proposals, requiring the Administration to reduce spending plans further in order to retain a surplus. Pressures for increased spending threaten to shift the budget from the surplus position to a deficit by the latter part of calendar 1970 unless the responsible fiscal course urged by the Administration is accepted by the Congress.

A second danger we must consider is that the moderate and necessary slowdown may become more severe. The highly restrictive stance of monetary policy is one reason for considering this possibility. Moreover, there is a question whether the rate of real output can long remain essentially flat without more adverse consequences than we have so far experienced. Until now the unemployment rate has remained low, partly because employers have retained workers despite growing signs of sluggishness in sales. However, they may be unwilling to do this for long with profits shrinking.

A third danger is that although the economy remains on the path of slow rise, and avoids either serious recession or revived inflation, this is achieved with such tight credit conditions as to paralyze the housing industry, preventing needed additions to the supply of homes and apartments. A Federal budget deficit, which would require the Treasury to become again a net borrower in the capital markets, taking funds that would otherwise go to other users, might bring this about. This is one reason why I continue to stress the importance of a strong budget position.

Our objective is to avoid these dangers as we achieve stability. A necessary condition for doing this is to keep the Federal budget in balance in the coming fiscal year.

A prudent fiscal policy, avoiding the risks of returning to budget deficits, and a prudent monetary policy, avoiding the risks of overly long and overly severe restraint, offer the best promise of relieving strains and distortions in financial markets, bringing interest rates down, and encouraging a sustainable and orderly forward movement of the economy.

After some months of slow expansion of sales, output, and employment, which seems likely, a moderately quicker pace later in the year would be consistent with continued progress in reducing the rate of inflation.

The goal of policy should therefore be moderately more rapid economic expansion in the latter part of 1970 than we have recently been experiencing or expect for several months ahead. Keeping

the Federal budget in balance, as I have recommended, and a moderate degree of monetary restraint will help achieve this result. This combination of policies would also permit residential construction to revive and begin a rise toward the path of housebuilding required by our growing number of families needing homes and apartments.

As far as can now be foreseen, this pattern of developments through the year could be achieved with a gross national product for 1970 of about $985 billion. This would be 5½ percent above that for 1969. A slowdown in the rate of increase of consumer prices is a reasonable expectation in this economic outlook.

An unfortunate cost of having allowed the inflation to run for so long is that it courts the risk of some rise in unemployment. The policy of firm and persistent disinflation on which we have embarked, however, holds out the best hope of keeping that risk low.

This risk emphasizes the importance of promptly enacting the legislation this Administration has recommended for manpower training, unemployment compensation, and welfare systems:

—The proposed Manpower Training Act would not only bring about better planning and management of training programs; it would also trigger an automatic increase in appropriations for these programs if the national unemployment rate reaches 4.5 percent for 3 consecutive months.

—The unemployment compensation legislation would increase coverage, encourage States to improve benefits, and provide for Federal financing of extended benefits if unemployment of insured workers exceeds 4.5 percent for 3 consecutive months.

—The proposed Family Assistance Program would provide income support for poor families with children, whether headed by a male or a female, while providing strong incentives and assistance for those who can do so to find and accept employment.

Because our expanding and dynamic economy must have strong and innovative financial institutions if our national savings are to be utilized effectively, I shall appoint a commission to study our financial structure and make recommendations to me for needed changes.

In 1970, we are feeling the postponed pinch of the late sixties. If responsible policies had been followed then, the problems of 1970 would be much easier. But we cannot undo the errors of the past. We have no choice now but to correct them, and to avoid repeating them.

Strengthening the World Economy

The achievement of greater balance and stability in our own economy is also important for international finance and trade. The dollar is not only our currency; it provides the principal vehicle for world trade and payments. We are the world's largest exporter and importer, and instability in the United States—whether it involves inflation or recession—has unsettling effects on the world economy. Inflationary pressures arising in the United States have added to inflationary problems in other countries in recent years. The long inflation has also weakened our trading position. However, with the re-

straining of excessive demand in 1969, the deterioration in our trade balance has been arrested.

I am particularly gratified to note improvements in the international monetary scene during the past year with the introduction of Special Drawing Rights and with the realignment of several important currencies. In cooperation with other countries, we are actively investigating other ways to make the international monetary system more stable and orderly, and to give more attention to international coordination and synchronization in the management of domestic economic policies.

Although a high and rising level of international trade can add to the prosperity of the United States and other countries, imports from time to time may cause domestic dislocations. Since the gains from international trade are enjoyed by the country as a whole, it is appropriate that the costs of trade-associated dislocations be spread more evenly. The trade bill presented to the Congress in November contains practical adjustment assistance and escape-clause provisions that would soften the impact of import competition in cases where it harms our own workingmen. It also includes the repeal of the American selling price method of tariff evaluation, a step which is important in reducing the nontariff barriers to U.S. exports.

Trade is vital to the progress of the less developed countries of the world. With other industrialized nations, the United States is exploring ways of enabling less developed nations to participate more in the growing volume of international trade.

Seven Basic Principles

Since this is my first Economic Report, it is in order for me to set out the basic principles that will continue to guide the management of economic policy in my Administration:

First, *the integrity and purchasing power of the dollar must be assured.* To recreate confidence in a secure future, we must achieve that reasonable stability of the price level which has been so severely eroded since mid-1965. The unfairness of a steeply rising cost of living must not again be inflicted on this Nation.

Second, *our economic policy must continue to emphasize a high utilization of the Nation's productive resources.* We must maintain a vigorous and expanding economy to provide jobs for our growing labor force.

Third, *we must achieve a steadier and more evenhanded management of our economic policies.* Business and labor cannot plan, and consumers and homebuyers cannot effectively manage their affairs, when Government alternates between keeping first the accelerator and then the brake pedal to the floor.

Fourth, *Government must say what it means and mean what it says.* Economic credibility is the basis for confidence, and confidence in turn is the basis for an ongoing prosperity.

Fifth, *we must preserve and sustain the free market economy in order to raise the standard of living of every American.* The most basic improvement in our national life during the last three decades has come through the doubling of real purchasing power that our free competitive economy

has delivered to the average American family. No Government programs during that period begin to approach this doubling of real income per family as a source of our improving economic well-being. Government now has both the ability and the duty to sustain a general climate for stability and growth, but it must do so in the firm conviction that only a free economy provides maximum scope for the knowledge, innovativeness, and creative powers of each individual.

Sixth, *we must involve the American people in setting goals and priorities by providing accurate, credible data on the long-range choices open to them, making possible much better informed public discussion about using the resources we will have in meeting the needs of the future.* The 1970 Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers is a long first step in that direction.

Finally, *the free economy of the future will rest squarely on the foundation of genuinely equal opportunity for all.* Some, because of race or national origin, find themselves situated far back of the starting line in our economy. Others by the happenstance of health, accidental injury, education, or economic background are unable to participate fully in our economic life; still others become casualties of obsolete skills. We are deeply committed to make a reality of the promise of an equal opportunity in life, so that the fruits of our economic progress and abundance will become available to all. The national conscience demands it, human dignity requires it, and our free and open economic system cannot be fully effective without it.

RICHARD NIXON

February 2, 1970

NOTE: The President's message, together with the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, is printed in "Economic Report of the President, Transmitted to the Congress February 1970" (Government Printing Office, 1970, 284 pp.).

On January 31, 1970, the White House issued the transcript of a news briefing on the Economic Report by members of the Council of Economic Advisers.

24 Statement About the Death of Representative Glenard P. Lipscomb of California. *February* 2, 1970

IT WAS with great sadness and a feeling of personal loss that I learned of the death of Glen Lipscomb. He was an outstanding Congressman, chairman of the California delegation of his party, and highly respected among his colleagues of both parties in the Congress. And it was not only his superb record as Congressman that made Glen Lipscomb respected; it was his admirable record as a man.

I personally learned of his great abilities in 1950 when he volunteered his assistance in my campaign for the U.S. Senate and again in 1952 when he gave his time and talent to help operate my Washington office at the time I was candidate for Vice President. Since then, many Americans—in and out of political life—have discovered his capacity for hard work and his devotion to high principles. The Nation has lost a fine American; California has lost a congressional leader; many of us

have lost an irreplaceable friend. Mrs. Nixon joins me in offering deepest condolences to the family of Glen Lipscomb.

NOTE: Representative Lipscomb, 54, died of cancer on February 1, 1970, at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He had served in Congress since 1953.

On February 3, the President attended memorial services for Congressman Lipscomb at the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, Md.

The statement was posted for the press.

25 Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on Revisions in the 1970 Labor-HEW-OEO Appropriations Measure. *February* 3, 1970

Dear Mr. Speaker:

In my January 27 message vetoing the Labor-HEW-OEO appropriations bill, I assured the Congress that "If the veto is sustained, I will immediately seek appropriations which will assume the funds necessary to provide for the needs of the Nation in education and health."

Now that the veto has been sustained, I am sending to you proposed revisions of my original 1970 appropriation request for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, on which I hope we can agree promptly. For all other agencies and programs covered by H.R. 13111 as enacted by the Congress, I find acceptable, and would approve, the amounts the Congress provided in the vetoed bill.

My proposal would increase HEW appropriations for fiscal 1970 by $449,097,000 over the 1970 budget proposals I made in April 1969, with outlays between now and June 30 rising above the April estimate by $210,675,000. I would add the following amounts to selected programs.

- $238.0 million for federally impacted areas
- $70.0 million for basic vocational education grants
- $40.0 million to provide additional grants to States for support of supplementary school programs
  $25.0 million to assist in improvement of educational services to the disadvantaged through Title I
- $24.8 million for public library services, training of teachers and research and training of the handicapped
- $29.7 million to intensify health research in high priority fields and to strengthen medical schools and other institutions training persons for delivery of health services
- $10.0 million to accelerate the acquisition of rubella vaccine
- $7.0 million for intensification of air pollution control and research efforts
- $4.3 million to expand support for alcoholism treatment and rehabilitation projects and further strengthening of the food and drug program

These and other changes are summarized in the attached table.[1] With respect to the impacted area program and the Office of Economic Opportunity, the necessary changes in appropriations language are included. Secretary Finch and

[1] The table is printed in House Document 91-218 (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

Director Rumsfeld will provide any additional information needed by the Congress.

The attachment includes the recommendations contained in my veto message on the impacted area school aid program. Until we reach agreement on basic reform of this program, I propose a temporary solution which would provide a greater degree of equity in the allocation of funds and avoid undue hardship for any school district. My proposal provides full funding for children whose parents live and work on Federal installations, partial funding for children whose parents do not live on Federal installations, and a "No Hardship Clause" guaranteeing that as a result of these changes no school district will have a budget less than 95% of what it had in 1969.

I also request that the Congress restore funds for two priority education programs which were reduced from my original budget:

- $10.0 million for projects to prevent school dropouts
- $9.5 million to initiate needed experimentation and evaluation to improve school performance

Both are designed to find new ways to deal with problems where the old ways have been found to be inadequate.

For the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), I request the Congress to restore the provision which would permit the Executive to allocate funds without specific earmarking as between the various authorized programs.

The amount available for OEO programs is not at issue. Rather the issue is the effective use of resources. To impose rigid earmarking covering the full fiscal year with less than five months remaining will disrupt many OEO programs. We would be forced to increase some programs well beyond planned spending levels and to make damaging reductions in others.

The proposals I transmit today provide a basis for resolving the differences between the Executive Branch and the Congress on the 1970 appropriations for HEW and OEO. They offer a temporary solution to the impacted area aid problem and propose appropriations for other high priority programs in amounts which I believe can be effectively used in the remaining months of the current fiscal year.

These proposals will enable us to carry out the purposes of the Federal Government in the fields of education and health on a basis which does not contribute unduly—as did the bill originally enacted by Congress—to inflationary pressures which today are of serious concern to the entire Nation.

I urge the Congress to act favorably and promptly on these proposals in order that we may complete action on the 1970 budget and turn our attention to the 1971 budget which is being transmitted today.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: The letter was dated February 2, 1970, and released on February 3, 1970.

The appropriations were provided by the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and Related Agencies Appropriation Act of 1970, approved March 5, 1970 (Public Law 91-204, 84 Stat. 23).

26 Statement on Signing an Executive Order for the Control of Air and Water Pollution at Federal Facilities. *February* 4, 1970

A WISE MAN once told a friend, "What you do speaks so loudly, I cannot hear what you say." Because actions speak louder than words, I have today issued an Executive order which will eliminate air and water pollution caused by Federal facilities.

Over the past several years, the Federal Government has become one of the Nation's worst polluters. Clearly, the Federal Government cannot be an effective leader in the battle to save the environment so long as this intolerable situation continues.

The order I am issuing today will require that all projects or installations owned by or leased to the Federal Government be designed, operated, and maintained so as to conform with air and water quality standards—present and future—which are established under Federal legislation.

Specific performance requirements for each facility will be set by agency heads with the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the case of air pollution controls and the Secretary of the Interior in the case of water pollution controls. All existing facilities must comply with this order by December 31, 1972. The order establishes a $359 million program for achieving this objective and prohibits the transfer of these funds to other programs. The order also requires that all facilities which are built in the future must be pollution free; budget requests for new facilities must include all necessary funds for pollution control.

Orders similar to this one have been issued in the past but their requirements have been ambiguously worded, poorly enforced, and generally ineffective. This order remedies the deficiencies of these earlier efforts: It sets precise standards, it provides for strict enforcement, and it guarantees that pollution control funds will not be diverted to other uses. The order also establishes procedures for operating pollution control facilities, handling materials which may cause air or water pollution, and eliminating pollution of ground waters.

The order I am issuing today represents another important step in our efforts to clean up the environment, one which takes advantage of the fact that Federal legislation already sets quality standards for air and water. There are other Federal activities, of course, which affect the environment in other important ways. I have asked the Environmental Quality Council to maintain surveillance over such activities and to recommend any further actions which may be needed.

Federal facilities are owned by all the people. This order will see to it that they are operated in the interests of all the people. As the Federal Government considers and institutes further pollution abatement measures in the future, it can do so with the confidence that it has first moved to sweep its own doorstep clean.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on both the President's statement and Executive Order 11507 by Russell E. Train, Chairman-designate of the Council on Environmental Quality; James R. Schlesinger, Acting Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and Alvin L. Alm, Budget Examiner, Water Resources Bureau, Bureau of the Budget.

27 Message to the Inter-American Economic and Social Council Meeting in Caracas, Venezuela. *February* 4, 1970

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I send to you and to the other distinguished representatives of the Americas my cordial greetings and my very best wishes for the success of the work which you begin this evening.

The great concerns that this Eighth Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council address lie at the heart of the more mature and more effective relationship among us that we all seek. Yet those concerns—some of them complex, many of them technical, all of them difficult—are only expressions of a still more fundamental concern: the people of the Americas and the quality of their lives.

Today the leaders of the Americas share a historic opportunity—the chance to bring our peoples the benefits of modern science and technology and to give to them and to their children fuller and more productive lives. There is no task which deserves greater effort and attention than the one of securing peace, development and progress for our own hemisphere. There is no subject with which I have been more concerned.

During the first year of my Administration, I have devoted a great deal of attention and thought to how the United States can effectively contribute its share of this common responsibility, and to how to redefine and reinvigorate our relationship so as to meet the needs and realities of the 1970's.

As you know, my Administration undertook a very careful and systematic study of the problems of the region and of the premises that should underlie our policies. In my address to the Inter-American Press Association last October, I expressed the results of that study in the form of the organizing concepts around which I believe United States policy toward this region should be built. In that speech I proposed that we forge a vigorous new partnership based upon shared responsibility, increased communication and interchange, and respect for each other's national identity and national dignity. In that speech I said that our goal for the 70's should be a decade of Action for Progress in the Americas.

I reaffirm that goal tonight.

To translate our words into action and to find ways in which the United States can take effective action to carry out its share of the common responsibility toward our peoples—these are now major tasks of my Government. We have made a beginning, but only a beginning. We have a long way to go.

Some of the measures which I have already instituted in the fields of trade, development assistance, science and technology have already been described by the United States delegation to the meetings of the Special Committee of this Council which were held in Washington last November and here in Caracas last week. All of you know, for example, of the major effort we are pushing to achieve a liberal system of worldwide generalized trade preferences; of the liberalization of the untying provisions of our assistance loans which I have authorized to give the hemisphere special treatment; of the major

steps we are prepared to take to support your efforts to broaden scientific and technological exchange.

I want to take this occasion to report to you tonight an additional action which I have taken to give further substance to my commitment that the United States will do its part.

I have just presented to the Congress my recommendations for the budget for the United States Government for Fiscal Year 1971. In constructing that budget, I tried to give special attention to the needs of the hemisphere and to include a number of new elements to carry out the concept of partnership.

I have included in the budget a contingency account of $540 million to provide for expanded multilateral assistance through the international financial institutions. A very substantial part of these funds is to be available to respond to new proposals for replenishment of the funds of the Inter-American Development Bank.

In the 1971 budget I have also requested $556 million in AID funds for the hemisphere. This is the largest of the regional AID programs and reflects an increase of about 20% over the 1970 appropriation levels. Included in this total is over $100 million in support of the kinds of programs that have been discussed here. For the most significant of these, we have estimated the following amounts in the budget.

—$30 million for assistance in developing securities markets and securities commissions;

—$20 million for the promotion of tourism, including establishment of essential infrastructure;

—$20 million to support science and technology efforts;

—$15 million to support trade expansion.

In addition to the foregoing, I have decided to advance the request for funds to fill the United States subscription of $206 million to the callable capital of the Inter-American Development Bank which had originally been planned for 1971. Accordingly, I will shortly submit to the Congress a request for a supplement to the 1970 budget to cover this item.

Obviously, we still face very serious problems and very large obstacles to progress; there are often practical and serious limits and constraints which inhibit our efforts to meet the aspirations that surge out of our societies. I know, for example, that in the field of trade policy there are highly complex, highly technical and often conflicting factors which sometimes make agreement difficult. I cannot guarantee that we will always be able to meet your aspirations. But the point I want to stress is that my Administration will continue vigorously and persistently to try to overcome obstacles to satisfactory agreements, and to do all it practically can to assure that our trade policies support the region's development.

Since we are a community of widely diverse peoples, it will not be easy to forge a new partnership. Our perceptions of self interest and of reality are often different. Our emotional reactions are different. As I said last October, partnership, mutuality of interests, do not flow naturally. We must work at them. The United States for its part will do so energetically and sincerely.

I take this occasion, Mr. Chairman, to pledge to the peoples of America that my Administration will strive to demonstrate in action our commitment to progress and

to the enhancement of the dignity of life in this Hemisphere. I pledge to you that I will continue personally to direct the attack of the United States on the problems that all of us confront as we proceed together on this difficult but inescapable task—to give to our peoples and to their children peace, prosperity, justice and dignity.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The Chairman was His Excellency Sir Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. The message was read at the Council meeting by Charles A. Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

28 Remarks at the Presidential Prayer Breakfast. *February* 5, 1970

Congressman Quie, all of the distinguished guests here at the head tables, in the audience, and listening on radio and also television:

When I was preparing the State of the Union Message I did something that I usually do in preparing an important speech, I read for several days the background of all such messages that had been delivered by Presidents from the beginning of this country. And I found many interesting things:

The fact, for example, that from the time of Thomas Jefferson until Woodrow Wilson none were delivered in person. They were all sent in writing.

The fact that they were varied a great deal in length. Woodrow Wilson's was the shortest when he resumed the practice of delivering them orally in 1913. He spoke for only 12 minutes. And the longer ones ran as long as 30,000, 40,000, or 50,000 words. That, of course, would be on occasions when they did not have to be delivered in person. Even those delivered in person usually averaged an hour or an hour and a half, depending upon the circumstances and depending upon the time.

The content of the messages varied, too. The messages really present a history of the country, how its problems changed and also how some of the problems remained the same through the whole 190 years' history of this country.

But while lengths were different and styles were different and the men were different and the content of the messages were different, there was one theme that ran through them all. The author of the book on State of the Union Messages—and somebody did write a book about State of the Union Messages—the author pointed out that almost without exception each President at some point in his message called upon divine guidance for himself but more important for this Nation.

Now, let us be quite candid. All of our Presidents were not the same in their religious faith. I mean by that, they did not belong to the same churches and for some religious faith was deeper, a different experience than for others.

But yet every one, whether he was a churchgoer or, as in Lincoln's case, not a churchgoer, every one recognized in the awesome position of power of the Presidency the necessity for divine guidance and also the fact that this Nation is a nation under God, and that this Nation some way from the beginning has had a

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spiritual strength far more important than the enormous economic potential that we have now developed or the military strength that we now possess.

So, consequently, this morning I am very honored and very privileged to be here and to have the opportunity, with you, to listen to Members of the Senate, Members of the House, the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of Defense speak very deeply, very sincerely, with regard to their own religious faith, and also with regard to this Nation's fundamental unifying strength: the fact that regardless of our backgrounds, regardless of what religions we may have, that this is a Nation which, from the beginning, has had a spiritual value which all of us in positions of leadership in varying degrees have recognized and on which we have relied.

This Nation has had many problems. Reference has been made to perhaps the most difficult experience of all—the War Between the States, brother against brother. But perhaps never in our history has the Nation had a greater challenge and greater problems than when we were the most powerful and the richest Nation in the world, something we had no reason to dream we could become when we were 13 States and 3 million people, and poor economically and very weak militarily.

And so here we stand, the last third of the 20th century, rich and powerful and with the fate not only of the people who live in this country, 200 million, in our hands, but with the fate of hundreds of millions all over the world who cherish freedom, who want peace, depending upon what we do.

So it is well to be reminded of this thread that runs through our history: That men will work hard, they will lead as well as they can, they will be as wise as they can, but that we recognize our own inability to do it alone; that we need the spiritual strength which unites us and the spiritual strength which gives us an extra power, perhaps that needed vision that we need, to look beyond the material problems that seem to be so overwhelming and see the promise of a better life for us and all the peoples in the world in the year ahead. And what a really wonderful time to be alive for that reason, with all that we have and with all that we can become and what we can mean not only to ourselves but to the whole world.

Reference has been made to the White House church services to which many of you have been invited and many of you have attended. There were a number of memorable statements on those occasions. I think one that particularly is appropriate to refer to this morning was Cardinal Cooke's [1] quotation from St. Augustine, when he told all of the assembled people from Government on that occasion, in the words of St. Augustine, "Work as if everything depended on you and pray as if everything depended on God."

That is the message I would leave here this morning. We must work as if everything depended on us. We must pray as if everything depended upon God, recognizing that America is a Nation under God.

We do have a destiny, not a destiny to conquer the world or to exploit the world, but a destiny to give something more to the world simply than an example which other nations in the past have been able to give of great military strength and great economic wealth, to give to other nations

[1] His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York City.

of the world an example of spiritual leadership and idealism which no material strength or military power can provide.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Representative Albert H. Quie of Minnesota presided at the breakfast.

More than 2,500 guests representing many areas of national life from every State in the Union, as well as officials from four foreign countries, attended the breakfast.

29 Remarks on Receiving the Boy Scouts' Annual Report to the Nation. *February* 5, 1970

I PARTICULARLY appreciate this Report to the Nation to the Honorary President of the Boy Scouts and the emphasis that the report has made on the work that Scouts will do in the field of the environment.

Our young people have an enormous interest in the environment and Scouts have had from the time of their foundation because they know of the natural beauty of this country, and they want to preserve it—preserve it for their children and for all the generations to come.

I think that the emphasis that you place is particularly appropriate because there is a tendency sometimes when we talk about the environment to blame the other fellow, to say, "Well, why doesn't the Government do something to clean this up?" And the Government has to do some things. We are going to be talking about those things on a trip to Indiana and Illinois today. And others say, "Why doesn't industry do something to clean up the environment? Industry is polluting the waters and the air and so forth." And industry has to do a lot, too, in order to clean up the environment.

But as I pointed out in the State of the Union speech, most of us spend about 80 percent of our time in what is basically a personal environment where we are responsible, in our homes, in our offices if we are of working age, or on the streets, in the parks, and so forth.

I think that if the 5 million Scouts, as an individual example, can give leadership to the whole Nation with regard to doing everything individually that he can do to leave every place he goes a little bit cleaner, a little bit better for the people who follow him, that this will help us enormously on this attack on the problems of the environment, because this is a struggle that must be waged and won on many fronts.

You can't just say Government is going to do it or industry is going to do it. Every individual has to enlist if we are going to make the environment of this country what we want it to be and what I want all the Scouts in the future to find in the years ahead. So thank you very much.

Incidentally, speaking of the environment, there is a Rose Garden out here with no roses in it at the moment, but there will be later. We are going to take off by helicopter for the airport. And some of you might like to go out and see the take-off. We can't take you along; there is not enough room.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:43 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. Irving J. Feist, president of the Boy Scouts of America, introduced a group of Scouts who presented the report and emblems of Scouting to the President. The occasion launched the 60th anniversary celebration of Scouting in America.

30 Remarks on Arrival at Indianapolis, Indiana. *February* 5, 1970

THANK YOU very much, Governor Whitcomb. I want to express on behalf of Mrs. Nixon and myself, and all of the members of our Cabinet who are here with us—and they are right down here below, I wish we could have a chance for all of them to speak to you—our appreciation for your giving us this very warm Hoosier welcome on a rather cool day.

I know that some of the members of the Cabinet know Indiana as has been indicated by the Governor. But one of the reasons that I wanted to have this historic, unprecedented meeting in Indianapolis, in the heartland of this country, is that I want Washington to know the Nation better than it does; and we have come to Indiana first, because we know that Indiana is where we can learn about the Nation, with the people of the Nation.

After a meeting with 10 mayors here in Indianapolis—with Mayor [Richard] Lugar, your own mayor, and the mayors of the other cities, medium-sized and some smaller cities—we are then going over to Chicago for a meeting of midwestern Governors on the problems of the environment and Governor Whitcomb will go with us there.

I would simply like to say that, as I stand here again in Indiana, a State that has been very good to me politically, as was pointed out by the Governor, where we did get the biggest majority in 1968, that I am very proud to be back in what was my mother's home State. If she were here, she would say, "It is nice to be back home in Indiana."

Now I note there are a number of high school students and some grammar students here. I know that when you get back to school, they are going to want you to give some report on what was said. And I did a little studying before coming here, knowing that in your social studies or history classes that you will wonder what Indiana had to do with the Federal Government through the years in various ways.

Well, Indiana, of course, has sent many famous Senators and Congressmen to Washington, D.C. And you have a very fine congressional delegation there at the present time. Two of them are here today. But Indiana is also famous in other respects. I think Indiana has sent as many Vice Presidents to Washington as any State in the Union. The names Colfax, Fairbanks, and Hendricks—they are names that are not household words. But I think, as Vice President Agnew would say, that was before television makes a Vice President a household word.

So finally, thank you again for such a warm welcome. And we look forward to working with your Governor, and for those of you who live here in Marion County in Indianapolis, with your mayor, for a better city and a better State and a better Nation. That is why we are in the positions we hold. We are proud to work with you whether you are Republicans or Democrats. We are all working for the best for America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12:40 p.m. at Weir Cook Municipal Airport. He was introduced by Governor Edgar Whitcomb of Indiana, whose remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 133).

Schuyler Colfax served from 1869 to 1873 in the administration of President Grant; Thomas A. Hendricks served from March to November 1885 under President Cleveland; and Charles W. Fairbanks served from 1905 to 1909 under President Theodore Roosevelt.

31 Remarks at City Hall in Indianapolis, Indiana. *February* 5, 1970

Mayor Lugar, Governor Whitcomb, all of the distinguished mayors from cities all over America, and this wonderful audience welcoming Mrs. Nixon and me here in Indianapolis:

This is for me, Mr. Mayor—and for all the members of the Cabinet that are here on this unprecedented visit, this is for all of us—an historic day; and we are so glad that you welcomed us as warmly as you have. And as you have welcomed us, Mr. Mayor, I would like to share with our friends here in Indianapolis and in Indiana the reason why we have this meeting, a little bit of history.

In April of last year, we had a meeting in the Cabinet Room in Washington, D.C. Many times such meetings have taken place there. It was a meeting of the President of the United States with mayors, 10 mayors from across the country.

And in that meeting, we discussed the problems of cities and how the Federal Government could work with the cities in solving those problems. Today, we are meeting in Indianapolis. We are again meeting with 10 mayors.

Now there are two differences I would like to mention:

First, then, we were bringing the mayors of the cities of America to Washington. Here, we are bringing Washington to Indianapolis and to the cities. And this is the theme I wish to emphasize. I believe that it is time that, after over a century and a half of power flowing from the people and from the local communities and from the States to Washington, D.C.—let's get it back to the people and to the cities and to the States where it belongs—because the power should be there, because I very firmly believe that the people know best. The people of Indianapolis know what is best for them. The people of Indiana know what is best for them.

Yes, Washington must lead and Washington must provide assistance for all the programs, but I want the members of our Cabinet to know what the people out in the heartland think. I want them to know what their needs are, what they think we ought to do. That is why we are here.

And another thing that distinguishes this meeting, Mr. Mayor, is this: The meeting we had previously was only of the 10 biggest cities in the United States. Now, the meeting today is of still very large cities. Indianapolis is a large city but according to the charts, it is a medium-sized city. The Mayor of Washington, D.C., is here and of Indianapolis, [and] San Diego, and we want to see what the problems of those cities are and how they differ from those of the larger cities. Sometimes they are the same. But we are trying to find out what the problems are so that we can deal with them more effectively in Washington, D.C.

So what I am really saying is this: Geographically, this meeting is different, because geographically, it is being held at Indianapolis. We are bringing the Gov-

ernment to Indianapolis. Politically, it is different, because politically we are bringing the Government to the people rather than having the people come into Washington, D.C.

And then, finally, this thought: This is an occasion where we are going to discuss the problems of cities, the problems of crime, the problems of division, which, of course, have plagued many of our cities and much of our country, problems you are all interested in.

I know, too, that there are other problems that everybody here is interested in—the problem of peace in the world, and I can only say this: There is nothing to which this administration is [more] dedicated, nothing to which I am more dedicated than to continue to make the progress we have made in bringing men home from Vietnam rather than sending them out to Vietnam.

And I look forward to the time when we will not only end that war, but where we can build a solid basis for peace in the future, a peace that we can keep, a peace that Americans can look proudly on because it was a peace that was won, not over anybody else, but a peace providing for the right of people to determine their own future.

And so, Mr. Mayor, I just want to say that to be here in Indiana, not as a son of Indiana, but as a grandson of Indiana, always makes me very proud, and to have this wonderful welcome is an added dividend.

And I only hope that out of this meeting will come some new ideas—I know there will—so that we can in Washington do a better job serving you. That is why we are there and we hope we deserve being there in that capacity.

Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think you would all like to see the members of the Cabinet who are here with us for this historic meeting:

The Attorney General of the United States, John Mitchell; the Secretary of Commerce, Maurice Stans; the Secretary of Interior, Wally Hickel; the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George Romney; the Secretary of Transportation, John Volpe; the President's Science Adviser, Dr. Lee DuBridge; the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Don Rumsfeld; the Counsellor to the President and a member of the President's Cabinet, Dr. Patrick Moynihan; and since Indiana, I think, is still known as a State with a great interest in agriculture, a son of Indiana, a graduate of Purdue—pardon me, Indiana University—the Secretary of Agriculture, Cliff Hardin.

And I just want to say I know Indiana well. I think I have spoken in every small and medium-sized town in this whole State over the past 22 years. But I want this Cabinet to know Indiana and to love it as I do. And I am sure they will.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:20 p.m. before attending a meeting of the Council for Urban Affairs. He was introduced by Mayor Richard G. Lugar, whose remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 133).

Two news briefings were held later that day in the City Hall auditorium on the meeting of the Council for Urban Affairs. The first was by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President, and the second by Jack Maltester, Mayor of San Leandro, Calif., and President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, Mayor Lugar, and John R. Price, Jr., Executive Secre-

tary of the Council. Transcripts of the briefings are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 135 and 140).

A list of those scheduled to attend the meeting was released by the White House on February 4, 1970.

32 Remarks on Arrival at Hanover Park, Illinois. *February* 6, 1970

COULD I have your attention just a moment, please? Our public address system will not work so we are going to use these bullhorns for a moment for we all want to have the opportunity—the members of the Cabinet, the Governors, the others that are here—to express our appreciation to you for giving us such a very warm welcome here today.

And, as coming to Du Page County again—I have been here on many occasions in the past—but coming here and getting such a reception is certainly something we deeply appreciate.

I wish that we had more room on this platform to introduce the people that are here. But I do want you to know some of the members of the Cabinet that are here and then the Senators and the Congressmen.

Of course, here is the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Hardin; former Governor of Michigan and now the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Governor Romney; the former Governor of Alaska and now the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary Hickel; the former Governor of Massachusetts, and now the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Volpe; a man who is not a former Governor but one who came from Illinois, the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Stans.

And now, we have among the Governors, your own Governor, Governor Ogilvie; and from Indiana, Governor Whitcomb; from Wisconsin, Governor Knowles; Governor Milliken [of Michigan] is going to be in our meeting down in Chicago; but he isn't here now; and now your Congressman, Bob McClory.

But now we move up to the Senate. We have the senior Senator from the State of Illinois, Chuck Percy; and the junior Senator from the State of Illinois, Senator Ralph Smith.

If I could just have a word to tell you about this meeting. I know that those here, many of you, have been let out of classes to come here, so you had better get something to write about when you go back to class and when they ask you what was said.

First, this is a historic meeting because what we are trying to do is to bring the Government from Washington to the people rather than bringing the people to Washington, D.C.

Secondly, we are here for a vitally important purpose and that is to work with the Governors of the States and with your own representatives at the local and State government level in seeing to it that you, the younger generation, will have the kind of a country that we inherited and that we want you to have in the future.

It is very interesting that we are going to have our meeting in the Field Museum of Natural History. And as we meet there today, I just want to be sure that when we finish our meetings we will make some decisions—decisions that will make it pos-

sible for us to say that in the future, natural history museums will not be our only memories of clean water and clean air, and beautiful parks which Americans, all Americans, ought to enjoy. That is what you want and that is what we are going to try to do.

Since this is a school crowd primarily, I will add one final thought: When I was in school, we used to talk about the three R's. I still think they are important, reading, writing, arithmetic, and so forth. But if you are going to talk about some three R's today, I would put it this way: You are a very fortunate younger generation because you are entering the last third of a century in which the United States is the most powerful, the richest nation in the world, and what you do will determine the future of America and the whole world. It is an enormous responsibility but a great challenge and an exciting one.

But in order to do the job, we have got to do some things about this country and I would like to give you three new 3R's, and here they are: First, this age for your generation must be an age of reform, reform of our governmental institutions, bring them up to date into the 20th century so that we can deal with our problems.

Second, this must be an age of restoration, restoring the natural resources of this country so that the younger generation will not inherit a country in which the air is filled with smog, the water is polluted, and our parks are desolate because we didn't do the right planning; an age of restoration.

Finally, I hope we can make this an age of renewal in which we renew the spirit of the American people.

Let me just say this one thing: I know that many are concerned about our problems abroad, our problems at home, and sometimes we become depressed. But you have got to have faith in this country. You have to remember that when Governors and Senators and Congressmen can get together as we are getting together in Chicago this afternoon and work as we are going to work on the problems of this country, that we can do it.

This part of the country has always been a "can do" part of the country. And I can assure you we are going to take back to Washington the spirit which says, "Yes, there are problems out here, a lake to be cleaned up. Also, there are problems in terms of our schools and our resources, but we have the will, we have the capacity, and all we need is the determination to do it."

Coming out and seeing this wonderful crowd helps give us that determination. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 a.m. at Schaumburg Airport.

33 Remarks Prior to an Inspection Tour of the Hanover Sewage Treatment Facility. *February* 6, 1970

I WANT to express regret that we are late. As we were saying before the reporters got here, we had a little weather problem here this morning. The reason we selected this district—as you know, we could have selected a number of places in the country—is because it has a record and a reputation of being one of the model districts in the whole country.

Incidentally, I think you would be in-

terested to know that during my years of traveling as a political official and as a campaigner, I have been to many facilities. This will be my first tour of this kind of a facility. So it will be educational for me, and I hope you and your colleagues can tell me all about it when we go in, and also the members of our Cabinet who are here with us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:49 a.m. in Hanover Park, Ill.

34 Remarks Following a Meeting of the Cabinet Committee on the Environment and the Council on Environmental Quality in Chicago, Illinois. *February* 6, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

We have just completed the first meeting of the Environmental Council. And this meeting was in conjunction with the Cabinet Committee on the Environment and also was being held, as you know, for the first time outside of Washington, in the city of Chicago, where four Governors, who are standing here on the platform, participated in the meeting.

We found on our part, from the standpoint of the Federal Government, it was a most useful meeting. It was particularly useful to hear, from the Governors of each of these States, the programs that they have instituted in the environmental field, and I believe that it can be said that these four States have programs that are in the forefront among the States of this Nation in the environment.

We learned a lot from what they are doing, and I hope that what we have been trying to do at the Federal level will provide them with some new ideas and some new views as well.

Now, to be specific on just two or three points before turning the meeting over to the Governors, because you will want to ask them about the reactions, and also to Russ Train, who is the Chairman of the Environmental Council, for any questions you may have to him, or to Dr. DuBridge, who is our Science Adviser.

Our specific point of discussion—and it was my view that in having a meeting, rather than just talking in generalities, we should take a specific subject and do something about it—our specific point of discussion was Lake Michigan.

Lake Michigan, as all of you know, is the largest body of fresh water in the United States. Lake Michigan, at the present time, is still not labeled as, and does not deserve the title of, being polluted. But unless something is done now with the potential pollution of Lake Michigan, it could become like Lake Erie, which at this time could be classified as a dead sea, an inland sea. We do not want that to happen. And the time to act is now.

In order to deal with this problem, it is going to require total mobilization. And I think that is the term I would like to apply to all of the efforts of the Federal and State governments as well as municipal governments in this field—the total mobilization of the Nation, the mobilization of the Federal Government, the State governments, the local governments, of industrial producers, and of also the individual citizens. Only through total mobilization can we deal with the problem

of water pollution, air pollution, and the other problems that affect our environment.

Turning now to Lake Michigan, what the Federal Government can do, and what we are doing immediately, is to deal with the two major sources of pollution, which happen to be Federal facilities—Fort Sheridan and the Great Lakes Training Station. Five years ago, those two facilities were directed to stop polluting. Unfortunately, however, as is often the case—and this, we found, was a common refrain we heard from the Governors—when Washington authorized funds, it did not provide the funding in the appropriations for those actions.

For example, we found that since 1966, when the act was adopted by the Congress, in the field of water pollution, the Clean Waters Act, the authorizations for projects—in other words, the promises for projects—have been three times as great as the appropriations for projects.

So one decision we made today is that we are going to close the action gap. We are going to authorize funds, but we are also going to appropriate funds. We are not going to make promises for action and not keep those promises.

As far as Lake Michigan is concerned, in terms of the Federal facilities, while the $2½ million for Fort Sheridan, and the $12½ million for the Great Lakes does not seem like a large sum when we think of the total problem, that will stop pollution of these facilities, and it will accomplish it before the end of 1972. And Mr. Train has the responsibility to see to it that that is carried forward.

Now, related to this specific problem, of course, the States also have programs dealing with that part of the lake which happens to abut on their various States. And in addition, we will, in our environmental message, cover various new restrictions and regulations which will be laid down for industrial users who happen to be adjacent to the lake, and therefore, are a major form of pollution.

Our environmental message will come out on Tuesday. We will not, of course, and should not disclose all of the provisions of the message. But just to give you two or three indications of its approach, it will cover water pollution, air pollution, and also the acquisition through new innovative financing as well as through other methods of open space for the future generations.

In terms of water pollution, you already know that we have announced in the State of the Union Message a $10 billion program which, according to the latest intensive survey by the Department of Interior, is the amount that is needed to provide all of the sewage disposal plants that this country needs. We are going to provide that over a period of 5 years.

How are we going to do it? It will be on the basis of our $4 billion Federal grant, supplemented by a $6 billion matching program on the part of the States and the municipal districts.

There is, however, this difference: As far as the $4 billion Federal grant is concerned, we are not talking about authorization and then not have funding. As a matter of fact, we have decided that that $4 billion should be appropriated and made available and be committed at the rate of $1 billion a year in the first 4 years of the 5-year program, so that by the time the 5 years is completed, the facilities will have been funded and, therefore, will have the time to be completed.

The other point with regard to the State and local communities that we found in

talking with the Governors was that many times, when the Federal Government does make funds available, there are some districts and some States, not these States, but some States and some districts, which do not have the credit rating which will enable them to sell the bonds to meet their commitment.

So the message will provide an innovative new method to take care of this situation, a method through which we will provide a secondary mortgage market, whereby the Federal Government will guarantee obligations for such districts or States so that we can be sure that the entire $10 billion, 60 percent from the States and local communities, and 40 percent from the Federal Government, will be committed and spent so that the facilities will be completed in the 5-year period.

One final note and I will leave you to the other participants in the conference. I have taken notice of the fact, as I note many of the members of the press have, of some disagreement as to whether the funds that we have asked for in the field of sewage disposal are enough. We believe that they are. And Mr. Train will be able to answer specific questions, because he made the survey in the Department of Interior on this point. But whatever it costs, we are going to do the job, but $10 billion is the best estimate of what it will cost.

But related, of course, to the criticism with regard to costs, which are certainly to be expected and welcomed in terms of finding the right answer, there has also been, it seems to me, a rather sterile discussion as to who really deserves the credit for discovering the issue of pollution and dealing with it.

I am aware of some of the criticisms that have been made in that respect, that this administration found pollution late, and that the credit really should go to others who recognized it earlier.

Let's just get right to the fundamentals. The fundamental question is this: There is pollution of air, there is pollution of the water. We do have a major problem with regard to recreation areas in this country. If we don't act now on all of these problems, we are not going to have an environment that is fit to live in in the United States within 10 to 15 years.

We recognize the problem. We are going to deal with it. As far as clean air and clean water and recreation areas are concerned, they don't have a Republican label or a Democratic label. There is no partisan gain, I think, to be derived by either party by making this basically a political issue.

What we need is the cooperation of the Federal Government, the State governments, of both parties, and of private individuals to deal with the problem. And it is in that spirit that we are going to totally mobilize the resources of this country to deal with this problem in which the American people are very vitally interested.

I finally would like to say that I want to congratulate the members of the press in the Chicago area. I noted, for example, the articles that have been appearing in the Chicago Tribune in this field, and the fact that the Tribune named an environmental editor.

I know that the other papers in the area, the Sun Times, the Daily News, and others as well, that they have showed very great interest, and that the television stations and others have indicated an interest in this problem.

It seems to me that what is needed is a

national education program with regard to how big the problem is, so that we can see that it gets the priority, the high priority that it needs, when we allocate funds among a number of causes, all of which are worthy, but some of which have to come first.

The reason why the environment must come first is that it is one area that, unless we do it now, it won't make any difference what we do later.

Finally, with regard to the political credit, I will only say that if we succeed in initiating a program that is effective in cleaning up our air and in cleaning up our water and in saving our recreation lands, there will be plenty of credit for everyone. If we don't succeed, who is to blame isn't going to matter. And that is the spirit of our meeting this morning.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m. in the Field Museum of Natural History.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the meeting by Russell E. Train, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, and Governors Edgar D. Whitcomb of Indiana, Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois, William G. Milliken of Michigan, and Warren P. Knowles of Wisconsin.

35 Remarks on the Departure of the Secretary of State to Africa. *February* 7, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen of the press:

We have invited you here on Saturday morning because this is more than a routine trip by a Secretary of State. This is the first time that the Secretary of State of the United States has paid a state visit to Africa. And while Secretaries of State have been in various countries in Africa and other parts of the world, this is the first time a state visit of this magnitude has been made by a Secretary of State.

This indicates the enormous importance of Africa—its 330 million people, its 43 countries—to the future of the world, its peace, its progress and prosperity.

It also indicates the high priority that this administration places on development of effective programs of cooperation with the nations of Africa.

When the Secretary returns, he will be making a report to the Nation and to the National Security Council and we will be developing African policy based on his findings.

But right now we wish him and Mrs. Rogers and all the members of their parties the very best as they go on this historic and very important journey.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:42 a.m. in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House. Secretary Rogers' response is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 146).

Secretary Rogers visited 10 African nations before returning to the United States on February 23, 1970. On March 26, 1970, he submitted a policy statement on Africa to the President for approval. The text of the statement is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 62, p. 513).

36 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1970 To Establish an Office of Telecommunications Policy. *February* 9, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

We live in a time when the technology of telecommunications is undergoing rapid change which will dramatically affect the whole of our society. It has long been recognized that the executive branch of the Federal Government should be better equipped to deal with the issues which arise from telecommunications growth. As the largest single user of the nation's telecommunications facilities, the Federal Government must also manage its internal communications operations in the most effective manner possible.

Accordingly, I am today transmitting to the Congress Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1970, prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code.

That plan would establish a new Office of Telecommunications Policy in the Executive Office of the President. The new unit would be headed by a Director and a Deputy Director who would be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The existing office held by the Director of Telecommunications Management in the Office of Emergency Preparedness would be abolished.

In addition to the functions which are transferred to it by the reorganization plan, the new Office would perform certain other duties which I intend to assign to it by Executive order as soon as the reorganization plan takes effect. That order would delegate to the new Office essentially those functions which are now assigned to the Director of Telecommunications Management. The Office of Telecommunications Policy would be assisted in its research and analysis responsibilities by the agencies and departments of the Executive Branch including another new office, located in the Department of Commerce.

The new Office of Telecommunications Policy would play three essential roles:

1. It would serve as the President's principal adviser on telecommunications policy, helping to formulate government policies concerning a wide range of domestic and international telecommunications issues and helping to develop plans and programs which take full advantage of the nation's technological capabilities. The speed of economic and technological advance in our time means that new questions concerning communications are constantly arising, questions on which the government must be well informed and well advised. The new Office will enable the President and all government officials to share more fully in the experience, the insights, and the forecasts of government and non-government experts.

2. The Office of Telecommunications Policy would help formulate policies and coordinate operations for the Federal government's own vast communications systems. It would, for example, set guidelines for the various departments and agencies concerning their communications equipment and services. It would regularly review the ability of government communications systems to meet the security needs of the nation and to perform effectively in time of emergency. The Of-

fice would direct the assignment of those portions of the radio spectrum which are reserved for government use, carry out responsibilities conferred on the President by the Communications Satellite Act, advise State and local governments, and provide policy direction for the National Communications System.

3. Finally, the new Office would enable the executive branch to speak with a clearer voice and to act as a more effective partner in discussions of communications policy with both the Congress and the Federal Communications Commission. This action would take away none of the prerogatives or functions assigned to the Federal Communications Commission by the Congress. It is my hope, however, that the new Office and the Federal Communications Commission would cooperate in achieving certain reforms in telecommunications policy, especially in their procedures for allocating portions of the radio spectrum for government and civilian use. Our current procedures must be more flexible if they are to deal adequately with problems such as the worsening spectrum shortage.

Each reorganization included in the plan which accompanies this message is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to section 901(a)(1), "to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;" and section 901(a)(3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the government to the fullest extent practicable."

The reorganizations provided for in this plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers, as specified in sections 3(a) and 3(b) of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are comparable to those fixed for other officers in the executive branch who have similar responsibilities.

This plan should result in the more efficient operation of the government. It is not practical, however, to itemize or aggregate the exact expenditure reductions which will result from this action.

The public interest requires that government policies concerning telecommunications be formulated with as much sophistication and vision as possible. This reorganization plan—and the executive order which would follow it—are necessary instruments if the government is to respond adequately to the challenges and opportunities presented by the rapid pace of change in communications. I urge that the Congress allow this plan to become effective so that these necessary reforms can be accomplished.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 9, 1970

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1970 became effective on April 20, 1970. On September 4, 1970, the President issued Executive Order 11556, Assigning Telecommunications Functions.

Also on February 9, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Clay T. Whitehead, Staff Assistant. Mr. Whitehead became Director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy on September 22, 1970.

An announcement, on January 23, 1970, of administration recommendations of regulatory policies on the use of communications satellites for domestic telecommunications services is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 66). On the same

day, the White House released the text of a memorandum from Peter Flanigan, Assistant to the President, to Dean Burch, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, which outlined the recommendations; and the transcript of a news briefing on domestic satellite communications by Mr. Flanigan and Mr. Whitehead.

37 Remarks on Transmitting a Special Message to the Congress on Environmental Quality. *February* 10, 1970

I HAVE SENT to the Congress today a sweeping set of proposals to clean up our Nation's air and water and to make our land more livable.

This is the most far-reaching and comprehensive message on conservation and restoration of our natural resources ever submitted to the Congress by a President of the United States.

We are taking these actions not in some distant future but now, because we know that it is now or never.

We are launching this campaign not on a piecemeal basis but nationwide, with nationwide standards and a comprehensive plan.

I am urging the Congress to pass 23 specific proposals, and I am moving on 14 more measures by administrative action.

Now, here are some of the highlights:

First, to clean up our Nation's waters, I am proposing a 5-year, $10 billion Clean Waters Act to provide the municipal treatment plants needed to meet our water quality standards nationwide; and I am proposing a comprehensive enforcement plan with strong new legal weapons to insure that no city and no industry is allowed to continue polluting lakes and rivers.

To clean up the Nation's airs, these are some of the things I have proposed: Today we are publishing new and more rigorous standards to limit the pollution that can be caused by tomorrow's automobiles.

I have ordered the start of research on new types of pollution-free automobiles in cooperation with private enterprises.

The words of the automotive pioneer, Charles Kettering, who invented the self-starter, should be of special inspiration to the automotive industry and to all of us. "We should all be concerned about the future," he said, "because we will have to spend the rest of our lives there." The lives we spend there in the future, motorist and pedestrian, are going to be pollution-free.

To cope with air pollution by incinerators and industries, I propose that the Federal Government establish nationwide air quality standards and that strict new enforcement power be provided.

To clean up the land, I have proposed extension of the Solid Waste Disposal Act but with new emphasis on the development of materials for packaging that can be broken down and disposed of more easily.

And to make our land more usable to more people, I have ordered an inventory of all Federal land.

The Federal Government owns thousands of acres of land in and near metropolitan areas that it no longer needs. Under my proposals, this land will either be turned to recreational use or sold to

finance creation of new recreational areas.

The task of cleaning up our environment calls for a total effort by ourselves and by our next generation. We shall be reaching out, therefore, in an effort to enlist millions of helping hands, millions of willing spirits, millions of volunteer citizens who will put to themselves the simple question: What can I do?

With vigorous Federal leadership, with active enlistment of governments at every level, with the aid of industry and private groups, and, above all, with the determined participation by individual citizens in every State and in every community, we at last will succeed in restoring the kind of environment we deserve.

My administration's aim here, as in all that we do, is reform, restoration, and renewal. For generations in this country we have sung and loved the song "America the Beautiful." The beauty of this land lifts up our spirits. It provides an inspiration for the American ideals of liberty and opportunity.

Now, more than ever, we need to feel that inspiration, we need to see those ideals clearly. And that is why the restoration of America, the beautiful, is so important. We shall take pride in our surroundings and pass on to coming generations a place of beauty.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in his office at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later radio and television broadcast.

38 Special Message to the Congress on Environmental Quality. *February* 10, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Like those in the last century who tilled a plot of land to exhaustion and then moved on to another, we in this century have too casually and too long abused our natural environment. The time has come when we can wait no longer to repair the damage already done, and to establish new criteria to guide us in the future.

The fight against pollution, however, is not a search for villains. For the most part, the damage done to our environment has not been the work of evil men, nor has it been the inevitable by-product either of advancing technology or of growing population. It results not so much from choices made, as from choices neglected; not from malign intention, but from failure to take into account the full consequences of our actions.

Quite inadvertently, by ignoring environmental costs we have given an economic advantage to the careless polluter over his more conscientious rival. While adopting laws prohibiting injury to person or property, we have freely allowed injury to our shared surroundings. Conditioned by an expanding frontier, we came only late to a recognition of how precious and how vulnerable our resources of land, water and air really are.

The tasks that need doing require money, resolve and ingenuity—and they are too big to be done by government alone. They call for fundamentally new philosophies of land, air and water use, for stricter regulation, for expanded government action, for greater citizen involvement, and for new programs to ensure that government, industry and

individuals all are called on to do their share of the job and to pay their share of the cost.

Because the many aspects of environmental quality are closely interwoven, to consider each in isolation would be unwise. Therefore, I am today outlining a comprehensive, 37-point program, embracing 23 major legislative proposals and 14 new measures being taken by administrative action or Executive Order in five major categories:

—Water pollution control.

—Air pollution control.

—Solid waste management.

—Parklands and public recreation.

—Organizing for action.

As we deepen our understanding of complex ecological processes, as we improve our technologies and institutions and learn from experience, much more will be possible. But these 37 measures represent actions we can take *now,* and that can move us dramatically forward toward what has become an urgent common goal of all Americans: the rescue of our natural habitat as a place both habitable and hospitable to man.

Water Pollution

Water pollution has three principal sources: municipal, industrial and agricultural wastes. All three must eventually be controlled if we are to restore the purity of our lakes and rivers.

Of these three, the most troublesome to control are those from agricultural sources: animal wastes, eroded soil, fertilizers and pesticides. Some of these are nature's own pollutions. The Missouri River was known as "Big Muddy" long before towns and industries were built on its banks. But many of the same techniques of pest control, livestock feeding, irrigation and soil fertilization that have made American agriculture so abundantly productive have also caused serious water pollution.

Effective control will take time, and will require action on many fronts: modified agricultural practices, greater care in the disposal of animal wastes, better soil conservation methods, new kinds of fertilizers, new chemical pesticides and more widespread use of natural pest control techniques. A number of such actions are already underway. We have taken action to phase out the use of DDT and other hard pesticides. We have begun to place controls on wastes from concentrated animal feed-lots. We need programs of intensified research, both public and private, to develop new methods of reducing agricultural pollution while maintaining productivity. I have asked The Council on Environmental Quality to press forward in this area. Meanwhile, however, we have the technology and the resources to proceed *now* on a program of swift clean-up of pollution from the most acutely damaging sources: municipal and industrial waste.

MUNICIPAL WASTES

As long as we have the means to do something about it, there is no good reason why municipal pollution of our waters should be allowed to persist unchecked.

In the four years since the Clean Waters Restoration Act of 1966 was passed, we have failed to keep our promises to ourselves: Federal appropriations for constructing municipal treatment plants have totaled only about one-third of authorizations. Municipalities themselves have faced increasing difficulty in selling

bonds to finance their share of the construction costs. Given the saturated condition of today's municipal bond markets, if a clean-up program is to work it has to provide the means by which municipalities can finance their share of the cost even as we increase Federal expenditures.

The best current estimate is that it will take a total capital investment of about $10 billion over a five-year period to provide the municipal waste treatment plants and interceptor lines needed to meet our national water quality standards. This figure is based on a recently-completed nationwide survey of the deficiencies of present facilities, plus projections of additional needs that will have developed by then—to accommodate the normal annual increase in the volume of wastes, and to replace equipment that can be expected to wear out or become obsolete in the interim.

This will provide every community that needs it with secondary waste treatment, and also special, additional treatment in areas of special need, including communities on the Great Lakes. We have the industrial capacity to do the job in five years if we begin now.

To meet this construction schedule, I propose a two-part program of Federal assistance:

—*I propose a Clean Waters Act with $4 billion to be authorized immediately, for Fiscal 1971, to cover the full Federal share of the total $10 billion cost on a matching fund basis. This would be allocated at a rate of $1 billion a year for the next four years, with a reassessment in 1973 of needs for 1975 and subsequent years.*

By thus assuring communities of full Federal support, we can enable planning to begin *now* for all needed facilities and construction to proceed at an accelerated rate.

—*I propose creation of a new Environmental Financing Authority, to ensure that every municipality in the country has an opportunity to sell its waste treatment plant construction bonds.*

The condition of the municipal bond market is such that, in 1969, 509 issues totaling $2.9 billion proved unsalable. If a municipality cannot sell waste treatment plant construction bonds, EFA will buy them and will sell its own bonds on the taxable market. Thus, construction of pollution control facilities will depend not on a community's credit rating, but on its waste disposal needs.

Providing money is important, but equally important is where and how the money is spent. A river cannot be polluted on its left bank and clean on its right. In a given waterway, abating *some* of the pollution is often little better than doing nothing at all, and money spent on such partial efforts is often largely wasted. Present grant allocation formulas—those in the 1966 Act—have prevented the spending of funds where they could produce the greatest results in terms of clean water. Too little attention has been given to seeing that investments in specific waste treatment plants have been matched by other municipalities and industries on the same waterway. Many plants have been poorly designed and inefficiently operated. Some municipalities have offered free treatment to local industries, then not treated their wastes sufficiently to prevent pollution.

To ensure that the new funds are well invested, five major reforms are needed.

One requires legislation: the other four will be achieved by administrative action.

—*I propose that the present, rigid allocation formula be revised, so that special emphasis can be given to areas where facilities are most needed and where the greatest improvements in water quality will result.*

Under existing authority, the Secretary of the Interior will institute four major reforms:

—*Federally assisted treatment plants will be required to meet prescribed design, operation and maintenance standards, and to be operated only by State-certified operators.*

—*Municipalities receiving Federal assistance in constructing plants will be required to impose reasonable users' fees on industrial users sufficient to meet the costs of treating industrial wastes.*

—*Development of comprehensive river basin plans will be required at an early date, to ensure that Federally assisted treatment plants will in fact contribute to effective clean-up of entire river basin systems. Collection of existing data on pollution sources and development of effluent inventories will permit systems approaches to pollution control.*

—*Wherever feasible, communities will be strongly encouraged to cooperate in the construction of large regional treatment facilities, which provide economies of scale and give more efficient and more thorough waste treatment.*

INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION

Some industries discharge their wastes into municipal systems; others discharge them directly into lakes and rivers. Obviously, unless we curb industrial as well as municipal pollution our waters will never be clean.

Industry itself has recognized the problem, and many industrial firms are making vigorous efforts to control their waterborne wastes. But strict standards and strict enforcement are nevertheless necessary—not only to ensure compliance, but also in fairness to those who have voluntarily assumed the often costly burden while their competitors have not. Good neighbors should not be placed at a competitive disadvantage because of their good neighborliness.

Under existing law, standards for water pollution control often are established in only the most general and insufficient terms: for example, by requiring all affected industries to install secondary treatment facilities. This approach takes little account of such crucial variables as the volume and toxicity of the wastes actually being discharged, or the capacity of a particular body of water to absorb wastes without becoming polluted. Even more important, it provides a poor basis for enforcement: with no effluent standard by which to measure, it is difficult to prove in court that standards are being violated.

The present fragmenting of jurisdictions also has hindered comprehensive efforts. At present, Federal jurisdiction generally extends only to interstate waters. One result has been that as stricter State-Federal standards have been imposed, pollution has actually increased in some other waters—in underground aquifers and the oceans. As controls over interstate waters are tightened, polluting industries will be increasingly tempted to locate on intrastate lakes and rivers—with a consequently increased threat to those water-

ways—unless they too are brought under the same strictures.

I propose that we take an entirely new approach: one which concerts Federal, State and private efforts, which provides for effective nationwide enforcement, and which rests on a simple but profoundly significant principle: that the nation's waterways belong to us all, and that neither a municipality nor an industry should be allowed to discharge wastes into those waterways beyond their capacity to absorb the wastes without becoming polluted.

Specifically, I propose a seven-point program of measures we should adopt *now* to enforce control of water pollution from industrial and municipal wastes, and to give the states more effective backing in their own efforts.

—*I propose that State-Federal water quality standards be amended to impose precise effluent requirements on all industrial and municipal sources. These should be imposed on an expeditious timetable, with the limit for each based on a fair allocation of the total capacity of the waterway to absorb the user's particular kind of waste without becoming polluted.*

—*I propose that violation of established effluent requirements be considered sufficient cause for court action.*

—*I propose that the Secretary of the Interior be allowed to proceed more swiftly in his enforcement actions, and that he be given new legal weapons including subpoena and discovery power.*

—*I propose that failure to meet established water quality standards or implementation schedules be made subject to court-imposed fines of up to $10,000 per day.*

—*I propose that the Secretary of the Interior be authorized to seek immediate injunctive relief in emergency situations in which severe water pollution constitutes an imminent danger to health, or threatens irreversible damage to water quality.*

—*I propose that the Federal pollution-control program be extended to include all navigable waters, both inter- and intra-state, all interstate ground waters, the United States' portion of boundary waters, and waters of the Contiguous Zone.*

—*I propose that Federal operating grants to State pollution control enforcement agencies be tripled over the next five years—from $10 million now to $30 million in fiscal year 1975—to assist them in meeting the new responsibilities that stricter and expanded enforcement will place upon them.*

Air Pollution Control

Air is our most vital resource, and its pollution is our most serious environmental problem. Existing technology for the control of air pollution is less advanced than that for controlling water pollution, but there is a great deal we can do within the limits of existing technology—and more we can do to spur technological advance.

Most air pollution is produced by the burning of fuels. About half is produced by motor vehicles.

MOTOR VEHICLES

The Federal Government began regulating automobile emissions of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons with the

1968 model year. Standards for 1970 model cars have been made significantly tighter. This year, for the first time, emissions from new buses and heavy-duty trucks have also been brought under Federal regulation.

In future years, emission levels can and must be brought much lower.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is today publishing a notice of new, considerably more stringent motor vehicle emission standards he intends to issue for 1973 and 1975 models—including control of nitrogen oxides by 1973 and of particulate emissions by 1975.

These new standards represent our best present estimate of the lowest emission levels attainable by those years.

Effective control requires new legislation to correct two key deficiencies in the present law:

a) *Testing procedures.* Under present law, only manufacturers' prototype vehicles are tested for compliance with emission standards, and even this is voluntary rather than mandatory.

I propose legislation requiring that representative samples of actual production vehicles be tested throughout the model year.

b) *Fuel composition and additives.* What goes into a car's fuel has a major effect on what comes out of its exhaust, and also on what kinds of pollution-control devices can effectively be employed. Federal standards for what comes out of a car's engine should be accompanied by standards for what goes into it.

I propose legislation authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to regulate fuel composition and additives.

With these changes, we can drastically reduce pollution from motor vehicles in the years just ahead. But in making and keeping our peace with nature, to plan only one year ahead or even five is hardly to plan at all. Our responsibility now is also to look beyond the Seventies, and the prospects then are uncertain. Based on present trends, it is quite possible that by 1980 the increase in the sheer number of cars in densely populated areas will begin outrunning the technological limits of our capacity to reduce pollution from the internal combustion engine. I hope this will not happen. I hope the automobile industry's present determined effort to make the internal combustion engine sufficiently pollution-free succeeds. But if it does not, then unless motor vehicles with an alternative, low-pollution power source are available, vehicle-caused pollution will once again begin an inexorable increase.

Therefore, prudence dictates that we move now to ensure that such a vehicle will be available if needed.

I am inaugurating a program to marshal both government and private research with the goal of producing an unconventionally powered, virtually pollution-free automobile within five years.

—*I have ordered the start of an extensive Federal research and development program in unconventional vehicles, to be conducted under the general direction of the Council on Environmental Quality.*

—*As an incentive to private developers, I have ordered that the Federal Government should undertake the purchase of privately produced unconventional vehicles for testing and evaluation.*

A proposal currently before the Congress would provide a further incentive to private developers by authorizing the Federal government to offer premium

prices for purchasing low-pollution cars for its own use. This could be a highly productive program once such automobiles are approaching development, although current estimates are that, initially, prices offered would have to be up to 200% of the cost of equivalent conventional vehicles rather than the 125% contemplated in the proposed legislation. The immediate task, however, is to see that an intensified program of research and development begins at once.

One encouraging aspect of the effort to curb motor vehicle pollution is the extent to which industry itself is taking the initiative. For example, the nation's principal automobile manufacturers are not only developing devices now to meet present and future Federal emission standards, but are also, on their own initiative, preparing to put on the market by 1972 automobiles which will not require and, indeed, must not use leaded gasoline. Such cars will not only discharge no lead into the atmosphere, but will also be equipped with still more effective devices for controlling emissions—devices made possible by the use of lead-free gasoline.

This is a great forward step taken by the manufacturers before any Federal regulation of lead additives or emissions has been imposed. I am confident that the petroleum industry will see to it that suitable non-leaded gasoline is made widely available for these new cars when they come on the market.

STATIONARY-SOURCE POLLUTION

Industries, power plants, furnaces, incinerators—these and other so-called "stationary sources" add enormously to the pollution of the air. In highly industrialized areas, such pollution can quite literally make breathing hazardous to health, and can cause unforeseen atmospheric and meteorological problems as well.

Increasingly, industry itself has been adopting ambitious pollution-control programs, and state and local authorities have been setting and enforcing stricter anti-pollution standards. But they have not gone far enough or fast enough, nor, to be realistic about it, will they be able to without the strongest possible Federal backing. Without effective government standards, industrial firms that spend the necessary money for pollution control may find themselves at a serious economic disadvantage as against their less conscientious competitors. And without effective Federal standards, states and communities that require such controls find themselves at a similar disadvantage in attracting industry, against more permissive rivals. Air is no respecter of political boundaries: a community that sets and enforces strict standards may still find its air polluted from sources in another community or another state.

Under the Clean Air Act of 1967, the Federal government is establishing air quality control regions around the nation's major industrial and metropolitan areas. Within these regions, states are setting air quality standards—permissible levels of pollutants in the air—and developing plans for pollution abatement to achieve those air quality standards. All state air quality standards and implementation plans require Federal approval.

This program has been the first major Federal effort to control air pollution. It has been a useful beginning. But we have learned in the past two years that it has

shortcomings. Federal designation of air quality control regions, while necessary in areas where emissions from one state are polluting the air in another, has been a time-consuming process. Adjoining states within the same region often have proposed inconsistent air quality standards, causing further delays for compromise and revision. There are no provisions for controlling pollution *outside* of established air quality control regions. This means that even with the designation of hundreds of such regions, some areas of the country with serious air pollution problems would remain outside of the program. This is unfair not only to the public but to many industries as well, since those within regions with strict requirements could be unfairly disadvantaged with respect to competitors that are not within regions. Finally, insufficient Federal enforcement powers have circumscribed the Federal government's ability to support the states in establishing and enforcing effective abatement programs.

It is time to build on what we have learned, and to begin a more ambitious national effort. I recommend that the Clean Air Act be revised to expand the scope of strict pollution abatement, to simplify the task of industry in pollution abatement through more nearly uniform standards, and to provide special controls against particularly dangerous pollutants.

—*I propose that the Federal government establish nationwide air quality standards, with the States to prepare within one year abatement plans for meeting those standards.*

This will provide a minimum standard for air quality for all areas of the nation, while permitting States to set more stringent standards for any or all sections within the state. National air quality standards will relieve the States of the lengthy process of standard-setting under Federal supervision, and allow them to concentrate on the immediate business of developing and implementing abatement plans.

These abatement plans would cover areas both inside and outside of Federally designated air quality control regions, and could be designed to achieve any higher levels of air quality which the States might choose to establish. They would include emission standards for stationary sources of air pollution.

—*I propose that designation of interstate air quality control regions continue at an accelerated rate, to provide a framework for establishing compatible abatement plans in interstate areas.*

—*I propose that the Federal government establish national emissions standards for facilities that emit pollutants extremely hazardous to health, and for selected classes of new facilities which could be major contributors to air pollution.*

In the first instance, national standards are needed to guarantee the earliest possible elimination of certain air pollutants which are clear health hazards even in minute quantities. In the second instance, national standards will ensure that advanced abatement technology is used in constructing the new facilities, and that levels of air quality are maintained in the face of industrial expansion. Before any emissions standards were established, public hearings would be required involving all interested parties. The States would be responsible for enforcing these standards

in conjunction with their own programs.

—*I propose that Federal authority to seek court action be extended to include both inter- and intrastate air pollution situations in which, because of local non-enforcement, air quality is below national standards, or in which emissions standards or implementation timetables are being violated.*

—*I propose that failure to meet established air quality standards or implementation schedules be made subject to court-imposed fines of up to $10,000 per day.*

Solid Waste Management

"Solid wastes" are the discarded leftovers of our advanced consumer society. Increasing in volume, they litter the landscape and strain the facilities of municipal governments.

New packaging methods, using materials which do not degrade and cannot easily be burned, create difficult new disposal problems. Though many wastes are potentially re-usable, we often discard today what a generation ago we saved. Most bottles, for example, now are "nonreturnable." We re-process used paper less than we used to, not only adding to the burden on municipal sanitation services but also making wasteful use of scarce timberlands. Often the least expensive way to dispose of an old automobile is to abandon it—and millions of people do precisely that, creating eyesores for millions of others.

One way to meet the problem of solid wastes is simply to surrender to it: to continue pouring more and more public money into collection and disposal of whatever happens to be privately produced and discarded. This is the old way; it amounts to a public subsidy of waste pollution. If we are ever truly to gain control of the problem, our goal must be broader: to reduce the volume of wastes and the difficulty of their disposal, and to encourage their constructive re-use instead.

To accomplish this, we need incentives, regulations and research directed especially at two major goals: a) making products more easily disposable—especially containers, which are designed for disposal; and b) re-using and recycling a far greater proportion of waste materials.

As we look toward the long-range future—to 1980, 2000 and beyond—recycling of materials will become increasingly necessary not only for waste disposal but also to conserve resources. While our population grows, each one of us keeps using more of the earth's resources. In the case of many common minerals, more than half those extracted from the earth since time began have been extracted since 1910.

A great deal of our space research has been directed toward creating self-sustaining environments, in which people can live for long periods of time by re-processing, re-cycling and re-using the same materials. We need to apply this kind of thinking more consciously and more broadly to our patterns of use and disposal of materials here on earth.

Many currently used techniques of solid waste disposal remain crudely deficient. Research and development programs under the Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965 have added significantly to our knowledge of more efficient techniques. The Act expires this year. I recommend its extension, and I have already moved to broaden its programs.

I have ordered a re-direction of research under the Solid Waste Disposal Act to place greater emphasis on techniques for re-cycling materials, and on development and use of packaging and other materials which will degrade after use—that is, which will become temporary rather than permanent wastes.

Few of America's eyesores are so unsightly as its millions of junk automobiles.

Ordinarily, when a car is retired from use it goes first to a wrecker, who strips it of its valuable parts, and then to a scrap processor, who reduces the remainder to scrap for sale to steel mills. The prices paid by wreckers for junk cars often are less than the cost of transporting them to the wrecking yard. In the case of a severely damaged or "cannibalized" car, instead of paying for it the wrecker may even charge towing costs. Thus the final owner's economic incentive to deliver his car for processing is slight, non-existent or even negative.

The rate of abandonment is increasing. In New York City, 2,500 cars were towed away as abandoned on the streets in 1960. In 1964, 25,000 were towed away as abandoned; in 1969, more than 50,000.

The way to provide the needed incentive is to apply to the automobile the principle that its price should include not only the cost of producing it, but also the cost of disposing of it.

I have asked the Council on Environmental Quality to take the lead in producing a recommendation for a bounty payment or other system to promote the prompt scrapping of all junk automobiles.

The particular disposal problems presented by the automobile are unique. However, wherever appropriate we should also seek to establish incentives and regulations to encourage the re-use, re-cycling or easier disposal of other commonly used goods.

I have asked the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality to work with the Cabinet Committee on the Environment, and with appropriate industry and consumer representatives, toward development of such incentives and regulations for submission to the Congress.

Parks and Public Recreation

Increasing population, increasing mobility, increasing incomes and increasing leisure will all combine in the years ahead to rank recreational facilities among the most vital of our public resources. Yet land suitable for such facilities, especially near heavily populated areas, is being rapidly swallowed up.

Plain common sense argues that we give greater priority to acquiring now the lands that will be so greatly needed in a few years. Good sense also argues that the Federal Government itself, as the nation's largest landholder, should address itself more imaginatively to the question of making optimum use of its own holdings in a recreation-hungry era.

—*I propose full funding in fiscal 1971 of the $327 million available through the Land and Water Conservation Fund for additional park and recreational facilities, with increased emphasis on locations that can be easily reached by the people in crowded urban areas.*

—*I propose that we adopt a new philosophy for the use of Federally-owned lands, treating them as a precious resource—like money itself—which should be made to serve the highest possible public good.*

Acquiring needed recreation areas is a real estate transaction. One third of all the land in the United States—more than 750,000,000 acres—is owned by the Federal Government. Thousands of acres in the heart of metropolitan areas are reserved for only minimal use by Federal installations. To supplement the regularly-appropriated funds available, nothing could be more appropriate than to meet new real estate needs through use of presently-owned real estate, whether by transfer, sale or conversion to a better use.

Until now, the uses to which Federally-owned properties were put has largely been determined by who got them first. As a result, countless properties with enormous potential as recreation areas linger on in the hands of agencies that could just as well—or better—locate elsewhere. Bureaucratic inertia is compounded by a quirk of present accounting procedures, which has the effect of imposing a budgetary penalty on an agency that gives up one piece of property and moves to another, even if the vacated property is sold for 10 times the cost of the new.

The time has come to make more rational use of our enormous wealth of real property, giving a new priority to our newly urgent concern with public recreation—and to make more imaginative use of properties now surplus to finance acquisition of properties now needed.

—*By Executive Order [11508], I am directing the heads of all Federal agencies and the Administrator of General Services to institute a review of all Federally-owned real properties that should be considered for other uses. The test will be whether a particular property's continued present use or another would better serve the public interest, considering both the agency's needs and the property's location. Special emphasis will be placed on identifying properties that could appropriately be converted to parks and recreation areas, or sold, so that proceeds can be made available to provide additional park and recreation lands.*

—*I am establishing a Property Review Board to review the GSA reports and recommend to me what properties should be converted or sold. This Board will consist of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and the Administrator of General Services, plus others that I may designate.*

—*I propose legislation to establish, for the first time, a program for relocating Federal installations that occupy locations that could better be used for other purposes.*

This would allow a part of the proceeds from the sales of surplus properties to be used for relocating such installations, thus making more land available.

—*I also propose accompanying legislation to protect the Land and Water Conservation Fund, ensuring that its sources of income would be maintained and possibly increased for purchasing additional parkland.*

The net effect would be to increase our capacity to add new park and recreational facilities, by enabling us for the first time to use surplus property sales in a coordinated three-way program: a) by direct conversion from other uses; b) through sale of presently-owned properties and

purchase of others with the proceeds; and c) by sale of one Federal property, and use of the proceeds to finance the relocation and conversion costs of making another property available for recreational use.

—*I propose that the Department of the Interior be given authority to convey surplus real property to State and local governments for park and recreation purposes at a public benefit discount ranging up to 100 percent.*

—*I propose that Federal procedures be revised to encourage Federal agencies to make efficient use of real property. This revision should remove the budgetary penalty now imposed on agencies relinquishing one site and moving to another.*

As one example of what such a property review can make possible, a sizable stretch of one of California's finest beaches has long been closed to the public because it was part of Camp Pendleton. Last month the Defense Department arranged to make more than a mile of that beach available to the State of California for use as a State park. The remaining beach is sufficient for Camp Pendleton's needs; thus the released stretch represents a shift from low-priority to high-priority use. By carefully weighing alternative uses, a priceless recreational resource was returned to the people for recreational purposes.

Another vast source of potential parklands also lies untapped. We have come to realize that we have too much land available for growing crops and not enough land for parks, open space and recreation.

—*I propose that instead of simply paying each year to keep this land idle, we help local governments buy selected parcels of it to provide recreational facilities for use by the people of towns in rural areas. This program has been tried, but allowed to lapse; I propose that we revive and expand it.*

—*I propose that we also adopt a program of long-term contracts with private owners of idled farmland, providing for its reforestation and public use for such pursuits as hunting, fishing, hiking and picnicking.*

Organizing for Action

The environmental problems we face are deep-rooted and widespread. They can be solved only by a full national effort embracing not only sound, coordinated planning, but also an effective follow-through that reaches into every community in the land. Improving our surroundings is necessarily the business of us all.

At the Federal level, we have begun the process of organizing for this effort.

The Council on Environmental Quality has been established. This Council will be the keeper of our environmental conscience, and a goad to our ingenuity; beyond this, it will have responsibility for ensuring that all our programs and actions are undertaken with a careful respect for the needs of environmental quality. I have already assigned it major responsibilities for new program development, and I shall look to it increasingly for new initiatives.

The Cabinet Committee on the Environment, which I created last year, acts as a coordinating agency for various departmental activities affecting the environment.

To meet future needs, many organizational changes will still be needed. Federal

institutions for dealing with the environment and natural resources have developed piecemeal over the years in response to specific needs, not all of which were originally perceived in the light of the concerns we recognize today. Many of their missions appear to overlap, and even to conflict. Last year I asked the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, headed by Mr. Roy Ash, to make an especially thorough study of the organization of Federal environmental, natural resource and oceanographic programs, and to report its recommendations to me by April 15. After receiving their report, I shall recommend needed reforms, which will involve major reassignments of responsibilities among Departments.

For many of the same reasons, overlaps in environmental programs extend to the Legislative as well as the Executive branch, so that close consultation will be necessary before major steps are taken.

No matter how well organized government itself might be, however, in the final analysis the key to success lies with the people of America.

Private industry has an especially crucial role. Its resources, its technology, its demonstrated ingenuity in solving problems others only talk about—all these are needed, not only in helping curb the pollution industry itself creates but also in helping devise new and better ways of enhancing all aspects of our environment.

I have ordered that the United States Patent Office give special priority to the processing of applications for patents which could aid in curbing environmental abuses.

Industry already has begun moving swiftly toward a fuller recognition of its own environmental responsibilities, and has made substantial progress in many areas. However, more must be done.

Mobilizing industry's resources requires organization. With a remarkable degree of unanimity, its leaders have indicated their readiness to help.

I will shortly ask a group of the nation's principal industrial leaders to join me in establishing a National Industrial Pollution Control Council.

The Council will work closely with the Council on Environmental Quality, the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, the Secretary of Commerce and others as appropriate in the development of effective policies for the curbing of air, water, noise and waste pollution from industrial sources. It will work to enlist increased support from business and industry in the drive to reduce pollution, in all its forms, to the minimum level possible. It will provide a mechanism through which, in many cases, government can work with key leaders in various industries to establish voluntary programs for accomplishing desired pollution-control goals.

Patterns of organization often turn out to be only as good as the example set by the organizer. For years, many Federal facilities have themselves been among the worst polluters. The Executive Order [11507] I issued last week not only accepts responsibility for putting a swift end to Federal pollution, but puts teeth into the commitment.

I hope this will be an example for others.

At the turn of the century, our chief environmental concern was to conserve what we had—and out of this concern grew the often embattled but always determined "conservation" movement. Today, "conservation" is as important as ever—

but no longer is it enough to conserve what we have; we must also restore what we have lost. We have to go beyond conservation to embrace restoration.

The task of cleaning up our environment calls for a total mobilization by all of us. It involves governments at every level; it requires the help of every citizen. It cannot be a matter of simply sitting back and blaming someone else. Neither is it one to be left to a few hundred leaders. Rather, it presents us with one of those rare situations in which each individual everywhere has an opportunity to make a special contribution to his country as well as his community.

Through the Council on Environmental Quality, through the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, and working with Governors and Mayors and county officials and with concerned private groups, we shall be reaching out in an effort to enlist millions of helping hands, millions of willing spirits—millions of volunteer citizens who will put to themselves the simple question: "What can *I* do?"

It is in this way—with vigorous Federal leadership, with active enlistment of governments at every level, with the aid of industry and private groups, and above all with the determined participation by individual citizens in every state and every community, that we at last will succeed in restoring the kind of environment we want for ourselves, and the kind the generations that come after deserve to inherit.

This task is ours together. It summons our energy, our ingenuity and our conscience in a cause as fundamental as life itself.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 10, 1970

NOTE: The White House also released a fact sheet on the environmental program.

39 Statement About National Defense Week, 1970. *February* 12, 1970

FREEDOM is an achievement, not a gift; and its maintenance depends upon the vigilance of those who share its blessing.

The American Nation has survived for nearly two centuries because our people have been vigilant and selfless and determined to prove that the great experiment—freedom—can succeed.

National Defense Week, February 12–22, 1970, is an occasion to recall the sacrifices of those who have over the life-span of the Republic served their country in uniform. It is also a time to pay tribute to the millions who serve today, many in distant outposts, and whose sacrifice and selflessness are in the finest tradition of the American citizen-soldier.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

40 Remarks on Presenting the National Medal of Science. *February* 16, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to welcome you all to the White House this morning for a very special occasion, one that comes only once a year.

On this occasion, we are making the

awards of the National Science Medal, and six awards will be made to six very distinguished scientists in the United States.

In making these awards, I note that they began in the year 1959. And that allows me to refer perhaps to some of the historical background for the creation of the award in the first place.

You will all remember that at the time Sputnik was put up by the Soviet Union, that there was naturally a very strong reaction in the United States. To a certain extent, it was an overreaction, some would say. The overreaction, perhaps, led to some very beneficial things: the first man landing on the moon, more emphasis on the training of scientists in the United States—but also to some inaccurate appraisals, inaccurate in terms of downgrading the quality of American education—of course, it can always be improved—but downgrading it to the extent that we tended to think that American scientists and particularly our education in the field of science was far behind the rest of the world.

That was not true then. It is not true now. We continue to move forward, and as we move forward, and as we recognize today these six distinguished scientists, we are also reminded of the fact that the scientific discipline and the scientific tradition in the United States is a very proud one.

We don't say this in any jingoistic sense, but one of the reasons that the United States is the first nation in the world in our progress is that we are the first nation in the world in science. And we hope to remain that way—hope to remain that way for the good not only of the people of the United States but for the people of the world.

Now just recently—and I am sure all of our friends who are receiving these awards today will appreciate this comment—we have had the announcement of an historic message to the Congress in the field of the environment. And a great debate is now raging in this country, a very constructive debate, as to whether there is really a conflict between progress and the quality of life.

We look at all the good things that we have around us, things that would not be here without the progress that was made possible because of the scientific genius represented by these six who represent far more throughout this Nation, throughout its history. And yet, when we think of that progress, and where we are, and how far we have come, we also realize that with that progress has come many, many problems—the problems of the pollution of our air and our water and of our land. And, consequently, we wonder what we can do about it.

And here, again, as was the case with Sputnik, there is a tendency to overreact, to react not simply to clean up the air and the water and to make the land more livable, but to react in terms of suggesting that progress, which is the result of this scientific genius, is in itself bad and that if only we could return to a time when man could live in his natural state.

Of course, history then tells us that that Rousseau romanticism was just that. It was a pleasant myth, but it was a myth.

Man in his natural state is not a particularly admirable creature. It does not mean that man as he develops becomes completely admirable, but it perhaps can

truly be said, as H. G. Wells said it, that history is really "a race between education and catastrophe." The right kind of education—that is really what it is all about.

Then finally I would just add this point: Dr. DuBridge's office furnished me some statistics about the number of college graduates we will have this year and the number who will receive bachelor of science degrees. There will be over 900,000 who will receive degrees from colleges and universities in the United States and approximately 80,000, less than one-tenth of them, will receive science degrees.

Now, I would also point out that political science is not included. And that is altogether proper. Political science is a misnomer. There is no science to politics. It cannot even be called an art. It can be called much worse, and is by some. [*Laughter*]

But I would say this as I stand in the presence of these men who have in their various disciplines contributed so much to the progress of America and mankind: We in the area of politics have an enormous responsibility to see that the wonders of science are turned to the benefit of mankind.

This is the central problem of our time, whether it is in the environment, whether it is in the problem of defending our security, or in any other area.

And I only hope that those of us—and there are many of us here from the Senate, from the House, from the Congress—that those of us in the field of politics will be able in our way to contribute as much to working out this delicate balance between scientific progress and a better life for man, will be able to contribute as much in that area as have these men in the field of science contributed to the progress of this Nation and to the world.

And now Dr. DuBridge will read the citations and I will present the medals.

[At this point, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, Science Adviser to the President, introduced five of the six recipients and Mrs. William Feller who accepted the Medal awarded posthumously to her husband. The citations were read by Dr. DuBridge as follows:

ROBERT J. HUEBNER—For contributions to the modern understanding of the biology of viruses and their role in the induction of diverse diseases.

ERNST MAYR—For notable contributions to systematics, biogeography, and the study of birds, and especially for great work on the evolution of animal populations.

JACK S. KILBY—For original conceptions and valuable contributions in the production and application of integrated circuits.

WILLIAM FELLER—For original and definitive contributions to pure and applied mathematics, for making probability available to users, and for pioneering work in establishing *Mathematical Reviews*.

HERBERT C. BROWN—For discovery and exploration of the hydroboration reaction and for developing it into a major and powerful tool in chemical synthesis.

WOLFGANG K. H. PANOFSKY—For classic experiments probing the elementary particles of matter and for contributions to advancing the means of experimentation in this challenging field.

After the presentation of the Medals by the President, he resumed speaking, as follows:]

Thank you very much, Dr. DuBridge.

And I would add only one point that I think was quite obvious in the presentation of the awards; and that is that science truly is not limited to any nation, or any race. It covers the whole world. How much

America owes to those who came to this land from so many other lands.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:38 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

The National Medal of Science was established by act of Congress (73 Stat. 431) "to provide recognition for individuals who make outstanding contributions in the physical, biological, mathematical, and engineering sciences." Awards are based on recommendations of the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science.

41 Statement About Assistance to Local Communities for School Desegregation Plans. *February* 16, 1970

THE SUPREME COURT has ordered that where any school district in the Nation is maintaining a dual school system based on race, it shall be changed to a unitary system.[1]

Recognizing local differences, the Courts have not defined what is meant by a "unitary system" but have left to local school boards the task of designing appropriate changes in assignments and facilities to bring their districts into compliance with the Courts' general requirements. These changes are embodied in desegregation plans, some of which are prepared, on request, with Federal assistance.

As a matter of general policy this administration will respond affirmatively to requests for assistance in the formulation and presentation to the Courts of desegregation plans designed to comply with the law.

I have directed that these principles should be followed in providing such assistance.

1. Desegregation plans should involve minimum possible disruption—whether by busing or otherwise—of the educational routines of children.

2. To the extent possible, the neighborhood school concept should be the rule.

3. Within the framework of law, school desegregation problems should be dealt with uniformly throughout the land.

I realize that in the school districts affected by the Courts' mandates, putting even the most carefully-considered desegregation plans into effect is going to cause controversy. Required changes will inevitably be accompanied by apprehension and concern at the time of their implementation.

On one point there should be no argument: The hundreds of thousands of children in the affected districts deserve what every other child in America deserves—a sound education in an atmosphere conducive to learning. This is my paramount interest, and in this regard I am sure I speak for the Nation.

America's public schools are our principal investment in our own future. In every State the public schools are literally the guarantee of that State's life and growth and health. Any community which permits its public school system to deteriorate condemns itself to economic and social stagnation; nobody knows this fact more surely than the business, labor, education, and religious leaders who serve their communities with dedication and pride.

In many States community leaders are

[1] *Alexander* v. *Holmes County (Mississippi) Board of Education,* October 29, 1969 (396 U.S. 19).

making themselves heard, counseling respect for law and development of public education of the highest attainable quality. I wish to associate myself with such counsel—to lend the weight of this Office and the available resources of the Federal Executive to the constructive work which is being carried on in community after community, and especially in those facing what for them are far-reaching and extremely difficult educational and social changes.

In order to explore what kinds of additional assistance the President and the Federal departments could usefully render to these communities, I have asked the Vice President to chair an informal Cabinet-level working group with Secretary of Labor George Shultz as Vice Chairman. Its members include Attorney General Mitchell, Postmaster General Blount, Secretary Finch, Assistant to the President Donald Rumsfeld, and Counsellors Moynihan and Harlow. I have instructed them to review in detail the efforts of the executive branch which are now or could be dedicated to helping school districts in complying with the Courts' requirements and to preserving the continuity of public education for thousands of school children.

The Courts have spoken; many schools throughout the country need help. The Nation urgently needs the civic statesmanship and levelheadedness of thousands of private citizens and public officials who must work together in their towns and cities to carry out the law and at the same time preserve educational opportunity. This administration will work with them.

NOTE: On February 18, 1970, the White House released the text of a letter from Counsellor to the President Bryce Harlow to Senator Hugh Scott, discussing the administration's position on proposed legislation dealing with school desegregation.

42 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Foundation. *February* 16, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The activities of the National Science Foundation are essential in increasing the Nation's fund of scientific knowledge, providing science training for our youth, and harnessing the forces of science for the good of our citizens. I am today submitting to the Congress the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Foundation, which tells of significant accomplishments in Fiscal Year 1969.

In that twelve-month period, the Foundation provided $225 million to support scientific research in every State of the Union; it invested more than $106 million to improve science education at every level from elementary school through the university; and it supported the improvement of our institutions of higher education through development-related grants totaling more than $50 million.

All of these investments will, I am confident, produce important benefits for our society. I am pleased to note that a number of such benefits were realized in Fiscal Year 1969 as a direct result of Foundation programs. As we go forward into the decade of the 70s, the role of science will surely become more and more important in the search for solutions to our

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problems and in the effort to enhance our environment.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 16, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Science Foundation Nineteenth Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1969" (Government Printing Office, 137 pp.).

43 Remarks to Reporters at a Briefing on the Foreign Policy Report to the Congress. *February* 18, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, this is a briefing on the message that will be sent to the Congress on Wednesday. And the message is entitled "Foreign Policy for the 1970's: A New Strategy for Peace." Is that the last title we agreed on?

DR. KISSINGER. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. The title always comes last. But in any event, I wanted to take this opportunity to refer briefly to the report, and then to turn the meeting over to Dr. Kissinger, who will have the primary responsibility for the briefing, and questions may of course be directed to Under Secretary [of State] Richardson or to Mr. Packard [Deputy Secretary of Defense] in their particular areas, if you so desire to do.

This report is, as you know, the first of its kind ever made by a President to the Congress. It is a very long report. We tried to shrink it some, but we finally came up with 40,000 words, which I understand is the longest report made to the Congress, except for a budget message. That does not particularly recommend itself to you in itself, but it does indicate the great amount of work which went into the report from the various departments concerned, and by the National Security Council staff, and also some work in my case as well.

I particularly want to give credit to those who have done this, what I think is a monumental task. It is, in my view, the most comprehensive statement on foreign and defense policy ever made in this country. This is no reflection on previous administrations. It just happens it is the first time it has all been pulled together in one place because of our National Security Council system.

It also is historic because it, in effect, marks a watershed, a watershed in American foreign policy.

Secretary Laird and I are going to have to leave here for another meeting where he is going to report on his trip to Vietnam. But I recall when we were serving in the Congress together many years ago, the period immediately after World War II, the institutions we supported then, the policies we supported then, the world as it was then. And I also recall the policies that we supported during the Eisenhower administration from 1953 to early 1961.

This report, as you will note from reading the introduction particularly and the various passages in it, shows a very significant shift from those policies of the past to the new policies dealing with the world situation as it is today.

And this does not mean that this report

indicates any abandonment, on the part of the United States, of its alliances around the world. On the contrary, peace cannot be built by abandoning allies.

It does mean, on the other hand, that we have reexamined our commitments around the world to see that they are consistent with our interests. We have reexamined our defense policy, and we are trying to present here a policy not just for a year, but a policy for a decade, and even beyond that.

I would say finally that in working on this report, that it not only represents in effect the efforts of a whole year of a very dedicated group of people in the National Security Council staff, in the State Department, and in the Defense Department, a year of their effort, many, many meetings, some on the record, some that were never reported. It also represents, speaking for myself, the experience that I have had, limited as it may be, in the whole field of foreign and defense policies, going back over 22 years, and reflects my best view at this time of where we are and where we ought to go.

What I have said—incidentally, Ron [Ziegler] asked me what the ground rules were, and I want you to know what I have said, for whatever it is worth—is on the record. What Dr. Kissinger and any others who appear on the briefing team may say will be for background purposes.

And I do say that I commend the report to your reading. It is worth reading. I have read it myself.

NOTE: The President spoke in the East Room at the White House on Monday, February 16, 1970, at 5:06 p.m. The transcript of his remarks was released on February 18.

44 Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Annual Report on United States Foreign Policy. *February* 18, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In my State of the Union Message to The Congress and on other occasions, I report to The Congress and the American people on specific aspects of foreign affairs. The Secretary of State also frequently makes reports to the appropriate committees of The Congress on foreign affairs, and the Secretary of Defense must deal with such matters as they relate to military programs.

Up to now, however, there has been no comprehensive report on foreign affairs submitted to The Congress on behalf of the Administration as a whole. I am, therefore, transmitting to The Congress this report on my Administration's stewardship of foreign relations. I hope the report will lead to a better understanding by The Congress and the American people of the spirit in which this Administration has sought to guide our foreign affairs, of what has been accomplished so far, and of our new approach to the challenges and opportunities of the world of the 1970s.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 18, 1970

45 First Annual Report to the Congress on United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's. *February* 18, 1970

Introduction

"A nation needs many qualities, but it needs faith and confidence above all. Skeptics do not build societies; the idealists are the builders. Only societies that believe in themselves can rise to their challenges. Let us not, then, pose a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither."

The President's Remarks
at the Air Force Academy
Commencement, June 4, 1969.

When I took office, the most immediate problem facing our nation was the war in Vietnam. No question has more occupied our thoughts and energies during this past year.

Yet the fundamental task confronting us was more profound. We could see that the whole pattern of international politics was changing. Our challenge was to understand that change, to define America's goals for the next period, and to set in motion policies to achieve them. For all Americans must understand that because of its strength, its history and its concern for human dignity, this nation occupies a special place in the world. Peace and progress are impossible without a major American role.

This first annual report on U.S. foreign policy is more than a record of one year. It is this Administration's statement of a new approach to foreign policy to match a new era of international relations.

A NEW ERA

The postwar period in international relations has ended.

Then, we were the only great power whose society and economy had escaped World War II's massive destruction. Today, the ravages of that war have been overcome. Western Europe and Japan have recovered their economic strength, their political vitality, and their national self-confidence. Once the recipients of American aid, they have now begun to share their growing resources with the developing world. Once almost totally dependent on American military power, our European allies now play a greater role in our common policies, commensurate with their growing strength.

Then, new nations were being born, often in turmoil and uncertainty. Today, these nations have a new spirit and a growing strength of independence. Once, many feared that they would become simply a battleground of cold-war rivalry and fertile ground for Communist penetration. But this fear misjudged their pride in their national identities and their determination to preserve their newly won sovereignty.

Then, we were confronted by a monolithic Communist world. Today, the nature of that world has changed—the power of individual Communist nations has grown, but international Communist unity has been shattered. Once a unified bloc, its solidarity has been broken by the powerful forces of nationalism. The So-

viet Union and Communist China, once bound by an alliance of friendship, had become bitter adversaries by the mid-1960's. The only times the Soviet Union has used the Red Army since World War II have been against its own allies—in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Marxist dream of international Communist unity has disintegrated.

Then, the United States had a monopoly or overwhelming superiority of nuclear weapons. Today, a revolution in the technology of war has altered the nature of the military balance of power. New types of weapons present new dangers. Communist China has acquired thermonuclear weapons. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have acquired the ability to inflict unacceptable damage on the other, no matter which strikes first. There can be no gain and certainly no victory for the power that provokes a thermonuclear exchange. Thus, both sides have recognized a vital mutual interest in halting the dangerous momentum of the nuclear arms race.

Then, the slogans formed in the past century were the ideological accessories of the intellectual debate. Today, the "isms" have lost their vitality—indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes.

This is the challenge and the opportunity before America as it enters the 1970's.

THE FRAMEWORK FOR A DURABLE PEACE

In the first postwar decades, American energies were absorbed in coping with a cycle of recurrent crises, whose fundamental origins lay in the destruction of World War II and the tensions attending the emergence of scores of new nations. Our opportunity today—and challenge—is to get at the causes of crises, to take a longer view, and to help build the international relationships that will provide the framework of a durable peace.

I have often reflected on the meaning of "peace," and have reached one certain conclusion: Peace must be far more than the absence of war. Peace must provide a durable structure of international relationships which inhibits or removes the causes of war. Building a lasting peace requires a foreign policy guided by three basic principles:

—Peace requires *partnership*. Its obligations, like its benefits, must be shared. This concept of partnership guides our relations with all friendly nations.

—Peace requires *strength*. So long as there are those who would threaten our vital interests and those of our allies with military force, we must be strong. American weakness could tempt would-be aggressors to make dangerous miscalculations. At the same time, our own strength is important only in relation to the strength of others. We—like others—must place high priority on enhancing our security through cooperative arms control.

—Peace requires a *willingness to negotiate*. All nations—and we are no exception—have important national interests to protect. But the most fundamental interest of all nations lies in building the structure of peace. In partnership with our allies, secure in our own strength, we will seek those areas in which we can agree among ourselves and with others to accommodate conflicts and overcome

rivalries. We are working toward the day when *all* nations will have a stake in peace, and will therefore be partners in its maintenance.

Within such a structure, international disputes can be settled and clashes contained. The insecurity of nations, out of which so much conflict arises, will be eased, and the habits of moderation and compromise will be nurtured. Most important, a durable peace will give full opportunity to the powerful forces driving toward economic change and social justice.

This vision of a peace built on partnership, strength and willingness to negotiate is the unifying theme of this report. In the sections that follow, the first steps we have taken during this past year—the policies we have devised and the programs we have initiated to realize this vision—are placed in the context of these three principles.

1. *Peace Through Partnership—The Nixon Doctrine*

As I said in my address of November 3, "We Americans are a do-it-yourself people—an impatient people. Instead of teaching someone else to do a job, we like to do it ourselves. This trait has been carried over into our foreign policy."

The postwar era of American foreign policy began in this vein in 1947 with the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, offering American economic and military assistance to countries threatened by aggression. Our policy held that democracy and prosperity, buttressed by American military strength and organized in a worldwide network of American-led alliances, would insure stability and peace. In the formative years of the postwar period, this great effort of international political and economic reconstruction was a triumph of American leadership and imagination, especially in Europe.

For two decades after the end of the Second World War, our foreign policy was guided by such a vision and inspired by its success. The vision was based on the fact that the United States was the richest and most stable country, without whose initiative and resources little security or progress was possible.

This impulse carried us through into the 1960's. The United States conceived programs and ran them. We devised strategies, and proposed them to our allies. We discerned dangers, and acted directly to combat them.

The world has dramatically changed since the days of the Marshall Plan. We deal now with a world of stronger allies, a community of independent developing nations, and a Communist world still hostile but now divided.

Others now have the ability and responsibility to deal with local disputes which once might have required our intervention. Our contribution and success will depend not on the frequency of our involvement in the affairs of others, but on the stamina of our policies. This is the approach which will best encourage other nations to do their part, and will most genuinely enlist the support of the American people.

This is the message of the doctrine I announced at Guam—the "Nixon Doctrine." Its central thesis is that the United States will participate in the defense and development of allies and friends, but that America cannot—and will not—conceive *all* the plans, design *all* the programs, execute *all* the decisions and undertake *all* the defense of the free nations of the

world. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest.

America cannot live in isolation if it expects to live in peace. We have no intention of withdrawing from the world. The only issue before us is how we can be most effective in meeting our responsibilities, protecting our interests, and thereby building peace.

A more responsible participation by our foreign friends in their own defense and progress means a more effective common effort toward the goals we all seek. Peace in the world will continue to require us to maintain our commitments—and we will. As I said at the United Nations, "It is not my belief that the way to peace is by giving up our friends or letting down our allies." But a more balanced and realistic American role in the world is essential if American commitments are to be sustained over the long pull. In my State of the Union Address, I affirmed that "to insist that other nations play a role is not a retreat from responsibility; it is a sharing of responsibility." This is not a way for America to withdraw from its indispensable role in the world. It is a way—the only way—we can carry out our responsibilities.

It is misleading, moreover, to pose the fundamental question so largely in terms of commitments. Our objective, in the first instance, is to support our *interests* over the long run with a sound foreign policy. The more that policy is based on a realistic assessment of our and others' interests, the more effective our role in the world can be. We are not involved in the world because we have commitments; we have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments, rather than the other way around.

We will view new commitments in the light of a careful assessment of our own national interests and those of other countries, of the specific threats to those interests, and of our capacity to counter those threats at an acceptable risk and cost.

We have been guided by these concepts during the past year in our dealings with free nations throughout the world.

—In Europe, our policies embody precisely the three principles of a durable peace: partnership, continued strength to defend our common interests when challenged, and willingness to negotiate differences with adversaries.

—Here in the Western Hemisphere we seek to strengthen our special relationship with our sister republics through a new program of action for progress in which all voices are heard and none predominates.

—In Asia, where the Nixon Doctrine was enunciated, partnership will have special meaning for our policies—as evidenced by our strengthened ties with Japan. Our cooperation with Asian nations will be enhanced as they cooperate with one another and develop regional institutions.

—In Vietnam, we seek a just settlement which all parties to the conflict, and all Americans, can support. We are working closely with the South Vietnamese to strengthen their ability to defend themselves. As South Vietnam grows stronger, the other side will, we hope, soon realize that it becomes ever more in their interest to negotiate a just peace.

—In the Middle East, we shall continue to work with others to establish a possible framework within which the

parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict can negotiate the complicated and difficult questions at issue. Others must join us in recognizing that a settlement will require sacrifices and restraints by all concerned.

—Africa, with its historic ties to so many of our own citizens, must always retain a significant place in our partnership with the new nations. Africans will play the major role in fulfilling their just aspirations—an end to racialism, the building of new nations, freedom from outside interference, and cooperative economic development. But we will add our efforts to theirs to help realize Africa's great potential.

—In an ever more interdependent world economy, American foreign policy will emphasize the freer flow of capital and goods between nations. We are proud to have participated in the successful cooperative effort which created Special Drawing Rights, a form of international money which will help insure the stability of the monetary structure on which the continued expansion of trade depends.

—The great effort of economic development must engage the cooperation of all nations. We are carefully studying the specific goals of our economic assistance programs and how most effectively to reach them.

—Unprecedented scientific and technological advances as well as explosions in population, communications, and knowledge require new forms of international cooperation. The United Nations, the symbol of international partnership, will receive our continued strong support as it marks its 25th Anniversary.

2. *America's Strength*

The second element of a durable peace must be America's strength. Peace, we have learned, cannot be gained by good will alone.

In determining the strength of our defenses, we must make precise and crucial judgments. We should spend no more than is necessary. But there is an irreducible minimum of essential military security: for if we are less strong than necessary, and if the worst happens, there will be no domestic society to look after. The magnitude of such a catastrophe, and the reality of the opposing military power that could threaten it, present a risk which requires of any President the most searching and careful attention to the state of our defenses.

The changes in the world since 1945 have altered the context and requirements of our defense policy. In this area, perhaps more than in any other, the need to re-examine our approaches is urgent and constant.

The last 25 years have seen a revolution in the nature of military power. In fact, there has been a series of transformations—from the atomic to the thermonuclear weapon, from the strategic bomber to the intercontinental ballistic missile, from the surface missile to the hardened silo and the missile-carrying submarine, from the single to the multiple warhead, and from air defense to missile defense. We are now entering an era in which the sophistication and destructiveness of weapons present more formidable and complex issues affecting our strategic posture.

The last 25 years have also seen an important change in the relative balance of strategic power. From 1945 to 1949, we were the only nation in the world possessing an arsenal of atomic weapons. From 1950 to 1966, we possessed an overwhelming superiority in strategic weapons. From 1967 to 1969, we retained a significant superiority. Today, the Soviet Union possesses a powerful and sophisticated strategic force approaching our own. We must consider, too, that Communist China will deploy its own intercontinental missiles during the coming decade, introducing new and complicating factors for our strategic planning and diplomacy.

In the light of these fateful changes, the Administration undertook a comprehensive and far-reaching reconsideration of the premises and procedures for designing our forces. We sought—and I believe we have achieved—a rational and coherent formulation of our defense strategy and requirements for the 1970's.

The importance of comprehensive planning of policy and objective scrutiny of programs is clear:

—Because of the lead-time in building new strategic systems, the decisions we make today substantially determine our military posture—and thus our security—five years from now. This places a premium on foresight and planning.

—Because the allocation of national resources between defense programs and other national programs is itself an issue of policy, it must be considered on a systematic basis at the early stages of the national security planning process.

—Because we are a leader of the Atlantic Alliance, our doctrine and forces are crucial to the policy and planning of NATO. The mutual confidence that holds the allies together depends on understanding, agreement, and coordination among the 15 sovereign nations of the Treaty.

—Because our security depends not only on our own strategic strength, but also on cooperative efforts to provide greater security for everyone through arms control, planning weapons systems and planning for arms control negotiations must be closely integrated.

For these reasons, this Administration has established procedures for the intensive scrutiny of defense issues in the light of overall national priorities. We have re-examined our strategic forces; we have reassessed our general purpose forces; and we have engaged in the most painstaking preparation ever undertaken by the United States Government for arms control negotiations.

3. *Willingness to Negotiate—An Era of Negotiation*

Partnership and strength are two of the pillars of the structure of a durable peace. Negotiation is the third. For our commitment to peace is most convincingly demonstrated in our willingness to negotiate our points of difference in a fair and businesslike manner with the Communist countries.

We are under no illusions. We know that there are enduring ideological differences. We are aware of the difficulty in moderating tensions that arise from the clash of national interests. These differences will not be dissipated by changes of atmosphere or dissolved in cordial personal relations between statesmen. They involve strong convictions and contrary philosophies, necessities of national secu-

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rity, and the deep-seated differences of perspectives formed by geography and history.

The United States, like any other nation, has interests of its own, and will defend those interests. But any nation today must define its interests with special concern for the interests of others. If some nations define their security in a manner that means insecurity for other nations, then peace is threatened and the security of all is diminished. This obligation is particularly great for the nuclear superpowers on whose decisions the survival of mankind may well depend.

The United States is confident that tensions can be eased and the danger of war reduced by patient and precise efforts to reconcile conflicting interests on concrete issues. Coexistence demands more than a spirit of good will. It requires the definition of positive goals which can be sought and achieved cooperatively. It requires real progress toward resolution of specific differences. This is our objective.

As the Secretary of State said on December 6:

"We will continue to probe every available opening that offers a prospect for better East-West relations, for the resolution of problems large or small, for greater security for all.

"In this the United States will continue to play an active role in concert with our allies."

This is the spirit in which the United States ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty and entered into negotiation with the Soviet Union on control of the military use of the seabeds, on the framework of a settlement in the Middle East, and on limitation of strategic arms. This is the basis on which we and our Atlantic allies have offered to negotiate on concrete issues affecting the security and future of Europe, and on which the United States took steps last year to improve our relations with nations of Eastern Europe. This is also the spirit in which we have resumed formal talks in Warsaw with Communist China. No nation need be our permanent enemy.

AMERICA'S PURPOSE

These policies were conceived as a result of change, and we know they will be tested by the change that lies ahead. The world of 1970 was not predicted a decade ago, and we can be certain that the world of 1980 will render many current views obsolete.

The source of America's historic greatness has been our ability to see what had to be done, and then to do it. I believe America now has the chance to move the world closer to a durable peace. And I know that Americans working with each other and with other nations can make our vision real.

PART I: THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SYSTEM

If we were to establish a new foreign policy for the era to come, we had to begin with a basic restructuring of the process by which policy is made.

Our fresh purposes demanded new methods of planning and a more rigorous and systematic process of policymaking. We required a system which would summon and gather the best ideas, the best analyses and the best information available to the government and the nation.

Efficient procedure does not insure wisdom in the substance of policy. But given the complexity of contemporary choices,

adequate procedures are an indispensable component of the act of judgment. I have long believed that the most pressing issues are not necessarily the most fundamental ones; we know that an effective American policy requires clarity of purpose for the future as well as a procedure for dealing with the present. We do not want to exhaust ourselves managing crises; our basic goal is to shape the future.

At the outset, therefore, I directed that the National Security Council be reestablished as the principal forum for Presidential consideration of foreign policy issues. The revitalized Council—composed by statute of the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness—and its new system of supporting groups are designed to respond to the requirements of leadership in the 1970's:

—Our policy must be *creative:* foreign policy must mean more than reacting to emergencies; we must fashion a new and positive vision of a peaceful world, and design new policies to achieve it.

—Our policymaking must be *systematic:* our actions must be the products of thorough analysis, forward planning, and deliberate decision. We must master problems before they master us.

—We must know the *facts:* intelligent discussions in the National Security Council and wise decisions require the most reliable information available. Disputes in the government have been caused too often by an incomplete awareness or understanding of the facts.

—We must know the *alternatives:* we must know what our real options are and not simply what compromise has found bureaucratic acceptance. Every view and every alternative must have a fair hearing. Presidential leadership is not the same as ratifying bureaucratic consensus.

—We must be prepared if *crises* occur: we must anticipate crises where possible. If they cannot be prevented, we must plan for dealing with them. All the elements of emergency action, political as well as military, must be related to each other.

—Finally, we must have effective *implementation:* it does little good to plan intelligently and imaginatively if our decisions are not well carried out.

Creativity: Above all, a foreign policy for the 1970's demands imaginative thought. In a world of onrushing change, we can no longer rest content with familiar ideas or assume that the future will be a projection of the present. If we are to meet both the peril and the opportunity of change, we require a clear and positive vision of the world we seek—and of America's contribution to bringing it about.

As modern bureaucracy has grown, the understanding of change and the formulation of new purposes have become more difficult. Like men, governments find old ways hard to change and new paths difficult to discover.

The mandate I have given to the National Security Council system, and the overriding objective of every policy review undertaken, is to clarify our view of where we want to be in the next three to five years. Only then can we ask, and answer, the question of how to proceed.

In central areas of policy, we have arranged our procedure of policymaking so

as to address the broader questions of long-term objectives first; we define our purposes, and then address the specific operational issues. In this manner, for example, the NSC first addressed the basic questions of the rationale and doctrine of our strategic posture, and then considered—in the light of new criteria of strategic sufficiency—our specific weapons programs and our specific policy for the negotiations on strategic arms limitation. We determined that our relationship with Japan for the 1970's and beyond had to be founded on our mutual and increasingly collaborative concern for peace and security in the Far East; we then addressed the issue of Okinawa's status in the light of this fundamental objective.

Systematic Planning: American foreign policy must not be merely the result of a series of piecemeal tactical decisions forced by the pressures of events. If our policy is to embody a coherent vision of the world and a rational conception of America's interests, our specific actions must be the products of rational and deliberate choice. We need a system which forces consideration of problems before they become emergencies, which enables us to make our basic determinations of purpose before being pressed by events, and to mesh policies.

The National Security Council itself met 37 times in 1969, and considered over a score of different major problems of national security. Each Council meeting was the culmination of an interagency process of systematic and comprehensive review.

This is how the process works: I assign an issue to an Interdepartmental Group—chaired by an Assistant Secretary of State—for intensive study, asking it to formulate the policy choices and to analyze the pros and cons of the different courses of action. This group's report is examined by an interagency Review Group of senior officials—chaired by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs—to insure that the issues, options, and views are presented fully and fairly. The paper is then presented to me and the full National Security Council.

Some topics requiring specialized knowledge are handled through different channels before reaching the National Security Council. But the purpose is the same—systematic review and analysis, bringing together all the agencies concerned:

—The major issues of defense policy are treated in systematic and integrated fashion by the NSC Defense Program Review Committee. This group reviews at the Under Secretary level the major defense policy and program issues which have strategic, political, diplomatic, and economic implications in relation to overall national priorities.

—Through other NSC interagency groups, the United States Government has undertaken its first substantial effort to review all its resource programs within certain countries on a systematic and integrated basis, instead of haphazardly and piecemeal.

Determination of the Facts: Intelligent discussions and decisions at the highest level demand the fullest possible information. Too often in the past, the process of policymaking has been impaired or distorted by incomplete information and by disputes in the government which resulted from the lack of a common appreciation of the facts. It is an essential

function of the NSC system, therefore, to bring together all the agencies of the government concerned with foreign affairs to elicit, assess, and present to me and the Council all the pertinent knowledge available.

Normally, NSC Interdepartmental Groups are assigned this task. But other interagency groups perform this function for certain special topics. For example:

—The Verification Panel was formed to gather the essential facts relating to a number of important issues of strategic arms limitation, such as Soviet strategic capabilities, and our potential means of verifying compliance with various possible agreements. This Panel was designed not to induce agreement on policy views, but to establish as firmly as possible the *data* on which to base policy discussions. It helped to resolve many major policy differences which might otherwise have been intractable. As the section on Arms Control in this report explains in detail, the Panel played a central part in making our preparation for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union the most thorough in which the U.S. Government has ever engaged.

—The Vietnam Special Studies Group (VSSG) gathers and presents to the highest levels of the United States Government the fullest and most up-to-date information on trends and conditions in the countryside in Vietnam. This group is of key assistance in our major and sustained effort to understand the factors which will determine the course of Vietnamization.

Full Range of Options: I do not believe that Presidential leadership consists merely in ratifying a consensus reached among departments and agencies. The President bears the Constitutional responsibility of making the judgments and decisions that form our policy.

The new NSC system is designed to make certain that clear policy choices reach the top, so that the various positions can be fully debated in the meeting of the Council. Differences of view are identified and defended, rather than muted or buried. I refuse to be confronted with a bureaucratic consensus that leaves me no options but acceptance or rejection, and that gives me no way of knowing what alternatives exist.

The NSC system also insures that all agencies and departments receive a fair hearing before I make my decisions. All Departments concerned with a problem participate on the groups that draft and review the policy papers. They know that their positions and arguments will reach the Council without dilution, along with the other alternatives. Council meetings are not rubber-stamp sessions. And as my decisions are reached they are circulated in writing, so that all departments concerned are fully informed of our policy, and so that implementation can be monitored.

Crisis Planning: Some events in the world over which we have little control may produce crises that we cannot prevent, even though our systematized study forewarns us of their possibility. But we can be the masters of events when crises occur, to the extent that we are able to prepare ourselves in advance.

For this purpose, we created within the NSC system a special senior panel known as the Washington Special Actions Group (WSAG). This group drafts contingency

plans for possible crises, integrating the political and military requirements of crisis action. The action responsibilities of the departments of the Government are planned in detail, and specific responsibilities assigned in an agreed time sequence in advance. While no one can anticipate exactly the timing and course of a possible crisis, the WSAG's planning helps insure that we have asked the right questions in advance, and thought through the implications of various responses.

Policy Implementation: The variety and complexity of foreign policy issues in today's world places an enormous premium on the effective implementation of policy. Just as our policies are shaped and our programs formed through a constant process of interagency discussion and debate within the NSC framework, so the implementation of our major policies needs review and coordination on a continuing basis. This is done by an interdepartmental committee at the Under Secretary level chaired by the Under Secretary of State.

CONCLUSIONS

There is no textbook prescription for organizing the machinery of policymaking, and no procedural formula for making wise decisions. The policies of this Administration will be judged on their results, not on how methodically they were made.

The NSC system is meant to help us address the fundamental issues, clarify our basic purposes, examine all alternatives, and plan intelligent actions. It is meant to promote the thoroughness and deliberation which are essential for an effective American foreign policy. It gives us the means to bring to bear the best foresight and insight of which the nation is capable.

PART II: PARTNERSHIP AND THE NIXON DOCTRINE

—Europe
—The Western Hemisphere
—Asia and the Pacific
—Vietnam
—The Middle East
—Africa
—International Economic Policy
—The United Nations

EUROPE

"I believe we must build an alliance strong enough to deter those who might threaten war; close enough to provide for continuous and far-reaching consultation; trusting enough to accept a diversity of views; realistic enough to deal with the world as it is; flexible enough to explore new channels of constructive cooperation."

Address by the President to the North Atlantic Council, April 10, 1969.

The peace of Europe is crucial to the peace of the world. This truth, a lesson learned at a terrible cost twice in the Twentieth Century, is a central principle of United States foreign policy. For the foreseeable future, Europe must be the cornerstone of the structure of a durable peace.

Since 1945, the nations of Western Europe and North America have built together an alliance and a mutual respect worthy of the values and heritage we share. Our partnership is founded not merely on a common perception of com-

mon dangers but on a shared vision of a better world.

It was essential, therefore, that my first trip abroad as President should be to the capitals of our Western European allies. It was time to reaffirm the importance of those ties, and to strengthen the collaboration with which we shall develop, together, new policies for the new issues of the 1970's.

We must adapt to the conditions created by the past successes of our alliance. European politics are more fluid, and the issues facing the alliance are more subtle and profound, than ever in the past 20 years. These issues challenge our mastery of each of the three elements of a durable peace:

—Genuine *partnership* must increasingly characterize our alliance. For if we cannot maintain and develop further such a relationship with our North Atlantic allies, the prospects for achieving it with our other friends and allies around the world are slim indeed. But the evolution—past and future—of Europe and of European-American relations presents new issues. We must change the pattern of American predominance, appropriate to the postwar era, to match the new circumstances of today. We must extend our joint endeavor into another dimension of common challenges—bringing Twentieth Century man and his environment to terms with one another in modern industrial societies.

—Jointly with our allies we must maintain the *strength* required to defend our common interests against external dangers, so long as those dangers exist. We have learned to integrate our forces; we now need better means of harmonizing our policies. We need a rational alliance defense posture for the longer term. This requires a common understanding of the nature of the dangers today and tomorrow, and on nuclear and non-nuclear strategy and forces. We must fashion common policies for the pursuit of security through arms control, as well as through military strength.

—Together with our allies, we must be prepared to *negotiate*. The problems and dangers of the division of Europe persist. Our association with our friends and allies in Europe is the starting point from which we seek to resolve those problems and cope with those dangers. Our efforts to pursue genuine relaxation of tensions between East and West will be a test of the new trans-Atlantic partnership.

A New and Mature Partnership

I went to Western Europe in February 1969 to reaffirm America's commitment to partnership with Europe.

A reaffirmation was sorely needed. We had to reestablish the principle and practice of consultation. For too long in the past, the United States had led without listening, talked *to* our allies instead of *with* them, and informed them of new departures instead of deciding with them. Inspired by the success of the Marshall Plan, we had taken such pride in our leadership of the alliance that we forgot how much even the origin and success of the Marshall Plan grew from European ideas and European efforts as well as our own.

After 20 years, the economic prostration, military weakness, and political instability in postwar Europe that had

required a predominant American effort were things of the past. Our *common* success in rebuilding Western Europe had restored our allies to their proper strength and status. It was time that our own leadership, in its substance and its manner, took account of this fact. As I stated to the NATO Council in Brussels on my trip in February 1969:

"The nations of NATO are rich in physical resources—but they are even richer in their accumulated wisdom and their experience of the world today. In fashioning America's policies, we need the benefit of that wisdom and that experience."

But the issue we face is not simply improved communication. It is the fundamental question of what shall be the content and purpose of the European-American relationship in the 1970's. In today's world, what kind of an alliance shall we strive to build?

Last April, the North Atlantic Treaty completed its second decade and began its third. I stated on that occasion:

"When NATO was founded, the mere fact of cooperation among the Western nations was of tremendous significance, both symbolically and substantively. Now the symbol is not enough; we need substance. The alliance today will be judged by the content of its cooperation, not merely by its form."

The durability of the alliance is itself a triumph, but also a challenge: It would be unreasonable to imagine that a structure and relationship developed in the late 1940's can remain the same in content and purpose in the 1970's.

The fundamentals of the relationship are not in question. The original aims of the Western Alliance are still our basic purposes: the defense of Western Europe against common challenges, and ultimately the creation of a viable and secure European order.

But what pattern of relations will serve these objectives best today? There is a natural tendency to prefer the status quo and to support established forms and relationships that have served well in the past. But we can see in 1970 that there is no "status quo"—the only constant is the inevitability of change. Evolution within Western Europe has changed the region's position in the world, and therefore its role in the Western Alliance.

Since 1945, West Germany has achieved a position of mutual respect and partnership with its Western neighbors. From this reconciliation a larger European entity has developed, with prospects of further growth. Americans have welcomed this transformation and see it as a vindication of the historic choices made twenty years ago. We contributed, not only by insuring the physical safety of Western Europe from outside attack or pressure, and in the early years by providing economic support, but also by giving a powerful impetus to the building of European institutions.

But today, European vitality is more self-sustaining. The preponderant American influence that was a natural consequence of postwar conditions would be self-defeating today. For nations which did not share in the responsibility to make the vital decisions for their own defense and diplomacy could retain neither their self-respect nor their self-assurance.

A more balanced association and a more genuine partnership are in America's interest. As this process advances, the balance of burdens and responsibilities must gradually be adjusted, to reflect the economic and political realities of Euro-

pean progress. Our allies will deserve a voice in the alliance and its decisions commensurate with their growing power and contributions.

As we move from dominance to partnership, there is the possibility that some will see this as a step towards disengagement. But in the third decade of our commitment to Europe, the depth of our relationship is a fact of life. We can no more disengage from Europe than from Alaska.

We recognize that America's contribution will continue to be unique in certain areas, such as in maintaining a nuclear deterrent and a level of involvement sufficient to balance the powerful military position of the USSR in Eastern Europe. But we have no desire to occupy such a position in Europe that European affairs are not the province of the sovereign states that conduct them.

Intra-European institutions are in flux. We favor a definition by Western Europe of a distinct identity, for the sake of its own continued vitality and independence of spirit. Our support for the strengthening and broadening of the European Community has not diminished. We recognize that our interests will necessarily be affected by Europe's evolution, and we may have to make sacrifices in the common interest. We consider that the possible economic price of a truly unified Europe is outweighed by the gain in the political vitality of the West as a whole.

The structure of Western Europe itself—the organization of its unity—is fundamentally the concern of the Europeans. We cannot unify Europe and we do not believe that there is only one road to that goal. When the United States in previous Administrations turned into an ardent advocate, it harmed rather than helped progress.

We believe that we can render support to the process of European coalescence not only by our role in the North Atlantic Alliance and by our relationships with European institutions, but also by our bilateral relations with the several European countries. For many years to come, these relations will provide essential trans-Atlantic bonds; and we will therefore continue to broaden and deepen them.

European Defense and Security

In choosing a strategy for our general purpose forces for the 1970's, we decided to continue our support for the present NATO strategy. And the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense announced at the NATO Council meeting in December that we would maintain current U.S. troop levels in Europe at least through mid-1971.

At the same time, we recognized that we must use this time to conduct a thorough study of our strategy for the defense of Western Europe, including a full and candid exchange of views with our allies.

The need for this study is based on several considerations:

First, at the beginning of the last decade the United States possessed overwhelming nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. However, that superiority has been reduced by the growth in Soviet strategic forces during the 1960's. As I point out elsewhere, the prospect for the 1970's is that the Soviets will possess strategic forces approaching and in some categories exceeding our own.

This fundamental change in the strategic balance raises important questions

about the relative role of strategic nuclear forces, conventional forces, and tactical nuclear weapons.

Second, there are several views among Western strategists concerning the answers to several key questions:

—What is a realistic assessment of the military threats to Western Europe that should be used as the basis for Allied strategic and force structure planning?

—For how long could NATO sustain a conventional forward defense against a determined Warsaw Pact attack?

—Beyond their value as a deterrent to war, how should our tactical nuclear weapons in Europe be used to counter specific Warsaw Pact military threats?

—How does the contemplated use of tactical nuclear weapons affect the size, equipment and deployment of Allied conventional forces?

Third, even though the NATO Allies have reached agreement on the strategy of flexible response, there are disagreements about the burdens that should be borne by the several partners in providing the forces and other resources required by that strategy. Further, questions have been raised concerning whether, for example, our logistics support, the disposition of our forces in Europe, and our airlift and sealift capabilities are sufficient to meet the needs of the existing strategy.

These questions must be addressed in full consultation with our allies. This is the process we have followed in the preparations for and conduct of the strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union. We are consulting our allies closely at every stage, not on a take-it-or-leave-it basis but by seeking their advice on the whole range of options we have under consideration.

In assessing our common security, we must not be satisfied with formal agreements which paper over dissimilar views on fundamental issues or with language that is acceptable precisely because it permits widely divergent interpretations. Disagreements must be faced openly and their bases carefully explored. Because our security is inseparable, we can afford the most candid exchange of views.

In the past year, in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, where the Secretary of Defense represents this Government, the allies have taken significant steps to explore the principal problems of defining a common political rationale for the resort to tactical nuclear weapons. The completion of this process in close collaboration with all of our allies, including those possessing national nuclear capabilities, will be a major contribution to the credible defense of Europe.

The forging of a common understanding on basic security issues will materially improve our ability to deal sensibly and realistically with the opportunities and pressures for change that we face, including suggestions in this country for substantial reductions of U.S. troop levels in Europe and the possibility that balanced force reductions could become a subject of East-West discussions.

An Era of Negotiation in Europe

Our association with Western Europe is fundamental to the resolution of the problems caused by the unnatural division of the continent. We recognize that the reunion of Europe will come about not from one spectacular negotiation, but from an extended historical process.

We must be under no illusion about

the difficulties. As I remarked last April, addressing the NATO Council in Washington:

"It is not enough to talk of relaxing tension, unless we keep in mind the fact that 20 years of tension were not caused by superficial misunderstandings. A change of mood is useful only if it reflects some change of mind about political purpose.

"It is not enough to talk of European security in the abstract. We must know the elements of insecurity and how to remove them. Conferences are useful if they deal with concrete issues, which means they must, of course, be carefully prepared."

The division of Europe gives rise to a number of interrelated issues—the division of Germany, access to Berlin, the level of military forces on both sides of the line, the barriers to economic and cultural relations, and other issues. We are prepared to negotiate on these issues, in any suitable forum.

We have already joined with the three allies involved—the United Kingdom, France and the Federal Republic of Germany—in suggesting to the Soviet Union that an attempt should be made to improve the situation regarding Berlin. Even if progress on broader issues cannot soon be made, the elimination of recurrent crises around Berlin would be desirable.

Our German ally has also undertaken steps to seek a normalization of its relations with its Eastern neighbors. Since the problem of Germany remains the key to East-West problems in Europe, we would welcome such a normalization. Just as the postwar era has ended in Western Europe, it is our hope that a more satisfactory and enduring order will come into being in the center of the continent.

Within NATO, meanwhile, we have joined with our allies in canvassing other issues that might offer prospects for fruitful negotiation, including the possibility of reciprocal adjustments in the military forces on both sides of the present demarcation line in Europe.

There is no dearth of subjects to negotiate. But there is no one way to go about it or any preferable forum. Relations between East and West must be dealt with on several levels and it would be wrong to believe that one single grand conference can encompass all existing relationships.

High on the agenda of the Western Alliance is the complex responsibility of integrating our individual and collective efforts. Together with our allies we shall seek to answer these questions: Should we consider the relaxation of tensions in terms of an overall settlement between NATO and the Warsaw Pact? Or is there scope for a series of bilateral efforts? What are the limits of bilateral efforts and how can they be related to the NATO system of consultations? What would be the contribution of a unified Western Europe?

Last April 10, in my talk at the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of NATO, I stated this problem as follows:

"Up to now, our discussions [within NATO] have mainly had to do with tactics—ways and means of carrying out the provisions of a treaty drawn a generation ago. We have discussed clauses in proposed treaties; in the negotiations to come, we must go beyond these to the processes which these future treaties will set in motion. We must shake off our preoccupation with formal structure to bring into focus a common world view."

Without such a general understanding on the issues and our respective roles, we run a risk of failures and frustrations which have nothing to do with the inten-

tions of the principals, but which could result from starting a sequence of events that gets out of control.

In the last analysis, progress does not depend on us and our allies alone. The prospects for durable agreement also involve the attitudes, interests, and policies of the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe. Ultimately, a workable system of security embracing all of Europe will require a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to normalize its own relations with Eastern Europe—to recover from its anachronistic fear of Germany, and to recognize that its own security and the stability of Central Europe can best be served by a structure of reconciliation. Only then will an era of negotiation in Europe culminate in an era of peace.

A New Dimension

The common concerns and purposes of the Western allies reach beyond the military and political dimensions of traditional alliances.

Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty anticipated these further dimensions of partnership by pledging the allies to "strengthening their free institutions, . . . promoting conditions of stability and well-being," and "encourag[ing] economic collaboration." These are not goals limited to the Treaty area. They go beyond partnership among allies, military security, and negotiations with adversaries. As I said last April, on NATO's twentieth anniversary, the relationship of Europe and the United States "also needs a social dimension to deal with our concern for the quality of life in this last third of the Twentieth Century."

At America's initiative, the alliance created in 1969 a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society—to pool our skills, our intellects, and our inventiveness in finding new ways to use technology to enhance our environments, and not to destroy them. For as I said last April:

"The Western nations share common ideals and a common heritage. We are all advanced societies, sharing the benefits and the gathering torments of a rapidly advancing industrial technology. The industrial nations share no challenge more urgent than that of bringing 20th century man and his environment to terms with one another—of making the world fit for man and helping man to learn how to remain in harmony with the rapidly changing world."

If this view was not at first uniformly held among the Allied nations, it emerged with increasing strength as the matter was considered—evidence both of the validity of the proposition, and of the lessons learned and skills acquired in the course of two decades of intensive and detailed consultation and cooperation.

Environmental problems are secondary effects of technological change; international environmental cooperation is therefore an essential requirement of our age. This has now begun in the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. We have established a procedure whereby individual nations offer to "pilot" studies in a specific area and are responsible for making recommendations for action. Eight projects have been agreed upon. These are road safety, disaster relief, air pollution, sea pollution, inland water pollution, scientific knowledge and governmental decision-making, group and individual motivation, and regional planning. The United States is pilot nation for the first three of these.

A provision of the charter of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern So-

ciety looks to expanding the number of nations involved in these efforts, and to the support of similar undertakings in other international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Economic Commission for Europe, and the United Nations, which is holding a worldwide conference on environmental problems in 1972. We see this new dimension of international cooperation as an urgent and positive area of work. Cooperative research, technological exchange, education, institution building, and international regulatory agreements are all required to reverse the trend toward pollution of our planet's environment within this critical decade.

Agenda for the Future

The agenda for the future of American relations with Europe is implicit in the statement of the issues we face together:

—The evolution of a mature partnership reflecting the vitality and the independence of Western European nations;

—the continuation of genuine consultation with our allies on the nature of the threats to alliance security, on maintenance of a common and credible strategy, and on an appropriate and sustainable level of forces;

—the continuation of genuine consultations with our allies on the mutual interests affected by the U.S.-Soviet talks on strategic arms limitation;

—the development of a European-American understanding on our common purposes and respective roles in seeking a peaceful and stable order in all of Europe;

—the expansion of allied and worldwide cooperation in facing the common social and human challenges of modern societies.

In 1969, the United States and its allies discussed most of these issues—some in the context of new proposals, but most of them in the form of new questions. These questions will not be answered in a year. As I said last February in Brussels, "They deal with the vast sweep of history, they need the most thorough deliberations." The deliberations will continue; we have the chance today to build a tomorrow worthy of our common heritage.

WESTERN HEMISPHERE

"Understandably, perhaps, a feeling has arisen in many Latin American countries that the United States 'no longer cares.'

"My answer to that is simple.

"We do care. I care. I have visited most of your countries. I have met most of your leaders. I have talked with your people. I have seen your great needs, as well as your great achievements.

"And I know this, in my heart as well as in my mind: if peace and freedom are to endure in the world, there is no task more urgent than lifting up the hungry and the helpless, and putting flesh on the dreams of those who yearn for a better life."

The President's remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Inter-American Press Association, Washington, October 31, 1969.

The Setting

This concern which I expressed last year is central to our policies in the Western Hemisphere. Our relationship with our sister republics has special relevance for this Administration's general approach to foreign relations. We must be able to forge

a constructive relationship with nations historically linked to us if we are to do so with nations more removed.

A new spirit and a new approach were needed to pursue this objective in the Americas. It meant recalling our special relationship but changing our attitude to accommodate the forces of change. And it meant translating our new attitude into an action program for progress that offers cooperative action rather than paternal promises and panaceas.

Throughout our history we have accorded the other American nations a special place in our foreign policy. This unique relationship is rooted in geography, in a common Western heritage and in a shared historical experience of independence born through revolution.

This relationship has evolved over time. Our long and close political and economic association, and our articulation of the concept of hemispheric community, have been self-fulfilling: it is now a political and psychological fact that the relations between the United States and Latin America have a special meaning for us both. We share a concept of hemispheric community, as well as a web of treaties, commitments and organizations that deserves the name of an Inter-American System.

But the character of that relationship has not been immune to the upheavals and transformations of past decades. Indeed, the continuing challenge throughout this hemisphere's history has been how to redefine and readjust this special relationship to meet changed circumstances, new settings, different problems.

That challenge is all the more compelling today.

Forces of Change

The powerful tides of change that have transformed the world since the Second World War have also swept through the Western Hemisphere, particularly in the 1960's. They have altered the nature of our relationship, and the expectations and obligations that flow from it.

When this Administration took office, it was evident that United States policies and programs had not kept pace with these fundamental changes. The state of the hemisphere and of our relationship was satisfying neither to North nor to South Americans:

—Our power overshadowed the formal relationship of equality, and even our restrained use of this power was not wholly reassuring. As a result, tension between us grew.

—Too many of our development programs were made *for* our neighbors instead of *with* them. This directive and tutorial style clashed with the growing self-assertiveness and nationalism of the other Western Hemisphere nations.

—Development problems had become more intense and complex; exploding population growth and accelerating urbanization added to social stress; frustrations were rising as expectations outstripped accomplishments.

—Political and social instability were therefore on the rise. Political radicalism increased, as well as the resort to violence and the temptation to turn to authoritarian methods to handle internal problems.

—Nationalism was taking on anti-U.S. overtones.

—Other Western Hemisphere nations

seriously questioned whether our assistance, trade and investment policies would match the realities of the 1970's.

Toward a Policy for the 1970's

From the outset, the Administration recognized the need to redefine the special concern of the United States for the nations of the hemisphere. We were determined to reflect the forces of change in our approach and in our actions.

We approached this task in two phases: First, we sought to appraise the state of the hemisphere, to analyze the problems that existed, and to determine fundamental policy objectives; then, we expressed our conclusions in specific policies and programs.

To get a fresh perspective, early in my Administration I asked Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller to undertake a fact-finding mission throughout the region. His conclusions and recommendations, together with other government studies, were intensively reviewed by the NSC during the summer and early fall. This review addressed some of the basic questions: whether we should continue to have a "special relationship"; if so, what its essential purpose and substance ought to be and how best to achieve it.

We concluded that:

—A "special relationship" with Latin America has existed historically, and there are compelling reasons to maintain and strengthen our ties.

—The goal of such a relationship today should be to create a community of independent, self-reliant states linked together in a vital and useful association.

—United States assistance to its neighbors is an essential part of that relationship.

—The United States should contribute, not dominate. We alone cannot assume the responsibility for the economic and social development of other nations. This is a process deeply rooted in each nation's history and evolution. Responsibility has to be shared for progress to be real.

—For the 70's, we therefore had to shape a relationship that would encourage other nations to help themselves. As elsewhere in the world, our basic role is to persuade and supplement, not to prescribe. Each nation must be true to its own character.

On October 31, I proposed a new partnership in the Americas to reflect these concepts, a partnership in which all voices are heard and none is predominant. I outlined the five basic principles governing this new approach:

"First, a firm commitment to the inter-American system, to the compacts which bind us in that system—as exemplified by the Organization of American States and by the principles so nobly set forth in its charter.

"Second, respect for national identity and national dignity, in a partnership in which rights and responsibilities are shared by a community of independent states.

"Third, a firm commitment to continued United States assistance for hemispheric development.

"Fourth, a belief that the principal future pattern of this assistance must be US. support for Latin American initiatives, and that this can best be achieved

on a multilateral basis within the inter-American system.

"Finally, a dedication to improving the quality of life in this new world of ours—to making people the center of our concerns, and to helping meet their economic, social and human needs."

In this speech we also began laying the foundations of an action program for progress. These are actions that reflect our new approach of enabling other Western Hemisphere nations to help themselves. And they are actions that can realistically be implemented. I refused to propose grandiose spending programs that had no prospect of Congressional approval, or to make promises that could not be fulfilled.

A less than realistic approach would have blunted our partners' sense of participation and generated false hopes. The time for dependency and slogans was over. The time for partnership and action was at hand.

Action

We are shaping programs together with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, not devising them on our own. And where we once relied on bilateral exchanges, we are turning more to multilateral groups.

One of the principal cooperative forums is the Inter-American Economic and Social Council [IA-ECOSOC], the economic and development channel of the Organization of American States. Shortly after my speech, and again early this year, this body met to consider our proposals and those of our friends. In these continuing meetings and in other multilateral exchanges we are putting forward our suggestions for give-and-take discussions.

We have made realistic action proposals to meet specific objectives:

—*Share Responsibility.* To insure that the shaping of the Western Hemisphere's future reflects the will of the other nations of this hemisphere, I affirmed the need for a fundamental change in the way we manage development assistance. I proposed that the nations of the hemisphere evolve an effective multilateral mechanism for bilateral assistance. The precise form this takes will be worked out with our partners. IA-ECOSOC has directed the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) and the Inter-American Bank to explore ways to increase their participation in development decisions. The goal is to enable the other Western Hemisphere nations to assume a primary role in setting priorities within the hemisphere, developing realistic programs and keeping their own performance under critical review. To demonstrate United States interest in improving and strengthening our multilateral institutions, I authorized financial support—totaling $23 million in grant funds—to strengthen the activities of CIAP and the Inter-American Bank. I also authorized our representatives to agree to submit to CIAP, for its review, United States economic and financial programs as they affect the other nations of the hemisphere. Similar reviews are made of the other hemisphere countries' policies, but the United States had not, prior to this decision, opened its policies to such a consultation.

—*Expand Trade.* To help other Western Hemisphere nations to increase their export earnings and thus contribute to balanced development and

economic growth, I have committed the United States to a program which would help these countries improve their access to the expanding markets of the industrialized world:

- The U.S. will press for a liberal system of generalized tariff preferences for all developing countries. We are working toward a system that would eliminate discriminations against South American exports that exist in other countries. Through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, we are pressing other developed nations to recognize the need for a genuinely progressive tariff preference system.
- I committed the U.S. to lead an effort to reduce non-tariff barriers to trade maintained by nearly all industrialized countries. We seek to lead a concerted multilateral reduction in non-tariff barriers on products of major interest to South America, taking advantage of the work going on in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- I pledged to support increased technical and financial assistance to promote Latin American trade expansion.
- I promised to support the establishment within the inter-American system of regular procedures for advance consultations on all trade matters, and we proposed specific mechanisms for this purpose. In early February, IA-ECOSOC agreed to establish a standing special committee which will meet regularly for consultation on mutual economic problems, including trade and development.

—*Ease AID Restrictions.* To make development assistance more helpful and effective, we are taking several actions:

- I ordered that from November 1, all loan dollars sent to Latin America under AID be freed to allow purchases not only in the U.S. but anywhere in Latin America. This partial "untying" of our assistance loans removed restrictions that had burdened borrowers and promised to provide an incentive for industrial development in the region.
- We have removed a number of other procedural restrictions on the use of AID funds. We eliminated, for example, the requirement under which recipient countries were forced to import U.S. goods they would not have imported under normal trade conditions—the "additionality" provision.
- The Peterson Task Force (which is studying our overall assistance programs) is reviewing other procedural and administrative restrictions. We aim to streamline our lending and make it more effective.

—*Assure Special Representation.* To reflect our special concern for this region, I proposed establishing the position of Under Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. The new Under Secretary will be given authority to coordinate all of our activities in this region. On December 20, the Secretary of State submitted implementing legislation to Congress.

—*Support Regionalism.* To encourage

regional cooperation we have offered to support economic integration efforts. We have reiterated our offer of financial assistance to the Central American Common Market, the Caribbean Free Trade Area, the Andean Group and to an eventual Latin American Common Market.

—*Ease Debt Burdens.* To help nations heavily burdened by large debts and their servicing we have urged the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) to join us in approaching other creditor nations and international lending agencies to study these problems. In February the IA–ECOSOC authorized CIAP to proceed along this line. As members of CIAP we have offered our full cooperation and expressed our willingness to join in an approach to other creditor nations.

—*Share Science and Technology.* To help turn science to the service of the hemisphere:

- We will contribute to the support and financing of initiatives in these fields, including research and development, regional training centers, and transfer of technology.
- We are developing a program for training and orientation of Latin American specialists in the field of scientific and technical information.
- The OAS will sponsor a conference next year on the application of science and technology to Latin America.

This is the beginning of action for progress. But it is only a beginning. There is a long way to go.

Agenda for the Future

During the 1970's the nations of this hemisphere will continue to experience profound change in their societies and institutions. Aspirations rise while the intensity and complexity of social and economic problems increase, and most American governments must straddle the widening gap between demands and resources. If these governments cannot find greater resources, their prospects for solving their problems through rational policies will fade. The results will be more instability, more political radicalism, more of the wrong kind of nationalism.

This is the dilemma which the hemisphere faces in the 1970's. It prompted the efforts made by the hemisphere nations to forge new development and trade policies in the series of meetings of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council during the latter half of 1969. Against this backdrop our friends will seek our cooperation, judge the credibility of our words, and measure the value of our actions.

In practical terms, we shall confront increased pressures:

—*For capital resources to finance development and reform.* We shall have to find ways to achieve adequate levels of resources, to use them more effectively and to transfer them through improved institutions and channels. We believe we can meet these needs through partnership, with shared responsibility for development decisions and major efforts by the United States and other developed nations.

—*For growing markets to expand ex-*

ports. We shall have to face frankly the contradictions we will find between our broader foreign policy interests and our more particular domestic interests. Unless we can demonstrate to our sister nations evidence of our sincerity and of our help in this area while recognizing practical constraints, we cannot achieve the effective partnership we seek. A liberal trade policy that can support development is necessary to sustain a harmonious hemispheric system.

—*Against foreign investments.* Foreign investments are the most exposed targets of frustration, irrational politics, misguided nationalism. Their potential for mutual benefits will only be realized through mutual perception and tact. The nations of this hemisphere must work out arrangements which can attract the needed technical and financial resources of foreign investment. For their part, investors must recognize the national sensitivities and political needs of the 1970's. There is no more delicate task than finding new modes which permit the flow of needed investment capital without a challenge to national pride and prerogative.

There will be political and diplomatic pressures as well. The Inter-American community will have to consider:

—how to maintain peace in the face of border disputes and neighbors' quarrels;

—how to meet the problems of subversive threats to internal security and order;

—how to handle legitimate desires to modernize security forces without starting arms races;

—how to view internal political instabilities and extra-legal changes of government among us.

In both the development and security spheres we shall have to adapt the formalities of the inter-American system to rapidly changing realities. An amended OAS charter will very soon take effect. We shall need to work to enhance the effectiveness of its constituent organizations. Above all, our special partnership must accommodate the desire of the Latin Americans to consult among themselves and formulate positions which they can then discuss with us.

Within the broad commonality of our relationship, there is great diversity. In a period of such profound social and cultural change, emerging domestic structures will differ by country, reflecting various historical roots, particular contexts, and national priorities. We can anticipate different interpretations of reality, different conceptions of self-interest and different conclusions on how to resolve problems.

The United States must comprehend these phenomena. We must recognize national interests may indeed diverge from ours rather than merge. Our joint task is to construct a community of institutions and interests broad and resilient enough to accommodate our national divergencies. It is in this context that we are giving intensive study to Governor Rockefeller's recommendations for additional actions.

Our concepts of future American relations must thus be grounded in differences as well as similarities. Our mandate is to produce creativity from diversity. Our

challenge is the vision I painted in my October 31 speech:

"Today, we share an historic opportunity.

"As we look together down the closing decades of this century, we see tasks that summon the very best that is in us. But those tasks are difficult precisely because they do mean the difference between despair and fulfillment for most of the 600 million people who will live in Latin America in the year 2000. Those lives are our challenge. Those lives are our hope. And we could ask no prouder reward than to have our efforts crowned by peace, prosperity and dignity in the lives of those 600 million human beings, each so precious and each so unique—our children and our legacy."

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

"What we seek for Asia is a community of free nations able to go their own way and seek their own destiny with whatever cooperation we can provide—a community of independent Asian countries, each maintaining its own traditions and yet each developing through mutual cooperation. In such an arrangement, we stand ready to play a responsible role in accordance with our commitments and basic interests."

Statement by the President
at Bangkok, Thailand
July 28, 1969.

Three times in a single generation, Americans have been called upon to cross the Pacific and fight in Asia. No region of the world has more engaged our energies in the postwar period. No continent has changed more rapidly or with greater complexity since World War II. Nowhere has the failure to create peace been more costly or led to greater sacrifice.

America's Asian policy for the 1970's must be based on the lessons of this sacrifice. Does it mean that the United States should withdraw from Asian affairs? If not, does it mean that we are condemned to a recurring cycle of crisis and war in a changing setting beyond the understanding or influence of outsiders?

Our answers to these questions provide the concepts behind this Administration's approach to Asia.

First, we remain involved in Asia. We are a Pacific power. We have learned that peace for us is much less likely if there is no peace in Asia.

Second, behind the headlines of strife and turmoil, the fact remains that no region contains a greater diversity of vital and gifted peoples, and thus a greater potential for cooperative enterprises. Constructive nationalism and economic progress since World War II have strengthened the new nations of Asia internally. A growing sense of Asian identity and concrete action toward Asian cooperation are creating a new and healthy pattern of international relationships in the region. Our Asian friends, especially Japan, are in a position to shoulder larger responsibilities for the peaceful progress of the area. Thus, despite its troubled past, Asia's future is rich in promise. That promise has been nurtured in part by America's participation.

Third, while we will maintain our interests in Asia and the commitments that flow from them, the changes taking place in that region enable us to change the character of our involvement. The responsibilities once borne by the United States at such great cost can now be shared. America *can* be effective in helping the

peoples of Asia harness the forces of change to peaceful progress, and in supporting them as they defend themselves from those who would subvert this process and fling Asia again into conflict.

Our friends in Asia have understood and welcomed our concept of our role in that continent. Those with whom the Vice President, the Secretary of State and I spoke during our visits there agreed that this was the most effective way in which we can work together to meet the military challenges and economic opportunities of the new Asia.

Our new cooperative relationship concerns primarily two areas of challenge—military threats, and the great task of development.

Defense

Our important interests and those of our friends are still threatened by those nations which would exploit change and which proclaim hostility to the United States as one of the fundamental tenets of their policies. We do not assume that these nations will always remain hostile, and will work toward improved relationships wherever possible. But we will not underestimate any threat to us or our allies, nor lightly base our present policies on untested assumptions about the future.

At the beginning of my trip last summer through Asia, I described at Guam the principles that underlie our cooperative approach to the defense of our common interests. In my speech on November 3, I summarized key elements of this approach:

—The United States will keep all its treaty commitments.

—We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole.

—In cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defense.

This approach requires our commitment to helping our partners develop their own strength. In doing so, we must strike a careful balance. If we do too little to help them—and erode their belief in our commitments—they may lose the necessary will to conduct their own self-defense or become disheartened about prospects of development. Yet, if we do too much, and American forces do what local forces can and should be doing, we promote dependence rather than independence.

In providing for a more responsible role for Asian nations in their own defense, the Nixon Doctrine means not only a more effective use of common resources, but also an American policy which can best be sustained over the long run.

Economic and Political Partnership

The partnership we seek involves not only defense. Its ultimate goal must be equally close cooperation over a much broader range of concerns—economic as well as political and military. For in that close cooperation with our Asian friends lies our mutual commitment to peace in Asia and the world.

Our goal must be particularly close cooperation for economic development. Here, too, our most effective contribution will be to support Asian initiatives in an Asian framework.

Our partnership will rest on the solid basis of Asia's own wealth of human and material resources. Acting jointly, its peoples offer each other a wide range of energy and genius. Their benefits shared, its land and products can overcome the unmet needs which have often sparked conflict. Already, the Republics of Korea and China, Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia can show a doubling of their gross national product in the last decade. Korea's annual growth rate of 15 per cent may be the highest in the world; the Republic of China, no longer an economic aid recipient, now conducts a technical assistance program of its own in 27 other countries. Thus, the potential for cooperation among Asian countries is strong, and progress is already apparent. New multinational organizations are sharing agricultural and technical skills. When the war in Vietnam is ended, reconstruction can be carried out in a regional context. And we look forward to continued cooperation with a regional effort to harness the power of the Mekong River.

The successful start of the Asian Development Bank, of which we are a member, illustrates the potential of Asian initiatives and regionalism. It is an *Asian* institution, with a requirement that the Bank's president, seven of its ten directors, and 60 per cent of its capital come from Asia.

Our hopes for Asia are thus for a continent of strong nations drawing together for their mutual benefit on their own terms, and creating a new relationship with the rest of the international community.

Japan, as one of the great industrial nations of the world, has a unique and essential role to play in the development of the new Asia. Our policy toward Japan during the past year demonstrates our conception of the creative partnership we seek with all Asian nations.

Upon entering office, I faced a pivotal question concerning the future of our relations with Japan: the status of Okinawa. What did we consider more important—the maintenance of American administration of Okinawa with no adjustments in the conditions under which we operate our bases or the strengthening of our relationship with Japan over the long term? We chose the second course because our cooperation with Japan will be crucial to our efforts to help other Asian nations develop in peace. Japan's partnership with us will be a key to the success of the Nixon Doctrine in Asia.

In November, I therefore agreed with Prime Minister Sato during his visit to Washington that we would proceed with arrangements for the return of Okinawa in 1972, with our bases remaining after its reversion in the same status as our bases in Japan. This was among the most important decisions I have taken as President.

For his part, Prime Minister Sato expressed the intention of the Japanese Government to expand and improve its aid programs in Asia in keeping with the economic growth of Japan. He agreed with me that attention to the economic needs of the developing countries was essential to the development of international peace and stability. He stated Japan's intention to accelerate the reduction and removal of its restrictions on trade and capital. He also stated that Japan was exploring what it could do to bring about stability and reconstruction in postwar Southeast Asia. The Prime Minister affirmed that it is in Japan's interest that we carry out fully our defensive commitments in East Asia.

We have thereby laid the foundation

for US-Japanese cooperation in the 1970's.

Elsewhere, too, we have seen developments encouraging for the future of Asia. In Indonesia—which is virtually half of Southeast Asia—we have participated in multilateral efforts, aimed at achieving economic stability, which have already contributed much to the building of a prospering and peaceful nation.

The United States has a similar long-run interest in cooperation for progress in South Asia. The one-fifth of mankind who live in India and Pakistan can make the difference for the future of Asia. If their nation-building surmounts the centrifugal forces that have historically divided the subcontinent, if their economic growth keeps pace with popular demands, and if they can avert further costly rivalry between themselves, India and Pakistan can contribute their vast energies to the structure of a stable peace. But these are formidable "ifs." We stand ready to help the subcontinent overcome them. These nations' potential contribution to peace is too great for us to do otherwise.

Like the rest of Asia, India and Pakistan have changed significantly over the past decade. They have registered steady economic progress in many areas, and established a hopeful precedent for mutual cooperation in the Indus development scheme. Yet in the same period, each has felt the strains of continuing tension in their relations and their old bitter dispute flared again in brief warfare in 1965.

They have reordered their international relationships with East and West; each remains staunchly independent.

Over the next decade India, Pakistan, and their friends have an opportunity to build substantially on the constructive elements in this record, and above all, to work together to avert further wasteful and dangerous conflict in the area.

While I was in South Asia, I stated our view of the method and purpose of our economic assistance to Asia. These words were spoken in Pakistan, but they express our goals as well for India and all of Asia:

"I wish to communicate my Government's conviction that Asian hands must shape the Asian future. This is true, for example, with respect to economic aid, for it must be related to the total pattern of a nation's life. It must support the unique aspirations of each people. Its purpose is to encourage self-reliance, not dependence."

Issues for the Future

The fostering of self-reliance is the new purpose and direction of American involvement in Asia. But we are only at the beginning of a new road. However clear our conception of where we wish to go, we must be under no illusion that any policy can provide easy answers to the hard, specific issues which will confront us in Asia in coming years.

—While we have established general guidelines on American responses to Asian conflicts, in practice the specific circumstances of each case require careful study. Even with careful planning, we will always have to consider a basic and delicate choice. If we limit our own involvement in the interest of encouraging local self-reliance, and the threat turns out to have been more serious than we had judged, we will only have created still more dangerous choices. On the other hand, if we become unwisely involved, we risk stifling the local

contribution which is the key to our long-run commitment to Asia.

—The success of our Asian policy depends not only on the strength of our partnership with our Asian friends, but also on our relations with Mainland China and the Soviet Union. We have no desire to impose our own prescriptions for relationships in Asia. We have described in the Nixon Doctrine our conception of our relations with Asian nations. We hope that other great powers will act in a similar spirit and not seek hegemony.

—Just as we and our allies have an interest in averting great power dominance over Asia, we believe that peace in the world would be endangered by great power conflict there—whether it involves us or not. This characterizes our attitude towards the Sino-Soviet dispute.

—Asian regional cooperation is at its beginning. We will confront subtle decisions as we seek to help maintain its momentum without supplanting Asian direction of the effort.

—A sound relationship with Japan is crucial in our common effort to secure peace, security, and a rising living standard in the Pacific area. We look forward to extending the cooperative relationship we deepened in 1969. But we shall not ask Japan to assume responsibilities inconsistent with the deeply felt concerns of its people.

—In South Asia, our good relations with India and Pakistan should not obscure the concrete dilemmas we will face. How can we bring home to both, for example, our serious concern over the waste of their limited resources in an arms race, yet recognize their legitimate interests in self-defense?

All these issues will confront this Administration with varying intensity over the coming years. We are planning now to meet challenges and anticipate crises. Our purpose in 1969 has been to make sure none was ignored or underestimated. The task ahead—for Asians and Americans—is to address all these issues with the imagination, realism and boldness their solutions demand if lasting peace is to come to Asia.

VIETNAM

"The people of Vietnam, North and South alike, have demonstrated heroism enough to last a century. And I speak from personal observation. I have been to North Vietnam, to Hanoi, in 1953, and all over South Vietnam. I have seen the people of the North and the people of the South. The people of Vietnam, North and South, have endured an unspeakable weight of suffering for a generation. And they deserve a better future."

The President's Address to the 24th Session of the UN General Assembly, September 18, 1969.

A just peace in Vietnam has been, and remains, our goal.

The real issues are the nature of that peace and how to achieve it. In addressing these issues at the beginning of my Administration, I had to consider the great consequences of our decisions.

I stated the consequences of a precipitate withdrawal in these terms in my speech of May 14:

"When we assumed the burden of helping defend South Vietnam, millions of

South Vietnamese men, women and children placed their trust in us. To abandon them now would risk a massacre that would shock and dismay everyone in the world who values human life.

"Abandoning the South Vietnamese people, however, would jeopardize more than lives in South Vietnam. It would threaten our long-term hopes for peace in the world. A great nation cannot renege on its pledges. A great nation must be worthy of trust.

"When it comes to maintaining peace, 'prestige' is not an empty word. I am not speaking of false pride or bravado—they should have no place in our policies. I speak, rather, of the respect that one nation has for another's integrity in defending its principles and meeting its obligations.

"If we simply abandoned our effort in Vietnam, the cause of peace might not survive the damage that would be done to other nations' confidence in our reliability.

"Another reason for not withdrawing unilaterally stems from debates within the Communist world . . . If Hanoi were to succeed in taking over South Vietnam by force—even after the power of the United States had been engaged—it would greatly strengthen those leaders who scorn negotiation, who advocate aggression, who minimize the risks of confrontation with the United States. It would bring peace now but it would enormously increase the danger of a bigger war later."

My trip through Asia last summer made this fact more vivid to me than ever. I did not meet a single Asian leader who urged a precipitate U.S. withdrawal. The closer their nations were to the battlefield, the greater was their concern that America meet its responsibilities in Vietnam.

Less attention had been given to another important consequence of our decisions—within the United States itself. When the Administration took office, Vietnam had already led to a profound national debate. In considering our objectives there, I could only conclude that the peace must not intensify the bitter recrimination and divisions which the war had already inflicted on American society. Were we to purchase peace in Vietnam at the expense of greater suffering later, the American people would inevitably lose confidence in their leaders—not just in the Presidency or in either political party, but in the whole structure of American leadership.

For all these reasons, I resolved to seek a peace which all Americans could support, a peace in which all parties to the conflict would have a stake. I resolved also to be completely candid with the American public and Congress in presenting our policies, except for some details on matters of great sensitivity. I was determined to report the setbacks as well as achievements, the uncertainties as well as the hopeful signs.

To seek a just peace, we pursued two distinct but mutually supporting courses of action: Negotiations and Vietnamization. We want to achieve an early and fair settlement through negotiations. But if the other side refuses, we shall proceed to strengthen the South Vietnamese forces. This will allow us to replace our troops on an orderly timetable. We hope that as Vietnamization proceeds the Government of North Vietnam will realize that it has more to gain in negotiations than in continued fighting.

We do not pretend that our goals in Vietnam have been accomplished, or that the way ahead will be easy.

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—In South Vietnam, we have helped the South Vietnamese make progress in increasing their defense capacity, and we have reduced the number of American men and casualties. Yet Vietnamization is still a developing process, and enemy intentions on the battlefield are unclear.

—At the conference table, we have made generous and reasonable proposals for a settlement. Yet the other side still refuses to negotiate seriously.

Despite these uncertainties, I believe that we are on the right road, and that we are moving toward our goals.

Negotiations

In seeking a negotiated settlement of the war, we did not underestimate the difficulties ahead:

—We knew that the basic questions at issue in negotiations—particularly the resolution of political power in such a war—were enormously complex. There could be no rigid formula or strict agenda.

—We were aware that Hanoi's actions and doctrinal statements about "protracted conflict," caused it to view negotiations as a means of pressure, rather than as an avenue to a fair compromise.

—We realized that our opponent had sacrificed heavily; he had demonstrated a tenacious commitment to the war, and obviously harbored a deep mistrust of negotiations as a means of settling disputes. As I wrote to the late President Ho Chi Minh last July in an appeal to him to join us in finding a rapid solution: "It is difficult to communicate meaningfully across the gulf of four years of war."

These were formidable obstacles. But we were equally convinced that negotiations offered the best hope of a rapid settlement of the war. The specific issues were complex but could be resolved, once both sides made the fundamental decision to negotiate in a spirit of goodwill. Therefore we and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam moved to demonstrate to a mistrustful adversary our willingness to negotiate seriously and flexibly.

On May 14, I made a number of far-reaching proposals for a settlement. They included a mutual withdrawal of all non-South Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam and internationally-supervised free elections.

I also indicated that we seek no bases in Vietnam and no military ties, that we are willing to agree to neutrality or to unification of Vietnam if that is what the South Vietnamese people choose.

In order to encourage the other side to negotiate, I indicated that our proposals were flexible, and that we were prepared to consider other approaches consistent with our principles. We insisted only on one general proposition for which the Government of North Vietnam itself has claimed to be fighting—that the people of South Vietnam be able to decide their own future free of outside interference.

The proposals I made on May 14 still stand. They offer all parties an opportunity to end the war quickly and on an equitable basis.

In a similar spirit, President Thieu of the Republic of Vietnam on July 11 offered a comprehensive set of proposals. They include free elections in which all the people and parties of South Vietnam can participate, including the National Liberation Front and its adherents, and a

mixed Electoral Commission on which all parties can be represented. We have supported those proposals.

At Midway, in early June, President Thieu and I both publicly pledged to accept *any* outcome of free elections, regardless of what changes they might bring.

Throughout the year, we explored every means of engaging the other side in serious negotiations—in the public talks in Paris, in private conversations, and through reliable third parties.

To demonstrate our willingness to wind down the war, I also ordered a reduction in the level of our military operations in Vietnam. Our tactical air and B–52 operations have been reduced by over 25 per cent. Our combat deaths have dropped by two-thirds.

Nor were our proposals put forward on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. We have repeatedly expressed our willingness to discuss the other side's ten-point program. But Hanoi has adamantly refused even to discuss our proposals. It has refused to negotiate with the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, although it had agreed to do so as one of the "understandings" that led to the bombing halt. It has insisted that we must unconditionally and totally accept its demands for unilateral U.S. withdrawal and for the removal of the leaders of the Government of South Vietnam. It has demanded these things as conditions for just *beginning* negotiations. If we were to accept these demands, we would have conceded the fundamental points at issue. There would be nothing left to negotiate.

If the other side is interested in genuine negotiations there are many ways they can let us know and there are many channels open to them.

The key to peace lies in Hanoi—in its decision to end the bloodshed and to negotiate in the true sense of the word.

The United States has taken three major steps which we were told repeatedly would lead to serious negotiations. We stopped the bombing of North Vietnam; we began the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam; and we agreed to negotiate with the National Liberation Front as one of the parties to the negotiation. But none of those moves brought about the response or the reaction which their advocates had claimed. It is time for Hanoi to heed the concern of mankind and turn our negotiations into a serious give-and-take. Hanoi will find us forthcoming and flexible.

Vietnamization

The other course of action we are pursuing—Vietnamization—is a program to strengthen the ability of the South Vietnamese Government and people to defend themselves. It emphasizes progress in providing physical security for the Vietnamese people and in extending the authority of the South Vietnamese Government throughout the countryside.

Vietnamization is not a substitute for negotiations, but a spur to negotiations. In strengthening the capability of the Government and people of South Vietnam to defend themselves, we provide Hanoi with an authentic incentive to negotiate seriously now. Confronted by Vietnamization, Hanoi's alternative to a reasonable settlement is to continue its costly sacrifices while its bargaining power diminishes.

Vietnamization has two principal components. The first is the strengthening of the armed forces of the South Vietnamese in numbers, equipment, leadership

and combat skills, and overall capability. The second component is the extension of the pacification program in South Vietnam.

Tangible progress has been made toward strengthening the South Vietnamese armed forces. Their number has grown, particularly the local and territorial forces. For example the numerical strength of the South Vietnamese Regional Forces and Popular Forces—important elements in resisting guerrilla attacks—has grown by more than 75,000 in the last year. The effectiveness of these forces is improving in most areas. In addition, about 400,000 weapons have been supplied to South Vietnamese villagers who have become part of the Peoples' Self Defense Force, a local militia.

Under the Vietnamization program, we have reversed the trend of American military engagement in Vietnam and the South Vietnamese have assumed a greater role in combat operations. We have cut the authorized strength of American forces by 115,500 as of April 15, 1970. American forces will continue to be withdrawn in accordance with an orderly schedule based on three criteria: the level of enemy activity; progress in the negotiations; and the increasing ability of the South Vietnamese people to assume for themselves the task of their own defense.

During this process, we have kept in close consultations with the allied nations—Australia, Korea, New Zealand, and Thailand—which also contribute troops to assist the Vietnamese. Their forces continue to bear a significant burden in this common struggle.

As the Vietnamese Government bears the growing cost of these augmented forces, and as U.S. military spending in Vietnam is reduced with the continuing reduction of the U.S. military presence there, there will be additional strains on the Vietnamese economy. The Vietnamese will require assistance in dealing with these economic problems. Although our spending for purely military purposes in Vietnam can be expected to decrease substantially during the process of Vietnamization, some increases in our spending for economic purposes will be required.

Vietnamization also involves expansion of the pacification program. Our understanding of the pacification program and of the criteria for measuring its success needed improvement. I therefore ordered a comprehensive study of conditions in the countryside by a committee charged with analyzing the statistics of Vietnam and keeping the situation under constant review.

The study has concluded that the most meaningful criteria for South Vietnamese Government success in the countryside are the establishment in each hamlet of (1) an adequate defense, and (2) a fully functioning government resident in the hamlet 24 hours a day. If the Government can achieve these two objectives, it can prevent the enemy from subverting and terrorizing the population or mobilizing it for its own purposes. The enemy will be denied any but the most limited and furtive access to the people, and will encounter increasing hostility or indifference as they seek the assistance they formerly enjoyed. The enemy forces will be isolated and forced to fight as a conventional expeditionary force, being dependent on external sources of supply and reinforcement.

This is very important: Enemy main force activities have in the past relied on active assistance from the population in the countryside for intelligence, food,

money and manpower. This has enabled the enemy to use the countryside as a springboard from which to strike at key Vietnamese cities and installations. If they are forced to fight as a conventional army, with their support provided from their own resources rather than from the population, the enemy will lose momentum as they move forward because their supply lines will lengthen and they will encounter increasing opposition.

To date, the pacification program is succeeding.

Enemy forces have suffered heavy casualties, many in the course of their own offensives of 1968 and early 1969. The operations of U.S. and South Vietnamese troops against enemy main force units have prevented those units from moving freely through the populated areas and have more and more forced them back into bases in remote areas and along the borders of South Vietnam.

Since 1967, the percentage of the rural population living in areas with adequate defense and a fully functioning local government—the two criteria for Government success mentioned above—has more than doubled. By a similar standard, Viet Cong control over the rural population has dropped sharply to less than ten per cent.

The enemy is facing greater difficulty in recruitment and supply. North Vietnamese fillers are being used to bolster Viet Cong main force and local force units, whose strength appears to be declining in most areas. More of the enemy's time is taken up in gaining strength for new offensives which appear to be progressively less efficient.

Claims of progress in Vietnam have been frequent during the course of our involvement there—and have often proved too optimistic. However careful our planning, and however hopeful we are for the progress of these plans, we are conscious of two basic facts:

—We cannot try to fool the enemy, who knows what is actually happening.

—Nor must we fool ourselves. The American people must have the full truth. We cannot afford a loss of confidence in our judgment and in our leadership.

Because the prospects and the progress of Vietnamization demand the most careful study and thoughtful analysis—by ourselves and our critics alike—we have made major efforts to determine the facts.

At my request, Secretary Laird and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler, have just traveled to Vietnam to look into the situation. Last fall, I asked Sir Robert Thompson, an objective British expert with long experience in the area, to make his own candid and independent appraisal for me.

We have established a Vietnam Special Studies Group whose membership includes my Assistant for National Security Affairs as Chairman, the Under Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Director of Central Intelligence, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I have directed this group to:

—sponsor and direct on a continuous basis systematic analyses of U.S. programs and activities in Vietnam;

—undertake special analytical studies

on a priority basis as required to support broad policy and related program decisions; and

—provide a forum for and encourage systematic interagency analysis of U.S. activities in Vietnam.

Essentially the purpose of this group is to direct studies of the factual situation in Vietnam. These studies are undertaken by analysts and individuals with experience in Vietnam drawn from throughout the Government. Their findings are presented to the Vietnam Special Studies Group and the National Security Council.

As described below, the group has helped us identify problems for the future. It has provoked the most searching questions, as well as measured the progress we have achieved.

Prisoners of War

In human terms, no other aspect of conflict in Vietnam more deeply troubles thousands of American families than the refusal of North Vietnam to agree to humane treatment of prisoners of war or to provide information about men missing in action. Over 1,400 Americans are now listed as missing or captured, some as long as five years, most with no word ever to their families. In the Paris meetings, we have sought repeatedly to raise this subject—to no avail. Far from agreeing to arrangements for the release of prisoners, the other side has failed even to live up to the humane standards of the 1949 Geneva Convention on prisoners of war: the provision of information about all prisoners, the right of all prisoners to correspond with their families and to receive packages, inspection of POW camps by an impartial organization such as the International Red Cross, and the early release of seriously sick and wounded prisoners.

This is not a political or military issue, but a matter of basic humanity. There may be disagreement about other aspects of this conflict, but there can be no disagreement on humane treatment for prisoners of war. I state again our readiness to proceed at once to arrangements for the release of prisoners of war on both sides.

Tasks for the Future

This Administration is carrying out a concerted and coordinated plan for peace in Vietnam. But the following tasks still remain:

—*Negotiations.* One task is to persuade the North Vietnamese Government to join us in genuine negotiations leading toward a compromise settlement which would assure the self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and would also ensure the continued neutrality of Laos. The fact that it has not yet given any indication of doing so does not necessarily mean that such a decision cannot come at any point. While we harbor no undue optimism, the history of negotiations on Vietnam shows that breakthroughs have always come with little warning after long deadlocks.

Hanoi faces serious and complicated issues in making the fundamental decision to seek a genuine settlement. Allied military pressures, uncertainties in its international support, strains within North Vietnam, the recent display of American public support for a just peace, and the strengthening of the South Vietnamese Government un-

der Vietnamization, all argue for seeking a settlement now. On the other hand, Hanoi's mistrust of our intentions before and after a settlement, its hope that American domestic pressures will force us to withdraw rapidly or make major concessions, its hope for political instability and collapse in South Vietnam, its emotional commitment to the struggle, and its own political weakness in the South must weigh heavily against its willingness to negotiate.

We do not know what choice the North Vietnamese Government will make. For our part, we shall continue to try to make clear to that Government that its true long-range interests lie in the direction of negotiations. As we have often said, we shall be flexible and generous when serious negotiations start at last.

—*Enemy Intentions.* Another crucial task is to evaluate Hanoi's intentions on the battlefield. We hope that the level of combat can be further reduced, but we must be prepared for new enemy offensives. The Government of North Vietnam could make no greater mistake than to assume that an increase in violence would be to its advantage. As I said on November 3, and have repeated since, if I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I will not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

—*Vietnamization.* A major problem we must face is whether the Vietnamization program will succeed. The enemy is determined and able, and will continue to fight unless he can be persuaded that negotiation is the best solution. The success of Vietnamization is a basic element in Hanoi's assessment of its policies, just as it is in our own.

—We are now attempting to determine the depth and durability of the progress which has been made in Vietnam. We are studying the extent to which it has been dependent on the presence of American combat and support forces as well as on expanded and improved South Vietnamese army and territorial forces. We are asking searching questions:

- What is the enemy's capability to mount sustained operations? Could they succeed in undoing our gains?
- What is the actual extent of improvement in allied capabilities? In particular, are the Vietnamese developing the leadership, logistics capabilities, tactical know-how, and sensitivity to the needs of their own people which are indispensable to continued success?
- What alternative strategies are open to the enemy in the face of continued allied success? If they choose to conduct a protracted, low-intensity war, could they simply wait out U.S. withdrawals and then, through reinvigorated efforts, seize the initiative again and defeat the South Vietnamese forces?
- Most important, what are the attitudes of the Vietnamese people, whose free choice we are fighting to preserve? Are they truly being disaffected from the Viet Cong, or are they indifferent to both sides? What do their attitudes imply about the likelihood that the pacification gains will stick?

These studies are continuing, as are our studies of the enemy situation and options. I have made it clear that I want the Vietnam Special Studies Group and the other agencies of the U.S. Government to provide the fullest possible presentation of the facts, whatever their policy implications might be.

Our task is to continue to proceed carefully in the policy of Vietnamization, and to find the means which will best support our purpose of helping the South Vietnamese to strengthen themselves.

Even as the fighting continues in Vietnam, we must plan for the transition from war to peace. Much has already been done to bring relief to suffering people, to reconstruct war-torn areas and to promote economic rehabilitation. We have been supporting those efforts. We shall continue to support them and we shall count on other nations to help.

I look forward to the day when I shall not have to report on the problems of ending a complex war but rather on the opportunities offered by a stable peace, when the men and nations who have fought so long and so hard will be reconciled.

I expressed my hope for the future of Vietnam when I spoke to the United Nations on September 18:

"When the war ends, the United States will stand ready to help the people of Vietnam—all of them—in their tasks of renewal and reconstruction. And when peace comes at last to Vietnam, it can truly come with healing in its wings."

THE MIDDLE EAST

". . . a peace which speaks not only about the integrity of nations, but also for the integrity of individuals."

Letter to the President of American Near East Refugee Aid, October 21, 1969.

". . . the peace that is not simply one of words but one which both parties will have a vested interest in maintaining."

Welcoming remarks to Prime Minister of Israel, September 25, 1969.

These statements reflect some of my thoughts on the nature of the peace which must come to the Middle East. At the same time, this is an area with great resources and prospects for economic progress. It is the first region of developing nations that is near to meeting its capital needs from its own resources.

Yet this area presents one of the sternest tests of our quest for peace through partnership and accommodation of interests. It combines intense local conflict with great power involvement. This combination is all the more dangerous because the outside powers' interests are greater than their control.

Beyond the area of conflict and beyond this era of conflict, the United States is challenged to find new relationships in helping all the people of the area marshal their resources to share in progress.

The most important of the area's conflicts, between Arabs and Israel, is still far from settlement. It has serious elements of intractability, but its importance requires all concerned to devote their energies to helping to resolve it or make it less dangerous.

Local passions in the Middle East run so deep that the parties in conflict are seldom amenable to outside advice or influence. Each side is convinced that vital interests are at stake which cannot be compromised:

—Israel, having lived so long before on

a thin margin of security, sees territories occupied in 1967 as providing physical security more tangible than Arab commitments to live at peace—commitments whose nature would be tested only after Israel had relinquished the buffer of the territories.

—For the Arabs, a settlement negotiated directly with the Israelis would require recognition of Israel as a sovereign state even while Israeli troops still occupy territory taken in 1967 and while Arab refugees remain homeless.

—For both sides and for the international community, Jerusalem is a special problem involving not only the civil and political concerns of two states but the interests of three great world religions.

A powerful legacy of fear and mistrust must be overcome if the parties are to be willing to subject their interests and grievances to the procedure of compromise. Until then, no formula acceptable to both sides, and no neutral definition of "a fair and reasonable settlement," can get very far.

However, a settlement should still be sought.

This Administration continues to believe that the United Nations cease-fire resolutions define the minimal conditions that must prevail on the ground if a settlement is to be achieved. We have persistently urged the parties in the area as well as the other major powers to do all possible to restore observance of the cease-fire.

Once those minimal conditions exist, we believe a settlement can only be achieved through the give and take of negotiation by those involved, in an atmosphere of mutual willingness to compromise. That is why this Administration has pressed this view in a series of consultations with leaders from the Middle East both in Washington and in their capitals, in bilateral discussions with the outside powers most concerned, and in formal talks with the Soviet Union and in the Four Power forum at the United Nations. In the course of these discussions, we have advanced specific proposals—outlined by Secretary Rogers in his speech of December 9—for creating a framework for negotiation in accordance with the United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967. These have been written with the legitimate concerns of all parties firmly in mind. They were made in an effort to try to help begin the process of negotiation under UN Ambassador Jarring's auspices. Observing that the United States maintained friendly ties with both Arabs and Israelis, the Secretary of State said that to call for Israeli withdrawal as envisaged in the UN resolution without achieving agreement on peace would be partisan toward the Arabs, while calling on the Arabs to accept peace without Israeli withdrawal would be partisan toward Israel.

But the United States cannot be expected to assume responsibility alone for developing the terms of peace or for guaranteeing them. Others—in the Middle East and among the great powers—must participate in the search for compromise. Each nation concerned must be prepared to subordinate its special interests to the general interest in peace. In the Middle East, especially, everyone must participate in making the peace so all will have an interest in maintaining it.

We have not achieved as much as we had hoped twelve months ago through the discussions with the Soviet Union or the

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Four Power talks. We have gone as far as we believe useful in making new proposals until there is a response from other parties. But we shall continue to participate in the dialogue so long as we can make a contribution.

If the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be finally resolved, at least its scope must be contained and the direct engagement of the major powers limited. For this is a second dimension of the conflict in the Middle East—the rivalries and interests of the major powers themselves.

The interests of the great powers are involved in the contests between local forces, but we also have a common interest in avoiding a direct confrontation. One of the lessons of 1967 was that the local events and forces have a momentum of their own, and that conscious and serious effort is required for the major powers to resist being caught up in them.

In its communications to the Soviet Union and others, this Administration has made clear its opposition to steps which could have the effect of drawing the major powers more deeply into the Arab-Israeli conflict—steps that could only increase the dangers without advancing the prospects for peace.

The activity of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and the Mediterranean has increased in recent years. This has consequences that reach far beyond the Arab-Israeli question. The United States has long-standing obligations and relationships with a number of nations in the Middle East and its policy is to help them enhance their own integrity and freedom. This Administration has shown its readiness to work with the Soviet Union for peace and to work alongside the Soviet Union in cooperation with nations in the area in the pursuit of peace. But the United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern.

I believe that the time has passed in which powerful nations can or should dictate the future to less powerful nations. The policy of this Administration is to help strengthen the freedom of other nations to determine their own futures. Any effort by an outside power to exploit local conflict for its own advantage or to seek a special position of its own would be contrary to that goal.

For these reasons, this Administration has not only pressed efforts to restore observance of the cease-fire and to help begin the process of negotiating a genuine peace. It has also urged an agreement to limit the shipment of arms to the Middle East as a step which could help stabilize the situation in the absence of a settlement. In the meantime, however, I now reaffirm our stated intention to maintain careful watch on the balance of military forces and to provide arms to friendly states as the need arises.

This Administration clearly recognizes that the problem of the Middle East, rooted in a long history of local developments, will be solved only when the parties to the conflict—by reason or resignation—come to accommodate each other's basic, long-run interests. They must recognize that to do less will increasingly endanger everyone's basic goals.

Issues for the Future

We shall continue to seek to work together with all the region's nations, respecting their legitimate national interests and expecting that they will have the same regard for ours. But the emphasis must be on the word "together." The day is past when the large powers can or

should be expected either to determine their course or to solve their problems for them. As the Secretary of State said on December 9:

"[Peace] is . . . a matter of the attitudes and intentions of the parties. Are they ready to coexist with one another? Can a live-and-let-live attitude replace suspicion, mistrust and hate? A peace agreement between the parties must be based on clear and stated intentions and a willingness to bring about basic changes in the attitudes and conditions which are characteristic of the Middle East today."

The Middle East poses many challenges for the United States. First, of course, is the problem of resolving or containing major causes of conflict. No one should believe that a settlement even of the Arab-Israeli conflict would lead to the complete relaxation of tensions in the area. Other local rivalries and the turmoil accompanying social and economic change will continue to produce possibilities for conflict.

Yet, beyond that, a new problem faces us—the character of a constructive American relationship with an area with large capital resources of its own.

A number of nations in the area are well-launched toward economic modernization. Some of them have substantial revenues to finance this effort, and those that do not will increasingly rely on the efforts of nearby nations to help through regional funds. Large numbers of skilled technicians have been trained, and many of them have crossed borders to help neighbors.

This means that—while the United States will continue to help where it can—the need will decline for capital assistance and for the type of economic assistance which AID and its forerunners have provided. Of course, American technology, investment, education, managerial skills are still much in demand and can offer much in helping break bottlenecks that remain.

The challenge to the United States, therefore, is to find new tools—new programs, new legislation, new policies—that will permit our government and our citizens to relate productively to the first major area of the developing world to be close to meeting most of its capital needs from its own resources. We want to continue to work together. We must therefore—while persisting in the quest for peace—develop new relationships to meet the circumstances and demands of the 1970's.

Beyond the dangerous conflict of today, our vision of the Middle East is of a common effort by all those—the people of the area and friends outside—whose high purpose is to erase the scars of the past and to build a future consistent with their great heritage and abundant resources.

AFRICA

"We know you have no easy task in seeking to assure a fair share of Africa's wealth to all her peoples. We know that the realization of equality and human dignity throughout the continent will be long and arduous in coming. But you can be sure as you pursue these difficult goals that the United States shares your hopes and your confidence in the future."

President's Message
to the Sixth Annual
Assembly of the Organization
of African Unity,
September 6, 1969.

In this greeting last September to the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, I expressed America's determination to support our African friends as they work to fulfill their continent's high promise. The unprecedented visit of the Secretary of State to Africa this month is a confirmation of this support.

One of the most dramatic and far-reaching changes of the last decade was the emergence of an independent Africa.

Only ten years ago, 32 countries covering nearly five-sixths of the Continent were still colonies, their voices silent in world affairs. Today, these are all sovereign nations, proudly determined to shape their own future. And contrary to fears so often voiced at their birth, these nations did not succumb to Communist subversion. Africa is one of the world's most striking examples, in fact, of the failure of the appeal of Communism in the new nations. African states now comprise one-third of the membership of the United Nations. African issues have become important moral and political questions. African views justly merit and receive the attention of the world.

But this rebirth of a continent has been hazardous as well as hopeful. Africa was the scene of many of the recurrent crises of the 1960's. There was the factional strife and international rivalry in the Congo, an arms race between Ethiopia and Somalia, the establishment of white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia, and the agonizing human loss in the Nigerian civil war.

The Continent still faces grave problems. The imbalances of economies and institutions once under full external control are only too evident today. Arbitrary boundaries drawn in European chancelleries left many African countries vulnerable to tribal strife; and nowhere is the task of nation-building more taxing. Not least, Africans face the formidable task of strengthening their sense of identity and preserving traditional culture as their societies make the transition to modernity.

Over the last decade, America has not had a clear conception of its relationship with post-colonial Africa and its particular problems. Because of our traditional support of self-determination, and Africa's historic ties with so many of our own citizens, our sympathy and friendship for the new Africa were spontaneous. But without a coherent concept to structure our policies, we allowed ourselves to concentrate more on temporary crises than on their underlying causes. We expressed our support for Africa more by lofty phrases than by candid and constructive dialogue.

Just as we focus our policies elsewhere to meet a new era, we will be clear with ourselves and with our African friends on America's interests and role in the Continent. We have two major concerns regarding the future of Africa:

—That the Continent be free of great power rivalry or conflict in any form. This is even more in Africa's interest than in ours.

—That Africa realize its potential to become a healthy and prosperous region in the international community. Such an Africa would not only be a valuable economic partner for all regions, but would also have a greater stake in the maintenance of a durable world peace.

These interests will guide our policies toward the most demanding challenges facing Africa in the 1970's.

Development

The primary challenge facing the African Continent is economic development.

If the 1960's were years of high hopes and high rhetoric, the 1970's will have to be years of hard work and hard choices. The African nations and those who assist them must decide together on strict priorities in employing the relatively limited development capital available to the Continent. In doing this, Africa and its friends can benefit from several lessons of the past decade.

Certainly development will not always proceed as rapidly as the Africans and their friends hope. In many countries, needs will outrun local and international resources for some time. But solid and steady progress will be made if our common development investment concentrates on those basic if undramatic building blocks of economic growth—health, education, agriculture, transportation and local development. In particular, Africa will realize the full advantage of its own rich material resources only as it nurtures the wealth of its human resources. In close coordination with the Africans' own efforts, the United States will direct our aid at these fundamental building blocks.

Another lesson we have learned from the 1960's is the need for close regional cooperation, in order for Africa to get the most from development resources. The United States will work with other donors and the Africans to help realize the potential for cooperative efforts—by the support which we are giving, for example, to the East African Economic Community and the promising regional groupings in West Africa. We will recognize, however, that regional action is not the only road for African development. In some cases, for geographical or political reasons, it will not work.

Our assistance throughout the Continent will be flexible and imaginative. We will make a particular effort—including programs of technical assistance and new encouragement of private investment—to help those countries not in a position to participate in regional projects.

We have learned that there are no panaceas for African development. Each country faces its own problems and the solutions to them must spring from the national experience of each country. Foreign ideologies have often proven notoriously irrelevant, and even tragically wasteful, as designs for African progress. The most creative conceptual approaches to African development should come, of course, from the Africans themselves. Outsiders cannot prescribe the political framework most conducive to Africa's economic growth. In some countries, progress has depended upon stability. Yet elsewhere, solutions to local problems have been found amid periods of uncertainty or even turmoil.

The United States will measure African progress in terms of long-run social and economic accomplishment, and not in the political flux which is likely to accompany growth.

In Africa, as throughout the developing world, our goal in providing develop-

ment aid is clear. We want the Africans to build a better life for themselves and their children. We want to see an Africa free of poverty and disease, and free too of economic or political dependence on any outside power. And we want Africans to build this future as *they* think best, because in that way both our help and their efforts will be most relevant to their needs.

As Secretary Rogers said in Ethiopia on February 12:

"As a developed nation, we recognize a special obligation to assist in the economic development of Africa. Our resources and our capacity are not unlimited. We have many demands at home. We will, however, continue to seek the means, both directly and in cooperation with others, to contribute more effectively to economic development in Africa."

Nationhood

Africa's second challenge in the 1970's will be to weather the inevitable strains which will come with the further development of nations which house a great diversity of peoples and cultures.

We have witnessed tragic manifestations of this problem in the civil strife in the Congo and Nigeria. The process of national integration may be stormy elsewhere.

Such turmoil presents a tempting target to forces outside Africa ready to exploit the problems of change to their own advantage. But foreign intervention, whatever its form or source, will not serve the long-run interests of the Africans themselves.

The United States approaches these problems of national integration with a policy which clearly recognizes the limits as well as the obligations of our partnership with Africa:

—We will not intervene in the internal affairs of African nations. We strongly support their right to be independent, and we will observe their right to deal with their own problems independently. We believe that the national integrity of African states must be respected.

—However, we will distinguish between non-interference politically and the humanitarian obligation to help lessen human suffering.

—Finally, consulting our own interests, we will help our friends in Africa to help themselves when they are threatened by outside forces attempting to subvert their independent development. It is another lesson of the 1960's, however, that African defense against subversion, like African development, must be borne most directly by Africans rather than by outsiders.

Southern Africa

The third challenge facing Africa is the deep-seated tension in the southern sixth of the Continent.

Clearly there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes. For moral as well as historical reasons, the United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination.

At the same time, the 1960's have shown all of us—Africa and her friends alike—that the racial problems in the southern region of the Continent will not be solved quickly. These tensions are deeply rooted in the history of the region, and thus in the psychology of both black and white.

These problems must be solved. But there remains a real issue in how best to

achieve their resolution. Though we abhor the racial policies of the white regimes, we cannot agree that progressive change in Southern Africa is furthered by force. The history of the area shows all too starkly that violence and the counter-violence it inevitably provokes will only make more difficult the task of those on both sides working for progress on the racial question.

The United States warmly welcomes, therefore, the recent Lusaka Manifesto, a declaration by African leaders calling for a peaceful settlement of the tensions in Southern Africa. That statesmanlike document combines a commitment to human dignity with a perceptive understanding of the depth and complexity of the racial problem in the area—a combination which we hope will guide the policies of Africa and her friends as they seek practical policies to deal with this anguishing question.

Issues for the Future

American policy toward Africa, then, will illustrate our general approach to building an enduring peace. Our stake in the Continent will not rest on today's crisis, on political maneuvering for passing advantage, or on the strategic priority we assign it. Our goal is to help sustain the process by which Africa will gradually realize economic progress to match its aspirations.

We must understand, however, that this process is only beginning. Its specific course is unclear. Its success depends in part on how we and the Africans move now in the climate as well as the substance of our relations.

—Africa's friends must find a new tone of candor in their essential dialogue with the Continent. All too often over the past decade the United States and others have been guilty of telling proud young nations, in misguided condescension, only what we thought they wanted to hear. But I know from many talks with Africans, including two trips to the Continent in 1957 and 1967, that Africa's new leaders are pragmatic and practical as well as proud, realistic as well as idealistic. It will be a test of diplomacy for all concerned to face squarely common problems and differences of view. The United States will do all it can to establish this new dialogue.

—Most important, there must be new and broader forms of mobilizing the external resources for African development. The pattern of the multilateral consortium which in the past few years has aided Ghana should be employed more widely elsewhere. This will require the closest cooperation between the Africans and those who assist them. There is much to be gained also if we and others can help devise ways in which the more developed African states can share their resources with their African neighbors.

—The United States is firmly committed to non-interference in the Continent, but Africa's future depends also on the restraint of other great powers. No one should seek advantage from Africa's need for assistance, or from future instability. In his speech on February 12, Secretary Rogers affirmed that:

"We have deep respect for the independence of the African nations. We are not involved in their internal affairs. We want our relations with them to be on a basis of mutual re-

spect, mutual trust and equality. We have no desire for any domination of any country or any area and have no desire for any special influence in Africa, except the influences that naturally and mutually develop among friends."

The Africa of the 1970's will need schools rather than sympathy, roads rather than rhetoric, farms rather than formulas, local development rather than lengthy sermons. We will do what we can in a spirit of constructive cooperation rather than by vague declarations of good will. The hard facts must be faced by Africans and their friends; and the hard work in every corner of the Continent must be done. A durable peace cannot be built if the nations of Africa are not true partners in the gathering prosperity and security which fortify that peace.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

Peace has an economic dimension. In a world of independent states and interdependent economies, failure to collaborate is costly—in political as well as economic terms. Economic barriers block more than the free flow of goods and capital across national borders; they obstruct a more open world in which ideas and people, as well as goods and machinery, move among nations with maximum freedom.

Good U.S. economic policy is good U.S. foreign policy. The pre-eminent role that we play in the world economy gives us a special responsibility. In the economic sphere, more than in almost any other area, what we do has a tremendous impact on the rest of the world. Steady non-inflationary growth in our domestic economy will promote steady non-inflationary growth in the world as a whole. The stability of our dollar is essential to the stability of the world monetary system. Our continued support of a stronger world monetary system and freer trade is crucial to the expansion of world trade and investment on which the prosperity and development of most other countries depend.

As in other areas of foreign policy, our approach is a sharing of international responsibilities. Our foreign economic policy must be designed to serve our purpose of strengthening the ties that make partnership work.

We have an excellent foundation. In no other area of our foreign policy has the record of cooperation been so long and so successful. From the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference (which created the International Monetary Fund) and the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (which established a code for the orderly conduct of trade), to the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations and the recent creation of Special Drawing Rights, free nations have worked together to build and strengthen a system of economic relationships. We derive strength from their strength; we collaborate for our common interest.

International Monetary Policy

International monetary matters pose most sharply the potential tug-of-war between interdependent economies and independent national policies. Each country's balance of payments encompasses the full range of its economic and political relations with other nations—trade, travel, investment, military spending, foreign aid. The international monetary system links these national payments positions, and hence the domestic economies of all countries. It thus lies at the heart of all inter-

national economic relations and it must function smoothly if world trade, international investment and political relations among nations are to prosper—particularly since imbalances inevitably arise as some countries temporarily spend more abroad than they earn, while others correspondingly earn more than they spend.

The system must include two elements:

—adequate supplies of internationally acceptable money and credit to finance payments imbalances among countries; and

—effective means through which national economies can adjust to one another to avoid the development of excessive and prolonged imbalances.

The inadequacies of both elements caused the recurring monetary crises of the 1960's.

An *adequate money supply* is needed internationally just as it is domestically. Shortages of internationally acceptable money induce national authorities to take hasty and often restrictive measures to protect their own monetary reserves, or to pull back from liberalization of trade and investment. Such actions clash with the objective of the international economic system, which precisely by freeing trade and capital, has helped promote the unparalleled prosperity of the postwar world. In short, an inadequate world money supply can hinder the pursuit of world prosperity which, in turn, can generate serious political problems among nations.

At the other extreme, excessive levels of world reserves could contribute to world inflation. They could permit countries to finance imbalances indefinitely, delaying too long the actions needed to adjust their own economies to those of their trading partners. Since failure to adjust may permit a country to drain resources away from the rest of the world, excessive levels of reserves can also generate serious political problems.

In 1969, the world took a step of profound importance by creating international money to help provide for adequate—neither too small nor too large—levels of world reserves. Through the International Monetary Fund, the United States joined with the other free nations to create, for an initial three-year period, almost $10 billion of Special Drawing Rights—a truly international money, backed by the entire community of free nations, created in amounts determined jointly by these nations, in recognition of the fact that a steadily growing world economy requires growing reserves.

There exist other types of internationally accepted money, particularly gold and dollars, which the world has previously relied upon and will continue to use. But it is clear that the relative role of gold must diminish. Our critical monetary arrangements must not rest on the vagaries of gold production. Nor should the world be forced to rely more heavily on dollars flowing from a U.S. payments deficit. This would appear to some as representing largely national determination of the international monetary supply, not wholly responsive to international needs. Moreover, prolonged deficits could jeopardize our own international financial position and cause concern about the stability of the dollar.

A truly international money was thus needed to meet a truly international problem. The nations of the world did not shrink from the bold innovation required to meet that need. As a result, the foundations of the world economy, and hence world stability, are far stronger today.

To be sure, the first creation of Special Drawing Rights does not by itself assure an adequate supply of internationally acceptable money. The international community will have to make periodic decisions on how many Special Drawing Rights to create. The relationship among the different types of international money—gold, dollars, and now Special Drawing Rights—could again cause problems. Most important, a steady economic performance by the United States will be necessary to maintain full international confidence in the dollar, whose stability remains crucial to the smooth functioning of the world economy. But we have gone a long way toward meeting the needs for an adequate supply of international money.

The second fundamental requirement of an international monetary system—*the mutual adjustment of national economies*—still calls for improvement. Imbalances among nations can only be financed temporarily. Constructive means must exist by which they can be rectified in an orderly way. Such adjustment should not require countries to resort to prolonged restrictions on international transactions, for this runs counter to the fundamental objective of an open world. Neither should it force countries to adopt internal economic policies, such as excessive rates of inflation or unemployment, which conflict with their national economic and social objectives. Both approaches have been adopted all too frequently in the past.

Improved means of adjustment are thus high on the agenda for the further development of the international monetary system in the 1970's. As economic interdependence accelerates, better coordination among national economies will become even more necessary. Such coordination must rest on a solid base of effective internal policies. For example, we in the United States must squarely face the fact that our inflation of the past five years—left unchecked—would not only undermine our domestic prosperity but jeopardize the effort to achieve better international equilibrium. We look forward to the results of the international discussions, already under way, examining the means through which exchange rates between national currencies might be adjusted so that such changes, when they become necessary, can take place more promptly and less disruptively.

In this environment, the remaining restrictions on international transactions can be steadily reduced. We will do our share. That intent was plain in the actions we took in 1969 to relax our restraints on capital outflows for U.S. corporations and banks and to eliminate the most onerous restrictions on our aid to developing countries.

Trade Policy

Freer trade among all nations provides greater economic benefits for each nation. It minimizes potential political frictions as well. These conclusions are truer today than ever before, as the growing interdependence of the world economy creates new opportunities for productive exchange.

But growing interdependence also means greater reliance by each nation on all other nations. Each is increasingly exposed to its trading partners. In today's world, all major countries must pursue freer trade if each country is to do so. The principle of true reciprocity must lie at the heart of trade policy—as it lies at the heart of all foreign policy.

In 1969, the United States took a series of steps toward dismantling trade barriers and assuring fair treatment for our own industry and agriculture in world commerce. I submitted new trade legislation which proposed:

—Elimination of the American Selling Price system of tariff valuation for certain chemicals and other products, which would bring us immediate trade concessions in Europe and elsewhere. Because it is seen by many abroad as our most important non-tariff barrier to trade, its elimination might also open the door to further reductions of barriers to U.S. exports.

—Improvement of the means to help U.S. industries, firms and workers adjust to import competition.

—Restoration of Presidential authority to reduce tariffs by a modest amount, when necessary to promote U.S. trade interests.

—New Presidential authority to retaliate against other countries if their trading practices unfairly impede our own exports in world markets.

We called on our trading partners to begin serious discussions on the remaining non-tariff barriers to trade, which have become even more important as tariff levels have been reduced.

We took specific steps toward easing economic relations between the United States and Communist China.

Finally, we proposed a liberal system of tariff preferences for exports of the developing countries.

This proposal is designed to meet one of the world's major economic and political problems—the struggle of the developing countries to achieve a satisfactory rate of economic development. Development can be promoted by aid, but aid cannot and should not be relied on to do the whole job. The low-income countries need increased export earnings to finance the imports they need for development. They need improved access for their products to the massive markets of the industrialized nations. Such export increases must come largely in manufactured goods, since the demand for most primary commodities—their traditional exports—grows relatively slowly. And these countries are at early stages of industrialization, so they face major hurdles in competing with the industrialized countries for sales of manufactured goods.

Against this background, we proposed that all industrialized nations eliminate their tariffs on most manufactured products exported to them by all developing countries. Such preferential treatment would free an important and rapidly growing part of the trade between these two groups of nations. It would therefore provide an important new impetus to world economic development.

The main tasks for the immediate future are to complete the actions started in 1969:

—Passage of this Administration's trade bill.

—Progress in the international discussions on nontariff barriers and impediments to trade in agricultural products.

—Successful resolution of the negotiations on tariff preferences.

Beyond these steps lie new challenges for U.S. trade policy. I am establishing a Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy to help develop our approaches to them:

—*Trade and Investment.* Foreign investment, symbolized by the multinational corporation, has become

increasingly important in relation to the flows of goods which have been the focus of traditional trade policy. We must explore more fully the relationship between our trade and foreign investment policies.

—*Trade Adjustment.* We must learn how better to adjust our own economy to the dynamic forces of world trade, so that we can pursue our objective of freer trade without unacceptable domestic disruption.

—*East-West Trade.* We look forward to the time when our relations with the Communist countries will have improved to the point where trade relations can increase between us.

—*The European Community.* We will watch with great interest the developing relations between the European Community and other nations, some of which have applied for membership. The Community's trade policies will be of increasing importance to our own trade policy in the years ahead.

International Assistance

The international economic successes of the past have been mainly among the industrial nations. The successes of the future must occur at least equally in the economic relations between the industrial nations and the developing world. These new achievements may not be as dramatic as the creation of the Common Market, or the completion of the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations, or the birth of Special Drawing Rights. But the needs are at least as compelling.

There will be a continued requirement for international assistance to developing countries. First, however, we must be clear about what aid can do and what it cannot do. If aid is to be effective, its function must be understood by both donor and recipient.

Economic assistance is not a panacea for international stability, for political development, or even for economic progress. It is, literally, "assistance." It is a means of helping and supplementing the efforts of nations which are able to mobilize the resources and energies of their own people. There are no shortcuts to economic and social progress.

This is a reality, but also a source of hope. For collaborative effort can achieve much. And it is increasingly understood among developed and developing nations that economic development is an international responsibility.

Many of the frustrations and disappointments of development have come not so much from the failure of programs as from the gap between results and expectations. A new understanding of the scope of the challenge and the capacity of programs will help us set feasible goals, and then achieve them.

What will be America's part in this effort?

When I came into office, it was clear that our present assistance program did not meet the realities or needs of the 1970's. It was time for a searching reassessment of our objectives and the effectiveness of our institutions. I therefore named a Task Force on International Development, chaired by Mr. Rudolph Peterson, to explore the purposes and methods of our foreign assistance. Its report, due shortly, will provide the foundation for a new American policy.

One truth is already clear: a new American purpose and attitude are required, if our economic assistance is to contribute to development in the new environment of

the 1970's. As I stated on October 31 in my address on Latin America:

"For years, we in the United States have pursued the illusion that we alone could remake continents. Conscious of our wealth and technology, seized by the force of good intentions, driven by habitual impatience, remembering the dramatic success of the Marshall Plan in postwar Europe, we have sometimes imagined that we knew what was best for everyone else and that we could and should make it happen. Well, experience has taught us better.

"It has taught us that economic and social development is not an achievement of one nation's foreign policy, but something deeply rooted in each nation's own traditions.

"It has taught us that aid that infringes pride is no favor to any nation.

"It has taught us that each nation, and each region, must be true to its own character."

In our reappraisal of the purposes and techniques of foreign assistance, we have already reached several conclusions and we have adopted policies to begin to carry them out:

—*Multilateral institutions must play an increasing role in the provision of aid.* We must enlist the expertise of other countries and of international agencies, thereby minimizing the political and ideological complications which can distort the assistance relationship. We are already contributing to a number of international and regional institutions: the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. I will shortly propose a new U.S. contribution to the Special Funds of the Asian Bank. And I am prepared to respond positively to proposals for replenishment of the resources of the Inter-American Bank and the International Development Association.

—*The developing countries themselves must play a larger part in formulating their own development strategies.* Their own knowledge of the needs must be applied, their own energies mobilized to the tasks. This is the approach I emphasized in my address on Latin America.

—*Our bilateral aid must carry fewer restrictions.* I have therefore eliminated some of the most onerous restrictions on the U.S. aid program and have directed that all remaining restrictions be reviewed with the objective of modifying or eliminating them.

—*Private investment must play a central role in the development process, to whatever extent desired by the developing nations themselves.* I proposed, and Congress has authorized, an Overseas Private Investment Corporation to improve our efforts to make effective use of private capital. And we have given special attention to the developing countries in our relaxation of restraints on foreign investment by U.S. corporations.

—*Trade policy must recognize the special needs of the developing countries.* Trade is a crucial source of new resources for them. Thus, as already described, I have proposed and am urging a worldwide and comprehensive system of tariff preferences for the products of developing nations.

But these are only first steps. We are already considering the proposals of the Pearson Commission on International Development, sponsored by the World Bank.

When the report of the Task Force on International Development becomes available, I will propose a fresh American assistance program, more responsive to the conditions of the 1970's.

Our new foreign aid program must distinguish clearly among the various purposes our assistance is designed to serve. Economic development requires sustained effort by donor and recipient alike. Assistance for this purpose will be wasted if—prompted by political considerations—it is deflected by the recipient or the donor to other ends. Similarly, we shall not be putting our own resources to their most productive use if we are unable to ensure continuity in our support.

We must focus on the achievement of our real objective—effective development—rather than on some arbitrary level of financial transfer. We shall need to see that various policies affecting the development process—trade, aid, investment—are fully coordinated. And new institutions will be needed to meet the realities and the challenges of the 1970's.

Thus, our assistance program, like the rest of our foreign policy, will be changed to serve the future rather than simply continued to reflect the habits of the past. We have already begun that change. I expect a new approach to foreign assistance to be one of our major foreign policy initiatives in the coming years.

UNITED NATIONS

". . . let us press toward an open world—a world of open doors, open hearts, open minds—a world open to the exchange of ideas and of people, and open to the reach of the human spirit—a world open in the search for truth, and unconcerned with the fate of old dogmas and old isms—a world open at last to the light of justice, and the light of reason, and to the achievement of that true peace which the people of every land carry in their hearts and celebrate in their hopes."

The President's Address
to the 24th Session of the
General Assembly,
September 18, 1969.

The United Nations is both a symbol of the worldwide hopes for peace and a reflection of the tensions and conflicts that have frustrated these hopes.

Its friends can now look back with pride on 25 years of accomplishment. They also have a responsibility to study and apply the lessons of those years to see what the UN can and cannot do. The UN, and its supporters, must match idealism in purpose with realism in expectation.

Some of its accomplishments have been highly visible—particularly the various international peace-keeping efforts that have helped to damp down or control local conflicts. Other accomplishments have been quiet but no less important, and deserve greater recognition—such as its promotion of human rights and its extensive economic, social, and technical assistance programs.

The UN provides a forum for crisis diplomacy and a means for multilateral assistance. It has encouraged arms control and helped nations reach agreements extending the frontiers of international law. And it offers a framework for private discussions between world leaders, free of the inflated expectations of summit meetings.

These achievements are impressive. But we have had to recognize that the UN cannot by itself solve fundamental international disputes, especially among the superpowers. Thus, we can as easily undermine the UN by asking too much of it as

too little. We cannot expect it to be a more telling force for peace than its members make it. Peace today still depends on the acts of nations.

Last September 18, in my address to the General Assembly, I said:

"In this great assembly, the desirability of peace needs no affirmation. The methods of achieving it are what so greatly challenge our courage, our intelligence, our discernment.

"And surely if one lesson above all rings resoundingly among the many shattered hopes in this world, it is that good words are not a substitute for hard deeds and noble rhetoric is no guarantee of noble results."

I then suggested some specific tasks for the near future. These included:

—securing the safety of international travelers from airplane hijackings, on which the General Assembly has already acted;

—encouraging international voluntary service, which we stress both at home and in the Peace Corps overseas;

—fostering the interrelated objectives of economic development and population control;

—protecting the planet's threatened environment, a major challenge confronting us all, and to which our own nation and people are already addressing new programs and greater energies; and

—exploring the frontiers of space, an adventure whose excitement and benefits we continue to share with other nations.

In addition, as man's uses of the oceans grow, international law must keep pace. The most pressing issue regarding the law of the sea is the need to achieve agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea, to head off the threat of escalating national claims over the ocean. We also believe it important to make parallel progress toward establishing an internationally agreed boundary between the Continental Shelf and the deep seabeds, and on a regime for exploitation of deep seabed resources.

These are issues that transcend national differences and ideology, and should respond to effective multilateral action.

In an era when man possesses the power both to explore the heavens and desolate the earth, science and technology must be marshalled and shared in the cause of peaceful progress, whatever the political differences among nations. In numerous and varied fields—the peaceful use of atomic energy, the exploration and uses of outer space, the development of the resources of the ocean and the seabeds, the protection of our environment, the uses of satellites, the development of revolutionary transportation systems—we are working with others to channel the products of technological progress to the benefit of mankind.

My speech at the General Assembly underlined this country's continuing support for the organization. My decisions to ask Congress for funds to assist the expansion of the U.N.'s New York Headquarters and to submit to the Senate the U.N. Convention on Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities are examples of this support.

This year's 25th Anniversary of the United Nations is an occasion for more than commemoration. It is a time to acknowledge its realistic possibilities and to devise ways to expand them. It is a time to set goals for the coming years, particularly in such areas as international peacekeeping, the economic and social programs symbolized by the Second

Development Decade, and the new environmental challenges posed by man's technological advances.

As the United Nations begins its second quarter century, America reaffirms its strong support for the principles and promise begun at San Francisco in 1945. Our task now—as for all U.N. members—is to help the organization in steady progress toward fulfillment of that promise.

PART III: AMERICA'S STRENGTH

—Shaping Our Military Posture
—The Process of Defense Planning
—Strategic Policy
—General Purpose Forces

SHAPING OUR MILITARY POSTURE

America's strength is the second pillar of the structure of a durable peace.

We aim for a world in which the importance of power is reduced; where peace is secure because the principal countries wish to maintain it. But this era is not yet here. We cannot entrust our future entirely to the self-restraint of countries that have not hesitated to use their power even against their allies. With respect to national defense, any President has two principal obligations: to be certain that our military preparations do not provide an incentive for aggression, but in such a way that they do not provoke an arms race which might threaten the very security we seek to protect.

A basic review of our defense policy was essential.

In January 1969 the need for such a review was compelling. Profound changes in the world called for a fresh approach to defense policy just as they required a new approach to foreign policy. In the past, technology was relatively stable; in the contemporary world a constantly changing technology produces a new element of insecurity. Formerly, any additional strength was strategically significant; today, available power threatens to outstrip rational objectives.

We had to examine the basic premises underlying our military planning and begin shaping a military posture appropriate to the environment of the 1970's.

We launched a thorough re-examination of past concepts and programs and the alternatives we should consider for the future. The review, which is continuing, produced a reform of both national security policies and decision-making processes which was the most far-reaching in almost two decades.

For the first time, the National Security Council has had the opportunity to review a broad and complete range of national strategies for both conventional and strategic forces. This review was undertaken in terms of security and budgetary implications five years into the future. Also for the first time, the relationship of various levels of defense spending to domestic priorities was spelled out in detail for a five-year period.

As a result of this review, our interests, our foreign policy objectives, our strategies and our defense budgets are being brought into balance—with each other and with our overall national priorities.

Four factors have a special relevance to our continuing reappraisal.

—*Military and Arms Control Issues:* First, we need to ask some fundamental questions to establish the premises for our military posture. For example:

- In shaping our strategic nuclear posture, to what extent should we

seek to maintain our security through the development of our strength? To what extent should we adopt unilateral measures of restraint? The judgment is delicate: the former course runs the risk of an arms race, the latter involves the danger of an unfavorable shift in the balance of power.

- How would either course affect the prospects for a meaningful strategic arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union in the years ahead?
- What spectrum of threats can the United States responsibly deal with? Is it reasonable to seek to protect against every contingency from nuclear conflict to guerrilla wars?

—*Forward planning:* Second, we have to plan ahead. Today's national security decisions must flow from an analysis of their implications well into the future. Many decisions on defense policies and programs will not have operational consequences for several years, in some cases for as much as a decade. Because planning mistakes may not show up for several years, deferral of hard choices is often tempting. But the ultimate penalty may be disastrous. The only responsible course is to face up to our problems and to make decisions in a long-term framework.

—*National Priorities:* Third, we have to weigh our national priorities. We will almost certainly not have the funds to finance the full range of necessary domestic programs in the years ahead if we are to maintain our commitment to noninflationary economic growth. Defense spending is of course in a special category. It must never fall short of the minimum needed for security. If it does, the problem of domestic programs may become moot. But neither must we let defense spending grow beyond that justified by the defense of our vital interests while domestic needs go unmet.

—*Integrated Planning:* Finally, planning our national security policies and programs in given countries and regions has often been fragmented among agencies. For example, our intelligence analysts, defense planners, economists, and political analysts dealing with a given country may have been using different assumptions about our policy objectives, our expectations about the future, and even the basic facts about our policy choices. There was a need for analyses which would provide a commonly understood set of facts, evaluations and policy and program choices. These would serve as a basis for consideration by the National Security Council of what we should be doing in given countries and regions.

In summary, we asked the central doctrinal questions; we looked as much as a decade ahead; we weighed our national priorities; and we sought ways of integrating the diverse aspects of our planning. In this fashion, we have reviewed the premises of our military policies, discarded those that no longer serve our interests, and adopted new ones suited to 1970's. The 1971 defense budget reflects the results of our re-examination, the transition from the old strategies and policies to the new.

THE PROCESS OF DEFENSE PLANNING

This Administration found a defense planning process which left vague the impact of foreign policy on our military posture and provided an inadequate role for other agencies with a major stake in military issues. And it did little to relate defense and domestic priorities.

We set out to correct these deficiencies.

Insuring Balanced Decisions

Virtually every major defense issue has complex diplomatic, political, strategic and economic implications. To insure balanced decisions, we see to it that every agency has a full opportunity to contribute. The Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency participates in deliberations on defense policy decisions that affect arms control prospects. In turn, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff participate directly in the evaluation of arms control proposals. The Departments of State and Defense review with the Bureau of the Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers economic conditions that influence the magnitude of defense spending. The Department of State examines with Defense officials issues that affect our relationships with allies.

These interagency exchanges insure that I receive all views on key national security issues. Disagreements are identified and explored, not suppressed or papered over. The full range of choices is presented.

Setting Rational Priorities

Our great wealth and productive capacity still do not enable us to pursue every worthwhile national objective with unlimited means. Choices among defense strategies and budgets have a great impact on the extent to which we can pursue other national goals.

We have no precise way of measuring whether extra dollars spent for defense are more important than extra dollars spent for other needs. But we can and have described the domestic programs that are consistent with various levels of defense expenditures. The National Security Council thus has a basis for making intelligent choices concerning the allocation of available revenue among priority federal programs. I do not believe any previous President has had the benefit of such a comprehensive picture of the interrelationships among the goals he can pursue within the limits of the federal budget.

As a result, I have decided on defense strategy and budget guidelines for the next five years that are consistent not only with our national security and the maintenance of our commitments but with our national priorities as well. This Administration is now in a position to weigh the impact of future changes in defense policies and programs on the whole fabric of government objectives.

Controlling the Defense Posture—The Defense Program Review Committee

To meet the objectives of balanced decisions and rational priorities, we made a basic addition to the National Security Council system. I directed the formation of the Defense Program Review Committee, consisting of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (Chairman), the Under Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Director of Central Intelligence and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. The Director of the Arms Con-

trol and Disarmament Agency, the President's Science Advisor, and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission participate as appropriate.

This permanent Committee reviews major defense, fiscal, policy and program issues in terms of their strategic, diplomatic, political and economic implications and advises me and the National Security Council on its findings. For example, the Committee analyzed our options for proceeding with ballistic missile defenses on four separate occasions. This year, it will analyze our major strategic and fiscal choices over the next five years, together with the doctrinal, diplomatic and strategic implications of key weapons programs. It will do so while the defense budget for Fiscal Year 1972 is still in the earliest stages of formulation. The participation in this review by the Department of State, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Council of Economic Advisers, and other agencies insures that careful analysis and balanced evaluations will be available when the National Security Council next fall reviews our choices for 1972 and beyond.

Country and Regional Analysis and Program Budgeting

A major obstacle to the implementation of a consistent and coherent foreign policy is the multitude of U.S. agencies and programs involved in activities in any one country or region. In the past it has been difficult for the President or the National Security Council to obtain a picture of the totality of our effort in any one country. Yet a rational foreign policy must start with such a comprehensive view.

To overcome this difficulty we have begun a series of country program analyses which will examine all U.S. programs in key countries and regions and their interrelationships.

The studies for the first time put every U.S. program into one budget framework. The basic tool for this analysis is the program budget, which allocates all of our expenditures in a country on the basis of the purposes served. It permits us to make decisions or set guidelines for all of our programs simultaneously; in the past, they were examined largely agency by agency in isolation from one another.

The results of the country analysis studies are presented to the NSC in the form of integrated policy and program options based on alternative statements of interests, threats, and U.S. foreign policy objectives. After the NSC has considered these options, a decision can be made about the course of action to follow over the next several years.

Of course, our efforts start from the clearly understood fundamental premise that U.S. policies and programs must relate in a logical and meaningful fashion to what our friends and allies wish to do for themselves. We are dealing with sovereign nations each of which has its own interests, its own priorities and its own capabilities. All that our country programming is designed to do is to make our actions as effective as they can be, consistent with our mutual interests.

I am convinced that such a comprehensive approach to country programs will lead to a decidedly improved foreign policy. We are conscious of the need not only to make sound policy decisions but also to execute them. The country analysis studies will result in both a decision document for all government agencies and firm five-year program guidelines, presented in the form of a program budget. The members of the NSC, as well as the country

director in every agency and our ambassadors in the field, then have a means of making sure that our decisions are followed up.

STRATEGIC POLICY

The Changing Strategic Balance

Following World War II, the U.S. had a monopoly of strategic nuclear weapons. Throughout most of the 1950's, our virtual monopoly of intercontinental nuclear delivery capability, in the form of a large force of Strategic Air Command bombers, gave us an overwhelming deterrent.

This assessment was unchallenged until it became apparent in the late 1950's that the Soviet Union possessed the potential for developing and deploying a force of intercontinental ballistic missiles that could destroy a large part of our strategic bomber force on the ground. The fear that our deterrent to nuclear war was in grave jeopardy, though it later proved exaggerated, focused our attention on maintaining our nuclear superiority.

In 1961, the new Administration accelerated our Polaris submarine and Minuteman ICBM programs and put more of our strategic bombers on alert. These measures provided a clear margin of U.S. nuclear superiority for several years. They restored our confidence in our deterrent; we now had two forces, our Polaris submarines and our Minuteman ICBM's deployed in hardened underground silos, that were virtually invulnerable to attack by the Soviet Union with the then-existing technology.

However, after 1965, the Soviets stepped up their ICBM deployments and began to construct their own force of Polaris-type submarines. And they began to test multiple warheads for their SS–9 ICBM, a weapon which can carry roughly ten times as much as our Minuteman missile.

Once again, U.S. strategic superiority was being challenged. However, this time, the Johnson Administration decided not to step up deployments. This restraint was based on two judgments. First, it was believed that there was relatively little we could do to keep the Soviets from developing over a period of time a strategic posture comparable in capability to our own. Second, it was thought that nuclear superiority of the kind we had previously enjoyed would have little military or political significance because our retaliatory capability was not seriously jeopardized by larger Soviet forces and because their goal was in all likelihood a retaliatory capability similar to ours.

As a result of these developments, an inescapable reality of the 1970's is the Soviet Union's possession of powerful and sophisticated strategic forces approaching, and in some categories, exceeding ours in numbers and capability.

Recent Soviet programs have emphasized both quantitative increases in offensive and defensive forces and qualitative improvements in the capabilities of these forces—such as a new, more accurate warhead and perhaps penetration aids for their Minuteman-type SS–11 missile, continued testing of the multiple warhead for the SS–9, and research and development on improved components for their ABM system, together with improved coverage by their ABM radars. The following table shows the growth in Soviet land- and submarine-based missile forces in the last five years.

OPERATIONAL UNITED STATES AND SOVIET MISSILES

	1965 (Mid-year)	*1970 (Projected) (For year end)*
Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles:		
United States	934	1,054
Soviet	224	1,290
Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles:		
United States	464	656
Soviet	107	300

The Soviet missile deployments are continuing, whereas ours have leveled off. In the 1970's we must also expect to see Communist China deploy intercontinental ballistic missiles, seriously complicating strategic planning and diplomacy.

The evolution of U.S. and Soviet strategic capabilities during the past two decades was accompanied by intense doctrinal debates over the political and military roles of strategic forces and the appropriate criteria for choosing them.

The strategic doctrine that had gained the greatest acceptance by the time my Administration took office was this: According to the theory of "assured destruction," deterrence was guaranteed if we were sure we could destroy a significant percentage of Soviet population and industry after the worst conceivable Soviet attack on our strategic forces. The previous Administration reasoned that since we had more than enough forces for this purpose, restraint in the build-up of strategic weapons was indicated, regardless of Soviet actions. Further, it hoped that U.S. restraint in strategic weapons developments and deployments would provide a strong incentive for similar restraint by the Soviet Union, thus enhancing the likelihood of a stable strategic relationship between the two nuclear superpowers.

A Policy for the 1970's

Once in office, I concluded that this strategic doctrine should be carefully reviewed in the light of the continued growth of Soviet strategic capabilities. Since the Soviets were continuing their ambitious strategic weapons program, we had to ask some basic questions. Why might a nuclear war start or be threatened? In this light, what U.S. strategic capabilities are needed for deterrence?

We sought, in short, a strategic goal that can best be termed "sufficiency."

Our review took full account of two factors that have not existed in the past.

First, the Soviets' present build-up of strategic forces, together with what we know about their development and test programs, raises serious questions about where they are headed and the potential threats we and our allies face. These questions must be faced soberly and realistically.

Second, the growing strategic forces on both sides pose new and disturbing problems. Should a President, in the event of a nuclear attack, be left with the single option of ordering the mass destruction of enemy civilians, in the face of the certainty that it would be followed by the mass slaughter of Americans? Should the concept of assured destruction be narrowly defined and should it be the only measure of our ability to deter the variety of threats we may face?

Our review produced general agreement that the overriding purpose of our strategic posture is political and defensive: to deny other countries the ability to impose their will on the United States and its allies under the weight of strategic military superiority. We must insure that all potential aggressors see unacceptable

risks in contemplating a nuclear attack, or nuclear blackmail, or acts which could escalate to strategic nuclear war, such as a Soviet conventional attack on Europe.

Beyond this general statement, our primary task was to decide on the yardsticks that should be used in evaluating the adequacy of our strategic forces against the projected threats. This issue took on added importance because such yardsticks would be needed for assessing the desirability of possible strategic arms limitation agreements with the Soviet Union.

We reached general agreement within the government on four specific criteria for strategic sufficiency. These represent a significant intellectual advance. They provide for both adequacy and flexibility. They will be constantly reviewed in the light of a changing technology.

Designing Strategic Forces

Having settled on a statement of strategic purposes and criteria, we analyzed possible U.S. strategic force postures for the 1970's and beyond. We reviewed alternatives ranging from "minimum deterrence"—a posture built around ballistic missile submarines and the assured destruction doctrine narrowly interpreted—to attempts at recapturing numerical superiority through accelerated U.S. strategic deployments across the board.

There was general agreement that postures which significantly reduced or increased our strategic programs and deployments involved undesirable risks:

—*Sharp cutbacks would not permit us to satisfy our sufficiency criteria, and might provoke the opposite Soviet reaction.* If the U.S. unilaterally dropped out of the strategic arms competition, the Soviets might well seize the opportunity to step up their programs and achieve a significant margin of strategic superiority. The vigor and breadth of their current strategic weapons programs and deployments, which clearly exceed the requirements of minimum deterrence, make such a possibility seem far from remote. This might also—paradoxically—eliminate any Soviet incentives for an agreement to limit strategic arms, and would raise serious concerns among our allies. This is particularly true for our NATO allies who view the U.S. commitment to deter Soviet aggression as being based mainly on our maintenance of a powerful strategic posture.

—*Sharp increases, on the other hand, might not have any significant political or military benefits.* Many believe that the Soviets would seek to offset our actions, at least in part, and that Soviet political positions would harden, tensions would increase, and the prospect for reaching agreements to limit strategic arms might be irreparably damaged.

What ultimately we must do in between these extremes will depend, of course, on many factors. Will the Soviets continue to expand their strategic forces? What will be their configuration? What understanding might we reach on strategic arms limitations? What weapons systems might be covered by agreements?

I recognize that decisions on shaping our strategic posture are perhaps the most complex and fateful we face. The answers to these questions will largely determine whether we will be forced into increased deployments to offset the Soviet threat to the sufficiency of our deterrent, or whether

we and the Soviet Union can together move from an era of confrontation to one of negotiations, whether jointly we can pursue responsible, non-provocative strategic arms policies based on sufficiency as a mutually shared goal or whether there will be another round of the arms race.

The Role of Ballistic Missile Defense

My decision to continue with the construction of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system is fully consistent with our criteria and with our goal of effective arms limitation.

I would like to recall what I said last March about the problem that led us to seek approval of the first phase of the Safeguard program:

"The gravest responsibility which I bear as President of the United States is for the security of the Nation. Our nuclear forces defend not only ourselves but our allies as well. The imperative that our nuclear deterrent remain secure beyond any possible doubt requires that the U.S. must take steps now to insure that our strategic retaliatory forces will not become vulnerable to a Soviet attack."

I believed then, and I am even more convinced today, that there is a serious threat to our retaliatory capability in the form of the growing Soviet forces of ICBM's and ballistic missile submarines, their multiple warhead program for the SS-9 missile, their apparent interest in improving the accuracy of their ICBM warheads, and their development of a semiorbital nuclear weapon system. That this threat continues to be serious was confirmed by my Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board—an independent, bipartisan group of senior outside advisors—which recently completed its own review of the strategic threats we face.

I pointed out in the same statement that we cannot ignore the potential Chinese threat against the U.S. population, as well as the danger of an accidental or unauthorized attack from any source. Nor can we dismiss the possibility that other countries may in the future acquire the capability to attack the U.S. with nuclear weapons. Today, any nuclear attack—no matter how small; whether accidental, unauthorized or by designs; by a superpower or by a country with only a primitive nuclear delivery capability—would be a catastrophe for the U.S., no matter how devastating our ability to retaliate.

No Administration with the responsibility for the lives and security of the American people could fail to provide every possible protection against such eventualities.

Thus on March 14, 1969, I stated the objectives of the Safeguard program:

"This measured deployment is designed to fulfill three objectives:

"1. Protection of our land-based retaliatory forces against a direct attack by the Soviet Union.

"2. Defense of the American people against the kind of nuclear attack which Communist China is likely to be able to mount within the decade.

"3. Protection against the possibility of accidental attacks from any source."

I further described the system as follows:

"We will provide for local defense of selected Minuteman missile sites and an area defense designed to protect our bomber bases and our command and control authorities. In addition, this new system will provide a defense of the Continental United States against an accidental attack and will provide substantial protection against the kind of attack

which the Chinese Communists may be capable of launching throughout the 1970's. This deployment will not require us to place missile and radar sites close to our major cities."

Last year, I promised that "each phase of the deployment will be reviewed to insure that we are doing as much as necessary but no more than that required by the threat existing at that time." I further indicated that in strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, the United States will be fully prepared to discuss limitations on defensive as well as offensive weapons systems.

The further steps I shall propose will be consistent with these pledges. The Secretary of Defense will put forward a minimum program essential for our security. It fully protects our flexibility in discussing limitations on defensive weapons with the Soviet Union. It is my duty as President to make certain that we do no less.

GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES

When I examined the objectives established for our general purpose forces, I concluded that we must emphasize three fundamental premises of a sound defense policy:

First, while strategic forces must deter *all* threats of general war no matter what the cost, our general purpose forces must be more sensitively related to local situations and particular interests.

Second, while the possession of 95 percent of the nuclear power of the non-Communist world gives us the primary responsibility for nuclear defense, the planning of general purpose forces must take into account the fact that the manpower of our friends greatly exceeds our own, as well as our heavy expenditures for strategic forces.

Third, we cannot expect U.S. military forces to cope with the entire spectrum of threats facing allies or potential allies throughout the world. This is particularly true of subversion and guerrilla warfare, or "wars of national liberation." Experience has shown that the best means of dealing with insurgencies is to preempt them through economic development and social reform and to control them with police, paramilitary and military action by the threatened government.

We may be able to supplement local efforts with economic and military assistance. However, a direct combat role for U.S. general purpose forces arises primarily when insurgency has shaded into external aggression or when there is an overt conventional attack. In such cases, we shall weigh our interests and our commitments, and we shall consider the efforts of our allies, in determining our response.

The United States has interests in defending certain land areas abroad as well as essential air and sea lines of communication. These derive from:

—the political and economic importance of our alliances;

—our desire to prevent or contain hostilities which could lead to major conflicts and thereby endanger world peace; and

—the strategic value of the threatened area as well as its line of communications.

The military posture review I initiated the day I took office included a thorough examination of our general purpose forces. This study explored in turn our interests, the potential threats to those interests, the capabilities of our allies both with and

without our assistance, and the relationship of various strategies to domestic priorities.

The National Security Council examined five different strategies for general purpose forces and related each one to the domestic programs which could be supported simultaneously. Thus, for the first time, national security and domestic priorities were considered together. In fact, two strategies were rejected because they were not considered essential to our security and because they would have thwarted vital domestic programs.

We finally decided on a strategy which represented a significant modification of the doctrine that characterized the 1960's.

The stated basis of our conventional posture in the 1960's was the so-called "2½ war" principle. According to it, U.S. forces would be maintained for a three-month conventional forward defense of NATO, a defense of Korea or Southeast Asia against a full-scale Chinese attack, and a minor contingency—all simultaneously. These force levels were never reached.

In the effort to harmonize doctrine and capability, we chose what is best described as the "1½ war" strategy. Under it we will maintain in peacetime general purpose forces adequate for simultaneously meeting a major Communist attack in either Europe or Asia, assisting allies against non-Chinese threats in Asia, and contending with a contingency elsewhere.

The choice of this strategy was based on the following considerations:

—the nuclear capability of our strategic and theater nuclear forces serves as a deterrent to full-scale Soviet attack on NATO Europe or Chinese attack on our Asian allies;

—the prospects for a coordinated two-front attack on our allies by Russia and China are low both because of the risks of nuclear war and the improbability of Sino-Soviet cooperation. In any event, we do not believe that such a coordinated attack should be met primarily by U.S. conventional forces;

—the desirability of insuring against greater than expected threats by maintaining more than the forces required to meet conventional threats in one theater—such as NATO Europe;

—weakness on our part would be more provocative than continued U.S. strength, for it might encourage others to take dangerous risks, to resort to the illusion that military adventurism could succeed.

To meet the requirements for the strategy we adopted, we will maintain the required ground and supporting tactical air forces in Europe and Asia, together with naval and air forces. At the same time, we will retain adequate active forces in addition to a full complement of reserve forces based in the United States. These force levels will be spelled out in greater detail in the program and budget statement of the Secretary of Defense.

Part IV: An Era of Negotiation

—The Soviet Union
—Eastern Europe
—Communist China
—Arms Control
—Issues for the Future

"We cannot expect to make every one our friend but we can try to make no one our enemy."

The President's Inaugural Address

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Twenty years ago the United States and what was then the Communist bloc could be resigned to the mutual hostility that flowed from deep-seated differences of ideology and national purpose. Many of those differences remain today. But the changes of two decades have brought new conditions and magnified the risks of intractable hostility.

—For us as well as our adversaries, in the nuclear age the perils of using force are simply not in reasonable proportion to most of the objectives sought in many cases. The balance of nuclear power has placed a premium on negotiation rather than confrontation.

—We both have learned too that great powers may find their interests deeply involved in local conflict—risking confrontation—yet have precariously little influence over the direction taken by local forces.

—The nuclear age has also posed for the United States and the Communist countries the common dangers of accidents or miscalculation. Both sides are threatened, for example, when any power seeks tactical advantage from a crisis and risks provoking a strategic response.

—Reality has proved different from expectation for both sides. The Communist world in particular has had to learn that the spread of Communism may magnify international tensions rather than usher in a period of reconciliation as Marx taught.

Thus, in a changing world, building peace requires patient and continuing communication. Our first task in that dialogue is fundamental—to avert war. Beyond that, the United States and the Communist countries must negotiate on the issues that divide them if we are to build a durable peace. Since these issues were not caused by personal disagreements, they cannot be removed by mere atmospherics. We do not delude ourselves that a change of tone represents a change of policy. We are prepared to deal seriously, concretely and precisely with outstanding issues.

The lessons of the post-war period in negotiations with the Communist states—a record of some success, though much more of frustration—point to three clear principles which this Administration will observe in approaching negotiations in the 1970's.

First: We will deal with the Communist countries on the basis of a precise understanding of what they are about in the world, and thus of what we can reasonably expect of them and ourselves. Let us make no mistake about it—leaders of the Communist nations are serious and determined. Because we do take them seriously, we will not underestimate the depth of ideological disagreement or the disparity between their interests and ours. Nor will we pretend that agreement is imminent by fostering the illusion that they have already given up their beliefs or are just about to do so in the process of negotiations.

It is precisely these differences which require creation of objective conditions—negotiation by negotiation—from which peace can develop despite a history of mistrust and rivalry. We may hope that the passage of time and the emergence of a new generation in the Communist countries will bring some change in Communist purposes. But failing that, we must seek in the most practical way to influence

Communist actions.

It will be the policy of the United States, therefore, not to employ negotiations as a forum for cold-war invective, or ideological debate. We will regard our Communist adversaries first and foremost as nations pursuing their own interests as *they* perceive these interests, just as we follow our own interests as we see them. We will judge them by their actions as we expect to be judged by our own. Specific agreements, and the structure of peace they help build, will come from a realistic accommodation of conflicting interests.

A second principle we shall observe in negotiating with the Communist countries relates to how these negotiations should be conducted—how they should be judged by peoples on both sides anxious for an easing of tensions. All too often in the past, whether at the summit or lower levels, we have come to the conference table with more attention to psychological effect than to substance. Naive enthusiasm and even exaltation about the fact that a negotiation will be held only tends to obscure the real issues on whose resolution the success of the talks depends. Then, since the results are almost always less dramatic than expected, the false euphoria gives way to equally false hopelessness.

Negotiations must be, above all, the result of careful preparation and an authentic give-and-take on the issues which have given rise to them. They are served by neither bluff abroad nor bluster at home.

We will not become psychologically dependent on rapid or extravagant progress. Nor will we be discouraged by frustration or seeming failure. The stakes are too high, and the task too great, to judge our effort in any temporary perspective. We shall match our purpose with perseverance.

The third essential in successful negotiations is an appreciation of the context in which issues are addressed. The central fact here is the inter-relationship of international events. We did not invent the inter-relationship; it is not a negotiating tactic. It is a fact of life. This Administration recognizes that international developments are entwined in many complex ways: political issues relate to strategic questions, political events in one area of the world may have a far-reaching effect on political developments in other parts of the globe.

These principles emphasize a realistic approach to seeking peace through negotiations. They are a guide to a gradual and practical process of building agreement on agreement. They rest upon the basic reality which underlies this Administration's dealings with the Communist states. We will not trade principles for promises, or vital interests for atmosphere. We shall always be ready to talk seriously and purposefully about the building of a stable peace.

THE SOVIET UNION

The general principles outlined above apply fully to our approach to issues between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union shares with other countries the overwhelming temptation to continue to base its policies at home and abroad on old and familiar concepts. But perceptions framed in the Nineteenth Century are hardly relevant to the new era we are now entering.

If we have had to learn the limitations of our own power, the lessons of the last two decades must have left their imprint

on the leadership in the Kremlin—in the recognition that Marxist ideology is not the surest guide to the problems of a changing industrial society, the worldwide decline in the appeal of ideology, and most of all in the foreign policy dilemmas repeatedly posed by the spread of Communism to states which refuse to endure permanent submission to Soviet authority—a development illustrated vividly by the Soviet schism with China.

The central problem of Soviet-American relations, then, is whether our two countries can transcend the past and work together to build a lasting peace.

In 1969, we made a good beginning. In this first year of my Administration we ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty; we made progress in negotiating arms control on the seabed; we took steps to further the prospects of agreement regarding chemical and biological methods of warfare; we engaged in talks on a Middle Eastern settlement; and we began negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms—the most important arms control negotiations this country has ever entered. In concert with our allies, we have also offered to negotiate on specific issues in Europe: history has taught us that if crises arise in Europe, the world at large cannot long expect to remain unaffected.

But while certain successes have been registered in negotiations and there is cause for cautious optimism that others will follow, our overall relationship with the USSR remains far from satisfactory. To the detriment of the cause of peace, the Soviet leadership has failed to exert a helpful influence on the North Vietnamese in Paris. The overwhelming majority of the war materiel that reaches North Vietnam comes from the USSR, which thereby bears a heavy responsibility for the continuation of the war. This cannot but cloud the rest of our relationship with the Soviet Union.

In the Middle East talks, too, we have not seen on the Soviet side that practical and constructive flexibility which is necessary for a successful outcome, and without which the responsibility of the great powers in the search for a settlement cannot be met. We see evidence, moreover, that the Soviet Union seeks a position in the area as a whole which would make great power rivalry more likely.

We hope that the coming year will bring evidence that the Soviets have decided to seek a durable peace rather than continue along the roads of the past.

It will not be the sincerity or purpose of the Soviet leadership that will be at issue. The tensions between us are not generated by personal misunderstandings, and neither side does anyone a service by so suggesting. Peace does not come simply with statesmen's smiles. At issue are basic questions of long conflicting purposes in a world where no one's interests are furthered by conflict. Only a straightforward recognition of that reality—and an equally direct effort to deal with it—will bring us to the genuine cooperation which we seek and which the peace of the world requires.

EASTERN EUROPE

The nations of Eastern Europe have a history with many tragic aspects. Astride the traditional invasion routes of the Continent, they have suffered long periods of foreign occupation and cultural suppression. And even when they gained independence—many of them following World War I—they remained the prey of powerful neighbors.

We are aware that the Soviet Union sees its own security as directly affected by developments in this region. Several times, over the centuries, Russia has been invaded through Central Europe; so this sensitivity is not novel, or purely the product of Communist dogma.

It is not the intention of the United States to undermine the legitimate security interests of the Soviet Union. The time is certainly past, with the development of modern technology, when any power would seek to exploit Eastern Europe to obtain strategic advantage against the Soviet Union. It is clearly no part of our policy. Our pursuit of negotiation and detente is meant to reduce existing tensions, not to stir up new ones.

By the same token, the United States views the countries of Eastern Europe as sovereign, not as parts of a monolith. And we can accept no doctrine that abridges their right to seek reciprocal improvement of relations with us or others.

We are prepared to enter into negotiations with the nations of Eastern Europe, looking to a gradual normalization of relations. We will adjust ourselves to whatever pace and extent of normalization these countries are willing to sustain.

Progress in this direction has already been achieved in our relations with Romania. My visit to that country last summer—which will remain unforgettable for me in human terms—set in motion a series of cooperative programs in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields. We intend to pursue these with vigor. My talks with President Ceausescu also began the process of exchanging views on broader questions of mutual concern which, in our view, will contribute to a general improvement of the communication between West and East. A similar relationship is open to any Communist country that wishes to enter it.

Stability and peace in Europe will be enhanced once its division is healed. The United States, and the nations of Western Europe, have historic ties with the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe, which we wish to maintain and renew.

As I said in my toast to President Ceausescu during my visit to Romania last August:

"We seek, in sum, a peace not of hegemonies, and not of artificial uniformity, but a peace in which the legitimate interests of each are respected and all are safeguarded."

COMMUNIST CHINA

The Chinese are a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community. In the long run, no stable and enduring international order is conceivable without the contribution of this nation of more than 700 million people.

Chinese foreign policy reflects the complexity of China's historical relationships with the outside world. While China has the longest unbroken history of self-government in the world, it has had little experience in dealing with other nations on a basis of equal sovereignty. Predominant in Asia for many centuries, these gifted and cultured people saw their society as the center of the world. Their tradition of self-imposed cultural isolation ended abruptly in the Nineteenth Century, however, when an internally weak China fell prey to exploitation by technologically superior foreign powers.

The history inherited by the Chinese Communists, therefore, was a complicated mixture of isolation and incursion, of pride

and humiliation. We must recall this unique past when we attempt to define a new relationship for the future.

Nor can we underestimate the gulf of ideology between us, or the apparent differences in interests and how we interpret world events. While America has historic ties of friendship with the Chinese people, and many of our basic interests are not in conflict, we must recognize the profound gulf of suspicion and ideology.

The principles underlying our relations with Communist China are similar to those governing our policies toward the USSR. United States policy is not likely soon to have much impact on China's behavior, let alone its ideological outlook. But it is certainly in our interest, and in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and the world, that we take what steps we can toward improved practical relations with Peking.

The key to our relations will be the actions each side takes regarding the other and its allies. We will not ignore hostile acts. We intend to maintain our treaty commitment to the defense of the Republic of China. But we will seek to promote understandings which can establish a new pattern of mutually beneficial actions.

I made these points to the leaders I met throughout my trip to Asia, and they were welcomed as constructive and realistic.

We have avoided dramatic gestures which might invite dramatic rebuffs. We have taken specific steps that did not require Chinese agreement but which underlined our willingness to have a more normal and constructive relationship. During the year, we have:

—made it possible for American tourists, museums, and others to make non-commercial purchases of Chinese goods without special authorization;

—broadened the categories of Americans whose passports may be automatically validated for travel in Communist China, to include members of Congress, journalists, teachers, post-graduate scholars and college students, scientists, medical doctors and representatives of the American Red Cross;

—permitted subsidiaries of American firms abroad to engage in commerce between Communist China and third countries.

The resumption of talks with the Chinese in Warsaw may indicate that our approach will prove useful. These first steps may not lead to major results at once, but sooner or later Communist China will be ready to reenter the international community.

Our desire for improved relations is not a tactical means of exploiting the clash between China and the Soviet Union. We see no benefit to us in the intensification of that conflict, and we have no intention of taking sides. Nor is the United States interested in joining any condominium or hostile coalition of great powers against either of the large Communist countries. Our attitude is clear-cut—a lasting peace will be impossible so long as some nations consider themselves the permanent enemies of others.

ARMS CONTROL

There is no area in which we and the Soviet Union—as well as others—have a greater common interest than in reaching agreement with regard to arms control.

The traditional course of seeking security primarily through military strength

raises several problems in a world of multiplying strategic weapons.

—Modern technology makes any balance precarious and prompts new efforts at ever higher levels of complexity.

—Such an arms race absorbs resources, talents and energies.

—The more intense the competition, the greater the uncertainty about the other side's intentions.

—The higher the level of armaments, the greater the violence and devastation should deterrence fail.

For these reasons I decided early in the Administration that we should seek to maintain our security whenever possible through cooperative efforts with other nations at the lowest possible level of uncertainty, cost, and potential violence.

Our careful preparations for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union were designed to achieve this objective.

Preparations for SALT

Our immediate problem was to determine what measures would be most practical in slowing the momentum of armament and work out a procedure most likely to yield useful discussions.

In preparing for these negotiations, we were tempted to follow the traditional pattern of settling on one agreed position and launching discussions with the other side on this basis. We could have adopted the specific package proposal developed by the previous Administration or we could have quickly formulated an alternative plan. In my judgment there were two major problems with this approach.

First, I was convinced that we lacked the comprehensive and detailed body of facts and analyses to take account of the most recent developments in Soviet and U.S. strategic programs.

Second, we would have been engaged in a negotiating process—with the inevitable investment of prestige—before either side had defined its purposes. There was a danger of turning SALT into a tactical exercise or even more the kind of propaganda battle characteristic of some previous disarmament conferences.

Too much depended on these talks, for our nation and all mankind, to rush into them partially prepared. We decided that a clarification of objectives and factual data would allow us to discuss proposals in a coherent framework, and ultimately speed up negotiations. We assumed further that if the other side had a serious interest in exploring the possibilities of strategic arms limitations they would have a joint interest with us to analyze the issues which would have to be resolved before a satisfactory agreement could be reached. For an agreement to limit strategic arms can be lasting only if it enhances the sense of security of *both* sides. It is in the mutual interest therefore to clarify each other's intentions.

Therefore, instead of attempting to hammer out an agreed government position or a simple proposal, we chose a different course.

We first laid out preliminary models of possible strategic arms limitation agreements. We compared these both with each other and with the situation most likely to prevail in the absence of an agreement. This process greatly improved our understanding of the types of agreements we should consider and pointed up some of the fundamental issues. In order to resolve these issues, I directed the formation of a Verification Panel to examine the verification aspects and strategic impli-

cations of curbs on individual weapons systems and then combinations of them.

The Panel took each strategic weapons system in isolation (e.g., ICBM's or ABM's) and explored all the issues that would be involved in its limitation. We knew that any agreement had to be verified and we knew too the reluctance of the Soviet Union to accept on-site inspection. The Verification Panel therefore analyzed in detail what we could do unilaterally. Specifically, it surveyed our intelligence capability to monitor the other side's compliance with a curb for each weapon system; the precise activities that would have to be restricted to ensure confidence in the effectiveness of the limitation; and the impact of the limitation on U.S. and Soviet strategic weapons programs.

The analysis of our capability to verify individual weapons systems provided the building blocks for analyzing various combinations of limitations. These building blocks were combined in various positions which can be grouped in three general categories. This will enable us to respond to a broad range of Soviet proposals. These categories are:

1. *Limitations on numbers of missiles.* A ceiling would be placed on numbers of missiles without an attempt to restrain qualitative improvements like MIRV (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles). In general, these options would stop the growth of some or all strategic missile forces. They would not change the qualitative race.

2. *Limitations on numbers and capabilities of missiles.* These options would not only limit the numbers of missiles but also their capabilities, including qualitative controls over such weapons as MIRV's. The hard issues here center around verification since the determination of quality requires a more intensive inspection than quantity.

3. *Reduce offensive forces.* This approach would attempt to reduce the number of offensive forces without qualitative restrictions on the theory that at fixed and lower levels of armaments the risks of technological surprise would be reduced.

Each of these options was analyzed in relation to various levels of strategic defensive missiles, ABM's.

The manner in which these studies were carried out contributed to their scope and their success. Discussions explored substantive issues rather than exchanging rigidly defined bureaucratic positions. Consistent with the overall philosophy of the NSC system, we focused on comprehensive assessments of the issues and alternatives rather than on attainable compromises. This presented me with clear choices, clear disagreements, and clear rationales. In the process we established a comprehensive inventory of the possibilities of a wide range of limitations. This should greatly enhance our flexibility in the forthcoming negotiations.

The SALT negotiations involve fundamental security issues for our NATO allies, as well as Japan. We have fully consulted them, engaging their views and expertise at every stage of the process. In July we discussed in great detail the relationship of SALT to the overall strategic balance with our allies and we presented the various options as we saw them then. In early November we consulted in greater detail on our approach to the first phase of SALT. We intend to continue to work closely with our allies as the negotiations continue. We consider our security inseparable from theirs.

This process involved the most inten-

sive study of strategic arms problems ever made by this or any other government. And this process had several advantages. We were not tied to a single position; instead we had building blocks for several different positions depending on our decisions and what might prove negotiable. Opening talks with the Soviets could concentrate on the principles and objectives underlying *any* type of strategic arms agreement.

Preliminary talks in Helsinki opened November 17 and continued until December 22. Our experience there confirmed the validity of our approach. The discussions were serious and businesslike. The Soviet representatives demonstrated considerable preparation. They also seemed to welcome the "building block" approach. We were able to develop an agreed work program for further discussions without acrimony and in full awareness of the likely nature of such discussions. Above all, we could explore each other's purposes without getting bogged down in negotiating details.

From a discussion of basic principles and objectives we plan to move in April in Vienna to more specific positions. We enter this next phase with a well-developed body of technical analysis and evaluations, which is being continuously expanded and improved by the Verification Panel and the NSC process. And we will make a determined effort throughout these negotiations to reach agreements that will not only protect our national security but actually enhance it.

Chemical and Biological Weapons

We are prepared to take any unilateral arms control action that will not compromise our security and will minimize the danger that certain weapons will ever be developed or used by any nation. A good example is the field of chemical and biological weapons. After extensive study, I determined that a new American policy would strengthen ongoing multilateral efforts to restrict the use of these weapons by international law. We hope that other nations will follow our example and restrict their own programs unilaterally.

When I took office, the chemical and biological defense programs of the United States had gone unexamined and unanalyzed by policymakers for 15 years. I directed a comprehensive NSC system review of the premises, issues, and technical details involved. This major six-month study was the first thorough reassessment of this subject that had ever taken place at the Presidential level. After a National Security Council meeting in early November, I announced my specific decisions on November 25:

—*Chemical Warfare:* First, I reaffirmed the longstanding policy that the United States will never be the first to use lethal chemicals in any conflict. Second, I extended this policy to include incapacitating chemical weapons. Third, I am submitting the 1925 Geneva Protocol—which prohibits the use of chemical and biological weapons in warfare—to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

—*Biological Research:* I declared that the United States is renouncing biological warfare, since biological warfare would have massive, unpredictable, and potentially uncontrollable consequences. The United States will not engage in the development, procurement, or stockpiling of biological weapons. We shall restrict our biological program to research for defen-

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sive purposes, strictly defined—such as techniques of immunization, safety measures, and the control and prevention of the spread of disease. The United States has associated itself with the objectives of the United Kingdom draft convention banning the use of biological weapons, submitted to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva in 1969.

In addition, on February 14, 1970, the United States renounced offensive preparations for the use of toxins as a method of warfare. We declared that we will confine our military programs for toxins to research for defensive purposes only, and announced that all existing toxin weapons and stocks of toxins which are not required for this research would be destroyed. Although the U.N. Secretary General and World Health Organization have declared that toxins are chemicals, they produce effects commonly described as disease, and are produced by facilities similar to those needed for the production of biological agents. Hence we decided to remove any ambiguity in the interest of progress toward arms control.

As I stated on November 25, "Mankind already carries in its own hands too many of the seeds of its own destruction." By the examples we set, we hope to lead the way toward the day when other nations adopt the same principles.

Seabeds—Multilateral Arms Control

The responsibility for the control of armaments is multilateral as well as bilateral. The spread of technological skills knows no national boundaries; and innovation in weaponry is no monopoly of the superpowers. The danger of competitive armament is universal. Without international constraints, the planet would be menaced by the spread of weapons of mass destruction to regions newly explored.

Collaborative efforts to avert these dangers have already produced a series of international agreements:

—to prohibit the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater.

—to prohibit the proliferation of nuclear weaponry.

—to prohibit the use of Antarctica, or of outer space and its celestial bodies, for military purposes.

The United States has supported the efforts of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva to reach an international agreement prohibiting the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the bed of the sea. It is to the advantage of all to bring arms control, instead of strategic arms, to the ocean floor. The spread of weapons of mass destruction to this new realm would complicate the security problem of all nations, and would be to no nation's advantage.

Conclusion

The first year of this Administration saw significant progress in three areas of arms control.

—Unilaterally, we announced the comprehensive chemical and biological policy designed to set an example and encourage multilateral arms control in this field.

—Bilaterally, with the Soviet Union, we launched what could be the most important arms control discussions ever undertaken.

—Multilaterally, we made substantial progress toward reserving the vast ocean floors for peaceful purposes.

In all three instances we see our actions as protecting America's strength and enhancing her security. It is the biggest responsibility of this generation to avoid becoming the victim of its own technology.

ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE

The issues before us are ample proof of the challenge we face. The agenda requires not only fateful re-examinations of some of our old positions but also judgments about trends in the Communist world and the effect of our negotiations on our relationship with our friends. These questions include:

1. *Strategic Arms Limitations*

—Our approach to these negotiations has been described in detail above.

2. *Limiting the Flow of Weapons to Regions in Conflict*

—When peace is in everyone's interest, we must find a way to control conflict everywhere. We must not be drawn into conflicts by local rivalries. The great powers should try to damp down rather than fan local passions by showing restraint in their sale of arms to regions in conflict. We stand ready to discuss practical arrangements to this end.

3. *Resolve the Great East-West Political Issues*

—We continue to be prepared to discuss the issues that divide us from the Communist countries. Whether in addressing the cruel division of Europe or the future security of Asia we shall try to deepen the dialogue with the Communist powers. But we will not permit negotiations to be used to sacrifice the interests of our friends. We are committed to the closest consultation with our NATO allies, and we will maintain the closest contact with our friends and allies in Asia.

4. *Closer Cooperation in Potential Crises*

—We must give practical expression to the common interest we have with the Soviet Union in identifying or limiting conflict in various areas of the world. Our choice is to find a way to share more information with our adversaries to head off conflict *without* affecting either our own security interests or those of our friends.

These are all difficult choices. Our careful consideration of the issues involved in negotiations with the Communist world will take full account of them, as we proceed to build a lasting peace without sacrificing the interests of our allies and friends.

CONCLUSION: A NEW DEFINITION OF PEACE

Few ideas have been so often or so loosely invoked as that of "Peace." But if peace is among the most overworked and often-abused staples of mankind's vocabulary, one of the reasons is that it is embedded so deeply in man's aspirations.

Skeptical and estranged, many of our young people today look out on a world they never made. They survey its conflicts with apprehension. Graduated into the impersonal routine of a bureaucratic, technological society, many of them see life as lonely conformity lacking the lift of a driving dream.

Yet there is no greater idealism, no higher adventure than taking a realistic road for peace. It is an adventure realized

not in the exhilaration of a single moment, but in the lasting rewards of patient, detailed and specific efforts—a step at a time.

—Peace requires confidence—it needs the cement of trust among friends.

—Peace requires partnership—or else we will exhaust our resources, both physical and moral, in a futile effort to dominate our friends and forever isolate our enemies.

—Peace must be just. It must answer man's dream of human dignity.

—Peace requires strength. It cannot be based on good will alone.

—Peace must be generous. No issue can be truly settled unless the solution brings mutual advantage.

—Peace must be shared. Other nations must feel that it is *their* peace just as we must feel that it is *ours*.

—And peace must be practical. It can only be found when nations resolve real issues, and accommodate each other's real interests. This requires not high rhetoric, but hard work.

These principles apply to our opponents as well as to our allies, to the less developed as well as the economically advanced nations. The peace we seek must be the work of all nations.

For peace will endure only when every nation has a greater stake in preserving than in breaking it.

I expressed these thoughts in my toast to the Acting President of India at New Delhi on July 31, 1969. I repeat it now:

"The concept of peace is as old as civilization, but the requirements of peace change with a changing world. Today we need a new definition of peace, one which recognizes not only the many threats to peace but also the many dimensions of peace.

"Peace is much more than the absence of war; and as Gandhi's life reminds us, peace is not the absence of change. Gandhi was a disciple of peace. He also was an architect of profound and far-reaching change. He stood for the achievement of change through peaceful methods, for belief in the power of conscience, for faith in the dignity and grace of the human spirit and in the rights of man.

"In today's rapidly changing world there is no such thing as a static peace or a stagnant order. To stand still is to build pressures that are bound to explode the peace; and more fundamentally, to stand still is to deny the universal aspirations of mankind. Peace today must be a creative force, a dynamic process, that embraces both the satisfaction of man's material needs and the fulfillment of his spiritual needs.

"The pursuit of peace means building a structure of stability within which the rights of each nation are respected: the rights of national independence, of self-determination, the right to be secure within its own borders and to be free from intimidation.

"This structure of stability can take many forms. Some may choose to join in formal alliances; some may choose to go their own independent way. We respect India's policy of nonalignment and its determination to play its role in the search for peace in its own way. What matters is not how peace is preserved, but that it be preserved; not the formal structure of treaties, but the informal network of common ideals and common purposes that together become a fabric of peace. What matters is not whether the principles of international behavior these represent are written or unwritten principles, but rather that they are accepted principles.

"Peace demands restraint. The truest peace expresses itself in self-restraint, in the voluntary acceptance, whether by men or by nations, of those basic rules of behavior that are rooted in mutual respect and demonstrated in mutual forbearance.

"When one nation claims the right to dictate the internal affairs of another, there is no peace.

"When nations arm for the purpose of threatening their weaker neighbors, there is no peace.

"There is true peace only when the weak are as safe as the strong, only when the poor can share the benefits of progress with the rich, and only when those who cherish freedom can exercise freedom.

"Gandhi touched something deep in the spirit of man. He forced the world to confront its conscience, and the world is better for having done so. Yet we still hear other cries, other appeals to our collective conscience as a community of man.

"The process of peace is one of answering those cries, yet doing so in a manner that preserves the right of each people to seek its own destiny in its own way and strengthens the principles of national sovereignty and national integrity, on which the structure of peace among nations depends.

"However fervently we believe in our own ideals, we cannot impose those ideals on others and still call ourselves men of peace. But we can assist others who share those ideals and who seek to give them life. As fellow members of the world community, we can assist the people of India in their heroic struggle to make the world's most populous democracy a model of orderly development and progress.

"There is a relationship between peace and freedom. Because man yearns for peace, when the people are free to choose their choice is more likely to be peace among nations; and because man yearns for freedom, when peace is secure the thrust of social evolution is toward greater freedom within nations.

"Essentially, peace is rooted in a sense of community: in a recognition of the common destiny of mankind, in a respect for the common dignity of mankind, and in the patterns of cooperation that make common enterprises possible. This is why the new patterns of regional cooperation emerging in Asia can be bulwarks of peace.

"In the final analysis, however, peace is a spiritual condition. All religions pray for it. Man must build it by reason and patience.

"On the moon, now, is a plaque bearing these simple words: "We came in peace for all mankind."

"Mahatma Gandhi came in peace to all mankind.

"In this spirit, then, let us all together commit ourselves to a new concept of peace:

—A concept that combines continuity and change, stability and progress, tradition and innovation;

—A peace that turns the wonders of science to the service of man;

—A peace that is both a condition and a process, a state of being and a pattern of change, a renunciation of war and a constructive alternative to revolution;

—A peace that values diversity and respects the right of different peoples to live by different systems—and freely to choose the systems they live by;

—A peace that rests on the determination of those who value it to preserve

it but that looks forward to the reduction of arms and the ascendancy of reason;

—A peace responsive to the human spirit, respectful of the divinely inspired dignity of man, one that lifts the eyes of all to what man in brotherhood can accomplish and that now, as man crosses the threshold of the heavens, is more necessary than ever."

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 18, 1970

NOTE: The text of the above item was issued by the White House in the form of a 160-page booklet.

46 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. *February* 19, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was transmitted to the Senate by President Truman on June 16, 1949, with a view to receiving advice and consent to ratification. Although hearings were held in 1950 by a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate itself has not acted on the Convention. Now, twenty years later, I urge the Senate to consider anew this important Convention and to grant its advice and consent to ratification.

In the aftermath of World War II, United States representatives played a leading role in the negotiation of this Convention. It was adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948, and signed on behalf of the United States two days later. The Convention entered into force on January 12, 1951, and seventy-four countries from all parts of the world and of every political persuasion have so far become parties.

The provisions of the Convention are explained in the enclosed report from the Secretary of State. The Attorney General concurs in the Secretary of State's judgment that there are no constitutional obstacles to United States ratification. I endorse the Secretary of State's considered judgment that ratification at this time, with the recommended understanding, would be in the national interest of the United States. Although the Convention will require implementing legislation, I am not at this time proposing any specific legislation. The Executive Branch will be prepared, however, to discuss this matter during the Senate's consideration of the Convention.

In asking for Senate approval of the Convention twenty years ago, President Truman said:

"By the leading part the United States has taken in the United Nations in producing an effective international legal instrument outlawing the world-shocking crime of genocide, we have established before the world our firm and clear policy toward that crime."

Since then, I regret to say, some of our detractors have sought to exploit our failure to ratify this Convention to question our sincerity. I believe we should delay no longer in taking the final convincing step which would reaffirm that the United States remains as strongly opposed to the crime of genocide as ever.

By giving its advice and consent to ratification of this Convention, the Senate of the United States will demonstrate unequivocally our country's desire to participate in the building of international order based on law and justice.

Enclosure:
Report of the
Secretary of State

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 19, 1970

NOTE: The Secretary of State's report and a White House announcement concerning the President's message are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 244 and 245).

Also released on the same day was the transcript of a news briefing on the convention by Warren E. Hewitt, Chief of the Human Rights Division of the Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, and Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President.

The text of the convention is printed in Senate Executive B (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

47 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities. *February* 19, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The cultural resources of our nation should be used to enrich as many lives and as many communities as possible. One way in which the Federal government advances this goal is by contributing to the work of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, of which the National Endowment for the Humanities is a part. This Fourth Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities tells of progress which has been made toward this goal in the last year and underscores the importance of renewing and extending these efforts.

As I transmit this report to the Congress, I would stress again that a nation that would enrich the quality of life for its citizens must give systematic attention to its cultural development. Last December I sent a message to the Congress proposing that funds for the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities be approximately doubled. I emphasized that the role of government in this area is one of stimulating private giving and encouraging private initiative. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will respond positively to this request, so that such efforts as are described in this report can become a base for even greater successes in the future.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 19, 1970

NOTE: The 90-page report is entitled "National Endowment for the Humanities: Fourth Annual Report."

48 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Science Board. *February* 19, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit to the Congress the second annual report of the National Science Board, pursuant to the provisions of P.L. 90–407 [82 Stat. 360]. The report was prepared by the 25 distinguished Mem-

bers of the policy-making body of the National Science Foundation.

The report recounts the state of knowledge in the physical sciences—astronomy, chemistry and physics—as well as how physical science research is carried out in the United States. It also makes a number of recommendations reflecting the importance that the Board ascribes to the Nation's support of the physical sciences. I commend this report to your attention.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 19, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Physical Sciences: Report of the National Science Board, Submitted to the Congress, 1970" (Government Printing Office, 62 pp.).

49 Toasts of the President and Andrew Wyeth. *February* 19, 1970

Mr. Wyeth, Mrs. Wyeth, and all of our distinguished guests tonight:

This is a very special occasion in this historic room. Many events have happened here for the first time. I think all of us will remember that this is the first time in the history of this house in which the honored guest, the only honored guest, was one of the great painters of the world, and that honored guest is Andrew Wyeth tonight.

This occasion also marks something new in terms of White House history. For the first time a painter has in the White House, on display, some of his works of art. And we are very proud that the Andrew Wyeth collection, a collection that was made possible by not only him, but by many of our guests this evening, is here so that it can be enjoyed by those here and by many others who will be visiting the White House in the weeks ahead.

Now, having mentioned these two historical firsts, I have been trying to think of something appropriate and very personal to say to this audience which includes those who know Andrew Wyeth through his paintings, some who have had the good fortune to have them in their homes, and others, of course, who are members of his family.

I was reminded before I came here that the Wyeth family has a special connection with the White House, a special connection because at least one of the members of the family has painted a President of the United States.

I have no plans to have my portrait painted. However, as one of the very gracious ladies came through the receiving line tonight, she met me for the first time, and she looked and said, "You know, Mr. President, you don't look like your pictures at all."

Then I recalled, as she said that, what one of my researchers pointed out: that a very old man who had been painted by Andrew Wyeth, when he saw the painting, remarked, "Andy found something in that painting that I don't see in the mirror." And believe me, that is the kind of a man I want to paint me.

As all of you know, we will be celebrating the 200th anniversary of this country. In 1776 it began, and in 1976 the birthday will be celebrated. And there has been a great deal of talk about what America will want to look back on that day, how we will want this country to be remembered.

I think all of us in this room would agree that we would prefer, that as historians talk about the first 200 years of this Nation, that they would write not so much about how rich we were, or how strong we were, but perhaps more about how wise we were, how good we were, and how creative we were.

That is why we felt that to honor this great American painter was very appropriate on this occasion; because he has contributed something special to American life, something that cannot be contributed by our great military strength and our economic wealth, a quality of spirit, a quality of beauty, which only the greater civilizations can leave to posterity.

The last time I was in this room proposing a toast, then to the Prime Minister of England, I quoted President Eisenhower's Guildhall speech in London, right after World War II, when he, President Eisenhower, said that he came from the heart of America, which he did, because he came from Kansas. He came from the geographical heart of America and I felt also, as I think most of us did, from the spiritual heart of America.

Andrew Wyeth has said that what he was trying to do through his paintings was to let Americans see America for what it was.

As I ask you to drink to his health tonight, I think we can truly say that Andrew Wyeth, in his paintings, has caught the heart of America, and certainly tonight, the heart of America belongs to him.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Mr. Wyeth responded as follows:

I am certainly glad that I had the foresight to write something and stick it in my pocket, because I am really too overwhelmed to speak spontaneously after that statement from our President. So, will you pardon me if I read something that I have studied a long time and tried to memorize and couldn't?

Mr. President, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to you and Mrs. Nixon for honoring me tonight, and I am profoundly moved. When such a great honor comes, one cannot help but think of all those things that made it possible.

My thoughts go out tonight to those few miles along the coast of Maine and the hills of the Brandywine Valley in Pennsylvania. There have lived, and still live, those people who have believed in me enough to pose for long hours and who have let me enter their lives, their houses and barns, their fields and woods, and their islands, without hurry.

I wish I could have brought all of them here with me tonight. What is here are a few glimpses of these people, their land, hanging on the panels in the East Room.

Seated among you are those people who have given me encouragement by purchasing, by writing, by hanging shows, by believing.

But all of this becomes a part of a much larger meaning in American art. Some day, hopefully, I shall take my place with pride in that long tradition.

Mr. President, may I toast the past of American art with infinite respect and the future with the keenest anticipation.

Thank you.

50 Statement About the Report of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control. *February* 20, 1970

IN MARCH of last year I created a Cabinet Task Force headed by the Secretary of Labor and including the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Interior, and Commerce, and the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, to study the Federal Government's oil import policy. The Task Force Report—the first Cab-

inet-level study of the oil import quota system since its inception in 1959—was submitted to me by Chairman Shultz on February 9th.

Reasonable men can and will differ about the information, premises, and conclusions contained in the report. None, however, can fail to be impressed by the depth and breadth of this study. The wide response from the oil industry and other interested parties, running to 10,000 pages of testimony, is evidence of the broad interest in this endeavor. I compliment all members of the Task Force and the staff for their devoted and discerning effort. Their report substantially increases our understanding of this complex problem.

It is not surprising that the members of the Task Force did not reach unanimous agreement on a set of recommendations. The conclusions reached by the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Interior differ sharply from those reached by the remaining five members of the Task Force. Among the majority there is also a divergence of views with the Secretaries of State and Defense expressing particular concern over the implications of the report's conclusions for the Nation's security and our international relations.

There are, however, areas of agreement concerning actions that can be taken immediately. All Task Force members agree on the need for a new management system to set policy for the oil import program. After considering the views set forth in the report, I am directing the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness to chair an interdepartmental panel which will initially include the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Interior, and Commerce, the Attorney General, and the Chairman of the Economic Advisers. While most day-to-day administrative functions will continue to be performed by the Oil Import Administration of the Department of Interior, the policy direction, coordination, and surveillance of the program will be provided by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, acting with the advice of this permanent Oil Policy Committee.

All members also agree that a unique degree of security can be afforded by moving toward an integrated North American energy market. I have directed the Department of State to continue to examine with Canada measures looking toward a freer exchange of petroleum, natural gas, and other energy resources between the two countries.

The State Department has already discussed informally with Mexico the possibility of entering into arrangements with that country on energy exchange, and I am instructing the State Department to explore more fully the possibility of reaching an agreement with Mexico to this end.

While generally agreeing with the recommendations of the majority of the Task Force, the Secretary of State indicates a concern that changes in the oil import program might provoke adverse international reactions which could have a bearing on national security. He therefore conditions his agreement on consultations with other governments before any final decisions are reached.

The Secretary of Defense also recommends that the security implications of the program proposed by the majority be brought to the attention of our allies and affected nations at the earliest possible moment.

Accordingly, I direct the Secretary of State to continue our consultations on petroleum matters with Venezuela and our other Latin American suppliers, who

have proven to be secure and dependable sources of oil during the crises we have experienced since the Second World War.

The State Department will also review with producing nations of the Eastern Hemisphere and with our NATO allies and Japan the findings and recommendations of the report. I further direct the Secretary of Defense to join in these discussions when they include our NATO allies and Japan.

The Congress properly has a vital interest in this program which affects every area of our country and many facets of our economy. Committees of both the House of Representatives and the Senate have indicated interest in holding hearings on the oil import program and any recommended changes in it. I expect that much additional valuable information will result from these congressional hearings, and I direct the Oil Policy Committee to carefully review all such information.

I expect the Oil Policy Committee to consider both interim and long-term adjustments that will increase the effectiveness and enhance the equity of the oil import program. While major long-term adjustments must necessarily await the outcome of discussions with Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, and other allies and affected nations, as well as the information developed in the proposed congressional hearings, I will direct the new Committee to begin its work immediately. An Executive order for this purpose will be issued shortly.

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Oil Import Question; A Report on the Relationship of Oil Imports to the National Security" (Government Printing Office, 399 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released a summary guide to the report and the transcript of a news briefing on the report and the President's statement by Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, and Roland Homet, Jr., Chief Counsel, Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control.

During 1970, the President signed Proclamations 3969, 3990, 4018, and 4025, adjusting the imports of petroleum and petroleum products.

Transcripts of related news briefings were released on March 10, June 17, and December 22, 1970.

51 Statement About National Brotherhood Week, 1970. *February* 20, 1970

THE TRADITION of Brotherhood Week is both a symbol and an incentive for the kind of society we seek. As a symbol, it remains the indispensable prerequisite to success in our American way of life. As an incentive, it constantly reminds us to rededicate ourselves to the ideals on which our country, and indeed the family of man, rest.

Winston Churchill once said that houses are built of bricks, mortar, and good will—not politics, prejudices, and spite. And the house of human brotherhood is no exception.

From ancient time man has acknowledged the mystic bond of charity. But even before we can have charity, we must have respect for one another. So the National Conference of Christians and Jews which sponsors this observance appropriately calls to our attention that "Brotherhood Begins with Respect."

I know that countless fellow Americans will derive new inspiration from this age-

less message. And I commend all who do their part to translate it into good works for their fellow man, and new unity for the Nation.

NOTE: National Brotherhood Week was observed from February 22 to 28, 1970.

52 Remarks of Welcome to President Georges Pompidou of France. *February* 24, 1970

Mr. President:

I am honored to welcome you to this city and to this house.

This is the first time you have visited our country, and it is the first state visit of the President of France to the United States since President de Gaulle was here 10 years ago and met with President Eisenhower.

We are honored to welcome you particularly because France has a special place in the hearts of Americans. Two hundred years ago, a young Frenchman came from the heart of France, the Province of Auvergne, to America, and Lafayette lives in our hearts. He lives also in this city, as you will see as you travel through it.

You, too, came from the heart of France, Auvergne, and as we welcome you as the head of state of your country, we recognize that France is our oldest friend, our oldest ally in the world.

We know, too, that as we meet and discuss the great problems of the world, that we shall find means to work together toward our common goal, the goal we had 200 years ago, the goal of liberty and independence for all people. That is the same goal we have today.

I am sure our talks will contribute to achieving that goal for our own people and for all people in the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Pompidou received a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Items 53, 56, 59, 60, and 65.

President Pompidou responded in French. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, my wife and I and my suite are deeply moved by your words of welcome.

I am indeed gratified to be your guest today and that of the United States of America. Having been elected a few months ago President of the French Republic, it was natural for my first official visit to be to the American people, our oldest, our greatest, and our most constant friend and ally.

And that is why I responded immediately to your friendly invitation. Our meeting, sir, without any doubt, will be extremely useful. First, it will afford me the opportunity of establishing with you the personal relations which are ever more necessary between heads of state.

Furthermore, this meeting of ours will be particularly trustful. It will enable us, as you just aptly said, to speak freely of all world issues as well as of those which more directly concern the relations between our two countries. And we will find that nothing fundamental stands between us. How could it be otherwise?

The American people have not forgotten that the bulk of the troops among your ranks at Yorktown was French and the people of France remember that twice your soldiers came to our aid, and little more than 25 years ago played a decisive part in our liberation.

In other words, Mr. President, both our heart and the sense of our national interest require of us that we should understand each other and work together—and that we are going to do—to serve peace for the good of our two nations.

Long live the United States of America. Long live our friendship.

53 Toasts of the President and President Pompidou of France. *February* 24, 1970

Mr. President, Madame Pompidou:

We are honored to welcome you to this house. And on such an historic occasion, when we welcome the head of state of the French Republic, we, in the United States, are reminded of how much we owe to your country.

We think of some of the things immediately around us, of this city, which you just described very generously before dinner as being a beautiful city; and we remember that it was planned by a Frenchman, Pierre L'Enfant.

We think of this table and of this service which we see around us—this gold service—and it came from France, from Margaret [Thompson] Biddle, who many in this room will remember lived in Paris for so many years.

We think of such things as the music, the art, the culture that comes from France, not to mention such things as food and wines, which are well represented at this table tonight.

We think also of things that are much more profound and which I will mention only briefly, because where something is of great importance, very few words are needed to describe it.

Just two nights ago in the East Room we heard a new Broadway show—new, it has been there only a year—called "1776." It tells the story of the new America that was founded almost 200 years ago. And it is a very exciting story about that young, struggling country and how it came into existence.

Tonight, we, in this Nation, remember one very profound and simple fact: But for the help that this young Nation received from France, we would not be here tonight. Because of the assistance we received from France almost 200 years ago, America was born; it became an independent country, and since that time we have always been grateful for that assistance.

Tonight I can say to this company that France has always been our ally; it has never been our enemy; and it will always be our friend.

With that kind of friendship, which is deeper and more profound because it is based on the fact that we understand and respect the right to at times find different ways to the same goals, the goals of independence and freedom which brought this Nation into being in 1776, and which Frenchmen, fighting side by side by Americans, helped to bring it into being, and since then, fighting side by side by Americans, have kept those principles alive in the world.

Just 10 years ago in this room, at tables shaped almost like this, President Eisenhower toasted the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle. And I remember on that occasion, General de Gaulle spoke to me about the future of the United States. He said that the time had come to build a new America.

I would say tonight that, as we enter the last third of this century, that we have the responsibility to build a new world, and that we in the United States are proud and thankful that we shall be working with our friends and allies, our oldest friends and allies, from the French Republic, in building that new world in which all people may have the opportunity that we have had for independence and freedom.

So tonight I know that all of you will

want to join me in raising your glasses to the President of the Republic of France.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Items 52, 56, 59, 60, and 65.

President Pompidou responded in French. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, Madame Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I shall not conceal my deep emotion in speaking here as a guest, being President of the French Republic—as guest of the President of the United States.

First of all, it is because between our two countries, although there may be sometimes a few clouds and differences in opinion about different things, we have profound and deep links owing to history, a history already old, as you have just alluded to, Mr. President, where, in the 18th century, France rushed in the struggle to the help of this young country in order to help it gain its freedom.

But also in more recent history. And I would like to allude here to a man with whom you have many living links, that is General Eisenhower, who, and we well remember that in France, came on our soil 25 years ago as head of the armies which gained us our liberation.

Such historical and sentimental links, nobody can forget them, and nobody can destroy them. And even if we wished that, we could not separate our fates and lives because the United States and France cannot live in separation, in isolation one from the other. Our destinies are common.

But also it is because beyond those links of a sentimental and historical nature, we have deep and common interests, because we have a common concept of life, of man, of the life of man in society, and we have the same concept of the human ideal.

It is because both of our countries and nations are deeply attached to the freedom of man. It is because both our nations are convinced that it is through and by democracy that peoples of the world can reach not only their maturity but also their prosperity, their happiness, and only by democracy can they determine their own fate, that I may say that nowadays people refer often to alienation, to alienated societies and people, but I personally believe that there is alienation when man is not free to determine his own fate, and it is through democracy that this freedom is gained and man in society can determine his own fate and destiny.

The United States is the first democracy in the world and France is deeply honored to be also a democracy and a friend of the United States. Therefore, being so deeply united by history and by the same concept we have of society and because we both believe in peace and in the necessity to work entirely for peace, and to be dedicated to the work of peace in spite of all the difficulties or differences we may have from time to time, all this makes us believe that we must live together, we must work together, and we must not have ever any opposition.

For this reason we are struggling and living together. We are going to do that. It is my honor and pleasure of hailing here the most old, constant, and deep ally and friend of France.

Tonight, being honored to be the guest of the President of the United States, I may tell him quite frankly and from the bottom of my heart that he is receiving actually a friend and ally of the United States.

I propose to drink this toast to the President of the United States, to Madame Nixon, and to the friendship between France and the United States of America.

54 Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Contribution to the Asian Development Bank's Special Funds. *February* 25, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1966, the United States—with strong bipartisan approval of the Congress—joined with other nations in the establishment of the Asian Development Bank. Since then this Bank has shown its ability

to marshal funds from Asia, Europe and this continent for the purpose of economic development. In the short span of three years, it has effectively put these resources to work. It has demonstrated an ability to make a major contribution to Asian economic development. It gives evidence of a unique capability for acting as a catalyst for regional cooperation. And it can assist individual Asian countries find solutions to their problems on a multilateral basis.

Now it is time for the United States to reaffirm its support of the Asian Development Bank.

Experience has shown that effective Bank support of certain projects and programs essential to economic growth and development in Asia must involve some financing on easier repayment terms. The economic capabilities of some of the countries of Asia have not yet reached a level of development adequate to service needed loans on conventional terms. The Bank cannot furnish this needed financing out of its ordinary resources and the limited amount of special funds now available to it.

To measure up to its potential for assisting in the economic growth of Asia, the Bank must have adequate facilities and resources to provide concessional as well as conventional financing. I believe that the United States should now join with other donors in providing the Special Funds that will enable the Bank to meet a wider range of Asia's development needs.

The proposal I am submitting to the Congress would authorize the United States to pledge a contribution of $100 million to the Bank's Special Funds over a three-year period. It would authorize the appropriation of $25 million in the present fiscal year, and $35 million and $40 million, respectively, in the next two fiscal years.

This proposal is designed to assure that the United States contribution will have maximum impact on Asian development problems, that the Bank's Special Funds will constitute a truly multilateral financing facility, and that the United States contribution will take account of our own balance of payments position. To assure that other advanced countries provide their fair share of these funds, the United States contribution would not exceed that contributed by other donors as a group, nor would it constitute the largest single contribution to the Bank's Special Funds. The terms governing the use of the United States contribution are clearly set forth in the bill I am transmitting to the Congress.

This support by our country will enable the Asian Development Bank to more effectively perform its critical role in promoting Asian economic progress. The Bank is in a unique position to do this because:

—It is first and foremost *a bank,* applying sound economic and financial principles to the job of development.

—It is *Asia's own creation,* largely conceived, established, financed and operated by Asians to meet Asian problems.

—It embodies equitable arrangements for *sharing the burden* of providing development finance.

—It brings to bear on Asia's challenging development problems *the cooperative efforts of 33 nations,* with balanced representation among Asian and non-Asian members, and among developed and developing countries.

—Its progress to date gives promise that it will become the important

focal point for Asian development efforts envisaged by its founders.

Other developed country members already have responded to the Bank's need for Special Funds resources.

Japan has earmarked $100 million of which $40 million has already been paid. Canada is contributing $25 million in five equal annual installments, while Denmark and The Netherlands have also contributed a total of $3.1 million.

The Governors of the Bank have supplemented these contributions by setting aside for Special Funds purposes $14.5 million of the Bank's own paid-in convertible currency capital resources, as permitted by the Bank's charter.

A United States contribution at this time will give additional needed strength to this essential supplement to the Bank's Ordinary Capital resources, and will encourage other developed countries to contribute to the Special Funds facility.

This proposal has been developed after careful study of the pressing development needs of Asia, of the ability of the Asian Development Bank to use Special Funds resources to help meet those needs, and of our own fiscal and balance of payments problems. I believe that it represents a sound and realistic balancing of those factors, and that it will serve the national interests of the United States in a number of ways.

—It will further demonstrate the strong United States interest in the economic development of Asia.

—It is responsive to the developmental needs of Asia and to Asian initiatives already taken to meet them.

—It will strengthen the Bank as a multilateral regional institution capable of dealing with current and future development problems in Asia.

—It will encourage other advanced nations to provide their fair share of concessional aid to Asia—a region heretofore predominantly dependent on United States aid.

—It takes account of our fiscal and financial problems and contains the necessary balance of payments safeguards.

—It constitutes another example of effective utilization of the multilateral approach to economic development.

I urge the Congress to give this proposal its wholehearted and prompt approval.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 25, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and C. Fred Bergsten, senior staff member of the National Security Council.

55 Remarks at the National Governors' Conference Winter Session. *February* 25, 1970

Governor Love, Mr. Vice President, all the distinguished members of the Governors' Conference and your guests:

Governor Love told me when I arrived that he had already introduced me. So now that I am on, let me come directly to

the matters that I would like to discuss briefly on the occasion of this midwinter meeting of the Governors' Conference in Washington, D.C.

You will recall that in Colorado Springs I spoke of our programs in the field of the New Federalism. I would like to give you my political evaluation—not a partisan evaluation but my political evaluation—of how two of those programs which will very much affect the Governors of the States, how those programs now stand.

First, with regard to the family assistance program, when I spoke to you at Colorado Springs, I, very candidly, did not have high hopes that we could get substantial action on that program in this session of the Congress. That situation has changed.

I would say now that there is at least a 50 percent chance that the family assistance program—somewhat in the direction recommended by the administration, although, of course, the Congress will work its will on the administration measure—but that family assistance program will be enacted in this session of the Congress.

With the support of the Governors, the chance that that program will be enacted will be more than 50 percent. Now, naturally I would like to urge your support after each of you has considered the effect of that program in his State and also after each of you has evaluated it again.

I know the arguments for it and, naturally, I know the ones against it. And without going into it in any detail, the arguments against—perhaps the two major ones—are these:

First, that it isn't enough. My answer to that is that considering budgetary limitations, I believe it is the right amount at this time and it is a beginning—a beginning that America should make in this very great breakthrough in this field.

The second objection is much more fundamental and much more profound, and one that all of you must consider. The question is, will it work? I could tell you here that I am sure that it will work. I do not say that because it has never been tried, not tried on a national basis, although there has been a pilot program in the State of New Jersey in which the results have been quite encouraging.

But while I cannot guarantee that the new family assistance program will work, I know that the present welfare program won't work. It is a disaster. It should be abolished. And I say it is time to move in a new direction.

And with these thoughts in mind then, we would suggest that if you feel that we do need a change, if you feel that this program offers some new directions that the Nation should move in, certainly your support might put it over the top. It is now 50 percent. I think it could go over the top with more support.

The other program that I will refer to briefly, which I also covered in my remarks at Colorado Springs, is in the field of revenue sharing.

Then and now I would have to say that the chances for the Congress enacting revenue sharing in this session are not good. I do not say that critically of the leadership of the Congress. I say it only as an evaluation of how the votes are in both the House and the Senate and in the committees that have the responsibility.

Here, again, arguments can be made for and against these programs. In the case of revenue sharing, one of the basic arguments that is made again, is, that it is not enough. It is certainly a very modest start on what will, in my view, eventually be a

very significant program of sharing revenues, Federal revenues, with the States. But it is the kind of a start that we can afford now. It is a beginning and I believe it is essential that we do begin.

The fact that the Governors of the States might conclude that they would put their full weight behind revenue sharing—behind revenue sharing not next year, but a beginning this year as we have recommended in our budget, and we have budgeted an amount, as you know—if the Governors would do that, what is now virtually a moot question as far as revenue sharing is concerned could become a very live question that there might be a chance that we could get action.

And so, for that reason, I would urge you to consider revenue sharing. If you feel as strongly about it as I feel, and as I know some of the members of this conference have indicated they feel, I would hope that you would move in that direction with the hope that we could get movement now in the Congress on this, as well as in family assistance.

And now a third area, an area that I did not discuss at Colorado Springs, but one which many of you have brought to my attention and to the attention of the various people in the administration who represent the agencies and who are here to meet with you.

I want to say parenthetically in that respect that we have our first team, as far as legislation is concerned, here. Bryce Harlow, who has moved from the position of congressional liaison to that of a member of the President's Cabinet as a Counsellor to the President, is in my opinion perhaps the greatest expert on legislative representation and also in terms of expediting legislative action that it has been my privilege to know.

I would not loan him to any of you, incidentally, for some of your problems. But certainly I can tell you that for any advice in this field, he is one I can very highly recommend.

We also have John Ehrlichman here, who is the head of our new Domestic Planning Staff; and the top team from the various departments, the Under Secretaries, who really get the job done. We want you to know them because these are the men that you can call upon when you have problems in their various departments in which you need action.

But having referred to this group, let me now go to the problem of the environment which, as you may recall, I covered in a major statement to the Congress a few weeks ago; a program, incidentally, in which several of the States represented around this table are considerably ahead of the Federal Government; a program in which presently there is more popular support than there is for any other domestic program that I currently see on the domestic scene.

When we look at the problem of the environment and where we go, there are these thoughts that I would like to leave with you: first, the necessity that the approach be national. I believe in State responsibilities. I believe in States rights as well as responsibilities. That is why revenue sharing to me is a concept that should be adopted.

On the other hand, when we consider the problems of the environment it is very clear that clean air and clean water doesn't stop at a State line. And it is also very clear that if one State adopts very stringent regulations, it has the effect of penalizing itself as against another State which has regulations which are not as stringent insofar as attracting the private

enterprise that might operate in one State or another or that might make that choice.

That is why we have suggested national standards. That is why we believe there must be the closest consultation with the States in implementing those standards and why we want to work with you on it.

A second point with regard to our environmental program is one that I think all of us must consider as we move into this area: And that is that here is one area where we cannot wait.

I had this brought forcibly to my attention when I was in Chicago meeting with the Governors in that area who happened to border on Lake Michigan. And we had the example of what had happened to Lake Erie. Once a lake, a body of water, goes beyond the point of no return, it is almost impossible to restore that lake—to restore it in terms of its being one that is attractive and habitable as far as man is concerned, let alone those that live in the lake.

As far as Lake Michigan is concerned, it has not reached that point. But unless we act now it could go over that edge and become like Lake Erie.

These examples could be multiplied all over the country. That is why, with all of the various priorities, all of the programs that are demanding attention for a limited Federal budget this year, we put as our first priority the environment. Because as important as all the other areas are, here is an area where, if we do not act now, it will be too late possibly ever to act again.

And this is true of air pollution; it is true of water pollution; it is true of all of the other areas with which you are very familiar.

And now to a third point—and here it is necessary for us to consider one of the dangers that will arise and could arise as we consider these environmental programs.

I have met recently, as I am sure many of you have over these past few months, with representatives of environmental groups, people who are justifiably and also very deeply concerned about the environment, and whose reaction is therefore very strong. And the reactions, as in the case of any program, sometimes go to extremes. One reaction is that there is an irreconcilable conflict between economic growth and happiness or economic growth and a decent life in this country.

And the argument goes that what we must do is to turn the situation completely around, that the ideal that we should try to achieve is to return our country and return man basically to his natural state as nearly as we possibly could, and that if that were the case that we would all be much better off.

I know that is a popular proposition. It just doesn't happen to be true. And also it doesn't happen to be new, because Rousseau advocated that 200 years ago.

As we all know, man in his natural state is not a particularly admirable object. As we also know, when we consider growth and as we look at this great Nation of ours, growth has done very much for the United States.

It is very interesting for me to note that as I travel around the world the traffic is never from the United States to other nations; it is usually from other nations to the United States with all of our problems.

As we reform those things which need to be reformed, we must not destroy those particular characteristics of our society that have made this Nation the wonder of the world. We should not be apologetic about it; we shouldn't be defensive about

it. What we need to do is to turn the scientific genius and the managerial genius that has made America the rich country that it is, the enormously wealthy country it is, to turn that genius to the service of man to solving the very problems that that productivity has created in terms of debasing our environment.

That is the approach. It is the responsible approach. It isn't easy, it isn't as simplistic, it therefore isn't quite just as appealing, but it is the right way. And I am sure that you as leaders in the States will take that approach.

I would finally close with one other thought in terms of the rhetoric that we should use in discussing this problem of the environment. Seventy years ago when Theodore Roosevelt caught the imagination of this country, and, incidentally, the admiration of the world, when he spoke of the strenuous life and also spoke of conservation, conservation was the right term for that time.

Conservation today, I submit to you, is an inadequate term to describe what we need to do. What we need to do now is not to conserve simply what we have in the way of natural beauty and natural resources. We need a lot of conservation, that is true. But what we need is something considerably more than that.

We need restoration, restoration of the beauty of waterways, and of air, and of land, which has been destroyed or virtually ruined by reason of this economic progress which, on the one hand, has its benefits, but on the other hand brings with it some side effects that all of us, of course, want to deal with effectively.

So, rather than conservation, we should speak of restoration, restoration of the beauty of this land. And we should combine that, it seems to me, also, with another very positive word, the word "reform," because if we are going to deal with these massive problems, we can't deal with them with some of our present instrumentalities of government.

We need to reform the instruments of government at the Federal, State, and local government levels, if we are effectively to deal not only with problems of the environment, but also in terms of family assistance and the others, those that you have been discussing and that I have touched upon briefly on this occasion today.

The final word that I would suggest we might constantly emphasize is that of renewal. And here, when I speak of renewal, I mean renewal of the spirit of this Nation, and particularly renewal of the spirit and of the challenge for the young people of this Nation.

This is not the time nor certainly the place to get into any detail to discuss the problem of the alienation of the youth, which I know commands much of your attention, as it does ours.

But I would only suggest that here again, the automatic, simplistic answers are usually not the right ones.

A few months ago when I was traveling in Europe, I was discussing with a major European leader the mutual problems that we had, the problems that we had with our youth in the United States and the problems that he had with his youth in his country in Europe.

I pointed out to him that there were many in this country who thought that once the war in Vietnam was over that the problems of our youth would disappear. And his comment on that was very interesting.

He said, "I don't agree that that would happen." He said, "The problem with

your youth is war." He said, "The problem with our youth is peace."

What he was, of course, suggesting was not that what they needed was war and that we, therefore, should be concerned as we moved toward peace. But what he was suggesting was that the problem of youth today is much more profound simply than to find a society in which we have an absence of war, because there needs to be a positive thrust, a renewal of the spirit.

We can talk now and we can suggest that if we could only clean up our air, and clean up the water, and have more parks, and have peace in the world, and have a guaranteed income for every individual, and everything there on the silver platter, that then everybody in this country, and particularly the youth in this country, would be happy. They wouldn't be at all, because unless we can give to our youth and to all Americans, for that matter, a sense of challenge, a sense of excitement, and a sense of participation in building the "New America," in this program of restoration and renewal and reform, unless we can do that we are not going to give them the satisfaction, the satisfaction that you have, you, the leaders of your States in the positions that you are so responsibly filling.

That is why I would urge strongly that you go forward as we are trying to go forward at the Federal level with programs of volunteer action, volunteer action in which we will cooperate with you, volunteer action where our young people have the opportunity particularly in this field of the environment to participate, and to contribute in solving the problem.

I do not suggest that the solution of the problem will mean, as I have already indicated, that from then on youth will be forever happy. But I am suggesting that what we must remember: That it is basically the search, it is the challenge, it is the participation that gives meaning to life, rather than simply the end result.

I have appreciated the opportunity to address this conference and to share with you some of my concerns on the practical programs that we have. I simply want to add one final note, which will be touched upon in greater detail by the experts when they come before you, if you want to ask questions on this particular point.

I know that many of you have been frustrated by the fact that Presidents come before Governors and set forth great programs, and then States rely on those promises by Presidents and go forward in their own programs and then Congress has failed to appropriate the money which is necessary for the Federal Government to maintain and to contribute its share to the solution of those problems.

Several of you have brought this to my attention when I announced our program in the field of water pollution. I want you to know that we have taken your views into consideration and we have an answer.

We believe that any State that went forward after the Clean Water Act of 1966 relying on what the Federal Government had indicated, went forward on its own program, should not be penalized because it took that initiative. As a matter of fact, it should be rewarded.

That is why 20 percent of all the funds that we have asked the Congress to appropriate in the field of water pollution will go through the Office of the Secretary of the Interior and the first priority on that 20 percent will be to take care of approximately $320 million in the case of those States which between 1966 to the present time did go forward in their own pro-

grams and who have not been compensated for the Federal share from the Federal Government.

I simply want to say, as I conclude, that it is very easy to stand before any group, as all of you know, in a political context and to make promises that sound very good. I simply want to say to you that we have presented our program in terms of what we think can be accomplished.

We are not going to make promises in this field that we are unable to fund. And we think the place to begin is with this environmental program.

It is a program that we believe is adequate to handle the problem. If it is not adequate, we will go back for more funds. But in no event will any State represented around this table be penalized when it relies on what the President of the United States indicates will be a Federal commitment.

We have made a commitment. If the States go along, we will see to it that you are reimbursed. That will be our program.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:21 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Governor John A. Love of Colorado was chairman of the conference.

56 Toasts of the President and President Pompidou of France at a Dinner at the French Embassy. *February* 25, 1970

Mr. President, Madame Pompidou, our distinguished guests this evening:

When I was in Paris almost a year ago, I recall that on the occasion of one of the dinners I attended my instructions indicated that I, as the President of the United States, was to speak for 5 minutes and then "his remarks would be translated into English."

Since that time, I have tried to learn English a little better.

And tonight I will speak in English, but I can assure you that Colonel, or General Walters—[*laughter*]—he was a Colonel when I first knew him in Caracas—General Walters' French will be much better than my English.[1]

Mr. President, this is the first occasion that Mrs. Nixon and I have had the opportunity, the honor, of visiting an embassy since the inauguration a year ago.

And it is for us a very moving occasion, because it brings back memories of those many times that we were in this house before, of the people that were here, of the hospitality that we felt.

It is hard to describe how one feels in this bit of French soil in America. Let me describe it this way: There are those in this country who hire a French chef and serve French wines and French food, and who dress with French fashions, and decorate their rooms with French style, but only in this Embassy, or in France itself, can there be that spirit, that extra feeling that one gets when he truly feels the hospitality of a French welcome.

And that is why we are very happy to be here tonight in your presence and in the presence of this company, because again we feel the spirit that we have always felt in this Embassy, and also in those places in France that we have visited.

And if I could be permitted one refer-

[1] Maj. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, American military attaché at the American Embassy in Paris, who was serving as the President's interpreter.

ence that may not be exactly relevant to the meetings of heads of state, but which I think is very important to an occasion like this, let me pay tribute tonight to the diplomats who are present.

I think of the past, men like Bonnet and Alphand who have been in this house; I think of those in this room, Ambassador Lucet, of our own Secretary Rogers, Foreign Minister Schumann, I think of our other Ambassadors, Ambassador Bohlen, Ambassador John Sherman Cooper, I think of those who represent other countries, the dean of the diplomatic corps, these men who work day-in and day-out for the cause of peace, and I should mention Ambassador Johnson, who served in Tokyo.[2]

And on such an occasion like this, we think of the work that they do, the contributions they make that do not often reach the headlines, but that lay the foundation for the success of the kind of talks that you and I will have at the highest level. And we, therefore, pay tribute to them tonight.

I also would like to mention briefly a bit of American history that many perhaps have forgotten. In 1814, when the White House was burned partially and was under repair, the French Minister, who had a very fine residence in Washington at that time, invited the President of the United States, President Madison and Dolley Madison, his wife, the First Lady, to stay in his house.

And for one year the French Minister's residence in Washington was the residence of the President of the United States. And, therefore, as we come here tonight, we feel, as Thomas Jefferson said many years ago, that for every American, he has two homes, France and his own.

And I would say that we do not expect that the White House will be burned during our term of office. But if it is burned, there is no house that we would rather come and stay in. [*Applause*]

Mr. President, our talks will continue tomorrow. They are on that direct personal basis which you appreciate and like, and that I appreciate and like, and for that reason they will produce the results in terms of real progress on fundamental issues that we want.

But tonight, I know that I speak for all of us here from the United States when I say that we are grateful for the years that we have enjoyed the friendship of your country and of your people for this Nation, and we are very proud that we can be here tonight in this house, in this house, the Embassy of France.

And having mentioned the Ambassadors who are in this room, who have served in various posts, I also would mention our own Ambassador to France [Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.], his fine service to our Nation, and how very happy we are to have him here to be honored with us on this occasion.

And now, if you will permit me, if I could try the French that I learned 35 years ago:

Vive la France. Vive le President Pompidou!

[2] Henri Bonnet and Hervé Alphand, French Ambassadors to the United States, 1944–1954 and 1956–1965, respectively; Charles Lucet, current French Ambassador; Maurice Schumann, French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Charles Bohlen, U.S. Ambassador to France, 1962–1968; Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, U.S. Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1955–1956; Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa, Ambassador from Nicaragua since 1943 and dean of the Washington diplomatic corps; and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson, Ambassador to Japan, 1966–1969.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:15 p.m. in response to a toast proposed by President Pompidou.

See also Items 52, 53, 59, 60, and 65.

President Pompidou's remarks, as translated from the French, follow:

Mr. President, Madame:

Your presence here tonight in this house of France is for us a great joy, indeed, and for my country a great honor.

We see in that the sign of the friendship uniting the United States and France, as well as my trip in your great country is supposed to be the sign of the same thing and very deeply.

You know very well that between us perhaps the sentimental side is more important than the political one, which sometimes may be fraught with difficulties, but during the talks we already have had with you, and I am sure during the talks which we are still going to have, I was in a position to note, and will observe, that you and I, we understand each other very well and that we agree on what is fundamental and essential.

And even when sometimes we do not speak exactly on the same line or according to the same waves, we do understand what we mean and what we mean to do.

Of course, I have noted that it was enough for us to speak together in order to understand each other.

Today, you are here among us and for me this is a great opportunity to tell you how deeply, during these 2 days which I have spent in your great country, I have been moved by the welcome which I have received from everybody, from all the American authorities, from Congressmen, and from all the people I have met.

And I would like to seize this opportunity to thank all those who are here tonight with us.

And it is as a friend that I am here. It is as a friend that I have these talks with you, quite outspoken and free and frank, on all the world's issues. It is as a friend that I am going to continue this trip throughout your country and it is as a friend that I ask you all now to raise your glass to drink to the health of the President of the United States of America, to the health of Mrs. Nixon, in honor of the United States and to the friendship between the United States and France.

57 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Communications Satellite Program. *February* 26, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

On July 20, 1969, from the Oval Office in the White House, I spoke by telephone with Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin on the surface of the Moon. This historic event was simultaneously televised to the world through the medium of communication satellites. Under Section 404(a) of the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, I am sending to the Congress this seventh report on the program that helped bring this historic event to millions of people throughout the world.

Communications between Earth and the Moon, while certainly the most dramatic use, is only one of many ways in which satellite communications can now be employed. The Intelsat Consortium of more than 70 nations has been highly successful in bringing the benefits of communications satellite technology to the people of many nations. This report reflects the steady progress being made toward an improved global communications network. Already we see major improvements in international telecommunications capabilities—improvements that will ultimately benefit all of the world's people.

The Communications Satellite Act

speaks of the contribution to be made to "world peace and understanding" by a commercial communications satellite system. Just as this technology has enabled men to speak to each other across the boundary of outer space, so, I am convinced, satellite communications will in future years help men to understand one another better across boundaries of a political, linguistic and social nature. World peace and understanding are goals worthy of this new and exciting means of communication.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 26, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "Annual Report on Activities and Accomplishments Under the Communications Satellite Act of 1962; January 1—December 31, 1969" (17 pp., with appendixes).

58 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *February* 26, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

It is with a sense of gratification that I transmit to the Congress the Ninth Annual Report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The events of the past year have shown that through negotiation we can move toward the control of armaments in a manner that will bring a greater measure of security than we can obtain from arms alone.

There is reason to be hopeful of the possibility that an understanding can be reached with the Soviet Union which will permit both nations to reduce the burden and danger of competitive development of strategic arms.

The process has begun. The preliminary, exploratory phase of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks was held in Helsinki in November and December. Ambassador Gerard Smith, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, whom I named to head our delegation to the Talks, reported to me that the exchange of views was serious and augured well for the next phase to begin in Vienna in April.

We have undertaken these negotiations because it is in our interest to do so. We believe the Soviet Union recognizes a similar interest. In addition, continuing technological advances in weapons systems give warning that delay will only complicate the arduous task of achieving agreements.

The other nations of the world are looking to the United States and the Soviet Union to limit and reduce our strategic arsenals. I believe that a verifiable agreement which will limit arms on both sides will in fact enhance mutual security.

The report which I now send to you describes the contribution of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to the preparation for, and the conduct of negotiations on strategic arms limitation. The report also describes efforts in pursuit of other arms control measures directed to controlling chemical warfare and bacteriological research, to bringing the nonproliferation treaty into effect and to

banning nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction from the seabed.

In transmitting this report, I reaffirm my Administration's concern with the substance rather than the rhetoric of arms control. Wherever possible, consistent with our national security, I want our talents, our energies and our wealth to be dedicated, not to destruction, but to improving the quality of life for all our people.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 26, 1970

NOTE: The 90-page report covers the period January 1 through December 31, 1969.

59 Remarks on the Departure From the White House of President Pompidou of France. *February* 26, 1970

Mr. President, Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Secretary:

As we conclude our talks, I think back to the time 13 months ago that I assumed this office. I recall then that one of the major objectives of our foreign policy was to restore a better relationship with our oldest ally in the world, the Republic of France.

That process began on the trip to France that I took soon after coming into office, in February, and it has continued in the discussions I have had with President Pompidou on this occasion, and the discussions that Secretary Rogers and others in the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments have had with the members of the President's party.

I can say now that I believe we have made very great progress over this past year in restoring the kind of relationship that should exist between two nations whose alliance over a period of 190 years has consistently served the cause of peace and the cause of freedom in the world.

We have not agreed on everything, but we have found that our areas of agreement are greater than they were when our talks began, and we have established channels of communication for further discussions that we believe will be very productive and constructive, not only in our bilateral relationship but also in the ability of our two nations to work together for peace and stability in all areas of the world.

And Mr. President, as you leave here and go first to Florida and then to California, then to Chicago and back to New York, I can assure you that the great majority of our people will welcome you as the President of the nation that has been our oldest ally and our oldest friend. And we know that as you travel through our country that you will sense that welcome and when you return to France, we want you to extend to the people of your country the warmest good wishes of the people of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Maurice Schumann, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.

See also Items 52, 53, 56, 60, and 65.

President Pompidou responded in French. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary:

I really don't see what I could add to what you have just so aptly put and said.

Indeed, France and the United States are countries who are linked both by bonds of friendship and of alliance, and you have marked

this decidedly when you acceded to the supreme post of President of the United States by coming to Europe and laying the foundation with General de Gaulle of this rapprochement between our two countries, let's say, in order to dispel the few clouds that might have accumulated in recent years and in order to enable our two countries to work in the wide cooperation in the service of peace and world equilibrium while retaining their own personalities and their independence.

I must say that I have been deeply moved, and all my suite, too, and also the Foreign Minister of France, by the direct, the spontaneous, and very warm welcome we have received from everybody.

And I have been deeply honored by the welcome I received from the Congress yesterday.

Your welcome, Mr. President, and that of Mrs. Nixon, and all members of the U.S. administration whom we have met, went to our heart, and all the talks we have had either with you, Mr. President, or with members of your administration, have been extremely cordial, frank, and fruitful.

And when the President of the French Republic comes to Washington, obviously it is a friend who comes to the United States, and on the point of leaving Washington now, to go on with my trip through your great country, I also leave as a friend of President Nixon.

60 Remarks at an Informal Meeting With French Correspondents Who Accompanied President Pompidou of France on His Visit to the United States. *February* 26, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I asked you to drop into the office here because it seemed to me you have come a long way, and at least you should have the opportunity to see where we have been having our talks and also to have the chance to at least sense the atmosphere of those talks.

When I first suggested this to Ron Ziegler, I said, "Why don't you get in the dozen or so who are along and we will have a little talk?"

So, he said, "There are 180." That is why, rather than having a talk—and I think we have a time problem, I understand you are going on as the President goes on and mostly we have a numbers problem—so I would limit this to a monologue rather than a discussion on an informal basis, which I think all of us would have enjoyed more.

I want to say, first—and I am going to be quite candid—that I am always fascinated when I meet the head of state or head of government who comes into this office because I read about him before he comes; I get the evaluation of our State Department people, also, the evaluations of the press. Sometimes they vary, just as they do in this country.

But in any event, I get a picture in my mind of the man and then when I meet the man I sometimes have a picture either underlined, and it proves to be quite accurate, usually, or I find my attitudes changing.

I thought you would be interested to know—and I do not say this in criticism of our State Department evaluation or the press version that has been written—that President Pompidou created a rather different impression in our private meetings than I expected he would create.

I had never met him before. We both rather wondered why that was the case. But it seemed that when I was in office

he was not the Prime Minister and when I went out of office he was. I did not see him on the several occasions that I was in Paris between 1961 and 1969. So, I only knew him in terms of what I had read and what I had heard on television.

So I thought of a man who was highly intelligent—and I found him to be that—very suave, and I found him to be that, very measured and deliberate, not one to, as we say in this country, to "pop off" and to say something indiscreet.

All of these pictures I had already in my mind as a result of having read and heard what had been said about him.

But in addition to that, I found a man who was very strong. I thought of President Pompidou more as a man of the city—and this is not said critically because I, like most Americans, always like to go to Paris—as a Parisian with the sophisticated, sometimes rather brittle personality that you think of as a man of the city.

What I sensed in my talks with him was: Here is a man who not only was born in what we call the "heartland," in the country, but a man who retains that strength, a very great strength, a strength of purpose, a determination, that is very impressive.

What I am trying to say, and not with any idea of "buttering him up" or anything of that sort, but what I am trying to say is that I believe that he is a man who has a very difficult task, as he himself recognizes, to follow a man like President de Gaulle, one of the great, majestic figures of the century. But he can do it. He will not be like de Gaulle, just as no one man is like another. But in addition to the high intelligence, the competence which all of you have written about, I sensed in him a very great strength of character, and it is strength of character that great nations, and small nations for that matter, need in their leadership positions at this point.

So much for my evaluations of him. In regard to the talks, as all of you know—you are sophisticated reporters—after every one of these talks you find we have covered a whole landscape—the Middle East, the international monetary affairs, East-West relations, Europe. And we talked about more precise things, like Comsat, and so forth. The subjects are the ones that you would expect.

As all of you know, and we were quite candid to say, there was not quite complete agreement on all these issues with him, or for that matter, with any other leader. But what was helpful in these talks, despite the translations, we covered an enormous amount of ground, because the President and I, while we are from different backgrounds and from different countries, and he is a finance man and an economic man and I am from the law, are very much alike in one respect. We are quite direct. We came right to the point, and there were very few wasted words.

I would say that in the 4 hours of talks we had in this room, and, of course, the private talks we also had at dinners, while of course there is some chit-chat, particularly at the dinners, that when it came down to the issues, that we covered the ground very speedily and directly. He had done his homework and I had done mine, and this meant that when we finished, we had covered all of the subjects that either of us wanted to raise, which was very helpful.

Now having said all of that, I think this bodes well for the future. The meeting with President de Gaulle was a beginning

in restoring the proper relationship between two nations that have been allies for so many years.

This meeting was essential—essential in terms that each got to know the other and to know how we can communicate. I am very optimistic that the relations between France and the United States will continue to be on a very sound basis in which each respects the independence of the other, and in which, more in the future than in the past, we will find we are on parallel and sometimes the same course.

This is our goal—it is his and it is mine. I think we can achieve it.

One personal note. The President very kindly asked me at the conclusion of our talks to pay a return visit to France. I have no plans to do so in the immediate future, but I always want some excuse to go to Paris, and that would be a very good one, of course.

But I do plan, I told him, sometime, as soon as our schedules would permit, to make another trip to Europe, and, of course, have the opportunity to visit France again, and I hope he will return here, because I think this kind of talk should not be simply one of those protocol things that is done for purposes of appearances. It should occur quite regularly so that at the very highest levels we can have communication and then give the—I was going to say guidelines, but that is not a very good word in this Presidency—give the directions to those in the Cabinet levels for implementing our future policies.

Finally, on a personal note, I always try, when somebody comes so far on a journey like this, to give him something to remember us by.

This is, incidentally, a very inexpensive gift, but whenever we sign a bill here, we have the custom of giving a pen to the Congressmen and Senators who were cosponsors of the bills.

So, we thought that since all of you had come so far on this journey that you might like to have a souvenir. It is a very good pen, and it has the signature on it. It is a real signature. I didn't write it, but I don't write most of my signatures.

I use this pen, incidentally, for everything except vetoes.

So, we will hand you one as you leave. I can assure you that as you receive the pen, don't feel that you are compromised, because I always expect the press to write anything about me that they like.

We are delighted to have all of you, not only those of you from France, but those from the other countries here. I think you will find the balance of your trip in this country interesting.

As I told the President, he will see probably a demonstrator or so, but we live in an age of demonstrations and the most important fact to bear in mind, as I said out there is, as I firmly believe, that the great majority of Americans want good relations with France. They have great respect for this nation, and he will be welcomed warmly by the people of this country, and that is keeping it all in perspective.

A word about this room that might be of interest to you. This room was built during the term of Theodore Roosevelt. He conceived this west wing, which is called the West Wing. Each President, of course, redecorates it according to his taste.

When President Eisenhower was here—as you know, that is the seal of the President on the ceiling and the seal of the President is also inscribed in the rug—he

had the walls painted a pale green shade, and after that, during the period of President Kennedy and President Johnson, it has been the tradition to have the whole room in white—a white rug and carpet and curtains and the rest.

So I thought we would continue the tradition, although as Mr. Bailey[1] and some of the other oldtimers around here know, a white rug gets pretty bad looking after people tramp through it for awhile, so we were going to change the rug and get a new one.

Just to show you the influence of television, my television advisers say when you have a white rug and white curtains, you don't get a good picture. So we bowed to television and that is why you see this colorful rug and curtains and so forth.

But the items in here are quite interesting. These are the flags of the services. Incidentally, that is all the President takes with him, unless he steals something, but that he doesn't do. The flags go with him.

For those of you from abroad, these are American birds. You, of course, know about the birds in Britain which my wife collects, to the extent that I can afford them. These are Boehm birds and Boehm is the American counterpart of the famous English birds. They were given to the White House. Over there on that back corner is the last bird he made. It is a baby eaglet. The clock is French, incidentally. It is an antique.

But the thing in this room that I am perhaps most proud of is this. My daughter Julie [Mrs. David Eisenhower] made this for me. And to show you that there is one optimist in the family, she made it before the election. That is not the seal of the President; it is the seal of the United States. But it is an indication of perhaps another Eisenhower's political prowess.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in his office at the White House.

The American birds which the President pointed out to reporters were porcelain sculptures by the late Edward Marshall Boehm, presented to the White House in 1969 by the widow of the artist. Mrs. Nixon collects porcelain birds created by the late Dorothy Doughty for the Worcester china factory in England.

See also Items 52, 53, 56, 59, and 65.

[1] Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune.

61 Remarks About the Proposed Federal Economy Act of 1970. *February* 26, 1970

I HAVE SENT to Congress today my proposal for a Federal Economy Act. I have asked the Congress to join me in cutting back more than $2 billion in Federal spending on 57 programs that are obsolete or of very low priority.

Now in Government everyone knows what a "sacred cow" is. It is a program that is not fair to all the people, not fair to the taxpayer, but one that is fiercely defended by some special interest group.

I believe the time has come to herd these sacred cows out of the Federal budget.

For example, do you know that this Government has a board of teatasters? Now at one time in the dim past there may have been good reason to single out tea for such special tests, but that reason no longer exists.

Nevertheless, a separate tea tasting board has gone right along at a cost of

$125,000 a year at the taxpayers' expense because nobody up to now took the trouble to take a hard look at why it was in existence. The general attitude was, it did not cost much, it provided a few jobs, so why try to save the money.

Well, that is the wrong approach. If we are to win the battle against the rising cost of living, we have to squeeze out of the budget all nonessential Federal spending.

I am asking Congress to join me in making those hard decisions that may upset the special interests, but will serve the public interest. We can only eliminate the sacred cows if we join together above politics to cut down spending and help hold down prices. It won't be easy, but it can be done. And with the support of the taxpayers and bipartisan support in the Congress, it will be done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:53 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. His remarks were recorded for later radio and television broadcast.

62 Special Message to the Congress on the Proposed Federal Economy Act of 1970. *February* 26, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I propose reduction, termination or restructuring of 57 programs which are obsolete, low priority or in need of basic reform. These program changes would save a total of $2.5 billion in the fiscal year 1971. Of this amount, $1.1 billion savings require Congressional action—roughly the equivalent of the amount by which the 1971 budget is in surplus.

No government program should be permitted to have a life of its own, immune from periodic review of its effectiveness and its place in our list of national priorities.

Too often in the past, "sacred cows" that have outlived their usefulness or need drastic revamping have been perpetuated because of the influence of special interest groups. Others have hung on because they were "too small" to be worthy of attention.

At a time when every dollar of government spending must be scrutinized, we cannot afford to let mere inertia drain away our resources.

Some of these programs are the objects of great affection by the groups they benefit. But when they no longer serve the general public interest, they must be repealed or reformed.

No program should be too small to escape scrutiny; a small item may be termed a "drop in the bucket" of a $200.8 billion budget, but these drops have a way of adding up. Every dollar was sent to the Treasury by some taxpayer who has a right to demand that it be well spent.

As an extreme example, the government since 1897 has had a special board of tea-tasters. At one time in the dim past, there may have been good reason to single out tea for such special taste tests; but that reason no longer exists. Nevertheless, a separate tea-tasting board has gone right along, at the taxpayer's expense, because nobody up to now took the trouble to take a hard look at why it was in existence. The general attitude was: It did not cost much, it provided a few jobs, so why upset the teacart?

That attitude should have no place in

this government. The taxpayer's dollar deserves to be treated with more respect.

Most of these programs have the strong support of some special interest group, and in many cases the changes I am proposing will be resisted. Overcoming this resistance will not be easy. I urge, therefore, that the Congress examine the possibilities of establishing special arrangements for consideration of this legislation. The Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures may be able to provide the focus needed to secure the savings I have included in this Federal Economy Act; or, perhaps, a joint select committee empowered to propose legislation to both Houses should be established.

This Administration is making extraordinary efforts to hold down spending; it would be fitting for the Congress to approach the need for economies in the same spirit.

Of the 57 savings actions I have proposed to prune the 1971 fiscal year budget and slow down the momentum of Federal spending, forty-three [1] are within the authority of the President to effect; four are already before the Congress and awaiting action; ten more are submitted with the Federal Economy Act.

Of the total savings effort, these are the most significant items:

1. *I propose that we reform assistance to schools in Federally-impacted areas to meet more equitably the actual burden of Federal installations.*

In origin this program made good sense: Where a Federal installation such as an Army base existed in an area, and the children of the families living on that installation went to a local school; and when the parents made no contribution to the tax base of the local school district, the Federal government agreed to reimburse the local district for the cost of educating the extra children.

But this impacted aid program, in its twenty years of existence, has been twisted out of shape. No longer is it limited to payments to schools serving children of parents who live on Federal property; 70% of the Federal payments to schools are now for children of Federal employees who live off base and pay local property taxes. In addition, the presence of a Federal installation (much sought-after by many communities) lifts the entire economy of a district. As a result, additional school aid is poured into relatively wealthy communities, when much poorer communities have far greater need for assistance.

One stark fact underscores this inequity: Nearly twice as much Federal money goes into the nation's wealthiest county through this program as goes into the one hundred poorest counties combined.

The new Impact Aid legislation will tighten eligibility requirements, eliminating payments to districts where Federal impact is small. As it reduces payments to the wealthier districts, it will re-allocate funds to accord more with the financial needs of eligible districts. Children whose parents *live* on Federal property would be given greater weight than children whose parents only *work* on Federal property.

While saving money for the nation's taxpayers, the new plan would direct Federal funds to the school districts in greatest need—considering both their income level and the Federal impact upon their schools.

Reform of this program—which would make it fair once again to all the American people—would save $392 million in fiscal year 1971 appropriations.

[1] It was later found that one of the 43, the board of teatasters, required legislation to abolish it.

2. *Medicaid.* The original purpose of this program was to provide medical treatment to all persons, regardless of age, who could not afford such care. As many States have discovered, an additional item—long-term residential care in nursing homes and mental hospitals that often involves little medical treatment—has been an unexpected cause of great expense. I propose that we direct Federal matching funds toward medical treatment rather than custodial care and provide new incentives to the States to emphasize more efficient forms of extended care.

Estimated savings to the Federal government in fiscal 1971 appropriations would be $235 million.

3. *Space research.* After the recent successful Apollo missions, scientific needs for more manned lunar explorations were reassessed. We concluded that fewer manned expeditions to the moon were needed, and production of additional Saturn V launch vehicles and spacecraft has been suspended. Eight Saturn Vs remain in our inventory for manned flights during the early 70s. Savings as a result of these and related space research decisions total $417 million in fiscal year 1971 appropriations.

4. *Duplicated veterans benefits.* During the past twenty years, Social Security and other legislation has been enacted which often duplicates benefits due to veterans with wartime service to defray burial expenses. I have proposed to limit Veterans Administration payments to the difference between $250 and the total of non-VA benefits due the veteran's survivors, saving $54 million in fiscal year 1971.

In addition, I propose to require insurance companies to reimburse the Veterans Administration for the general hospital care of veterans with non-service connected medical problems who have purchased private health insurance but who elected to receive that care in VA hospitals. At present, most insurance contracts preclude payment to VA facilities, which is unfair; insurers should not be relieved of payments because their policyholders choose to be treated in VA hospitals. This will save the government $40 million in fiscal year 1971.

Modern medical treatment makes possible permanent recovery from tuberculosis, and over a year ago the Congress ended future payments of $67 per month to veterans whose disease is completely arrested. However, about 40,000 veterans, whose disease has been cured, are still on the compensation rolls; since their cure makes further compensation unnecessary, I propose that they be removed from the rolls at a saving of about $46 million.

5. *Lower-priority agricultural programs.* The Federal government currently cost-shares with farmers certain conservation practices, a substantial part of which are in fact profitable farming techniques; as the number of large farms using these techniques has increased, there is less need for this program that now would require $211 million in fiscal year 1971 appropriations. In addition, $84 million per year is appropriated to subsidize the purchase of milk in schools for children, a great many of whose families are not poor; these resources should be reallocated to more effective nutritional programs to benefit children of poor families which will include milk as a part of the total program.

Federal crop insurance, a useful program, has developed to the point where Federal assistance can be gradually reduced. This insurance is now subsidized by the Federal government, and it should

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be made self-supporting over a period of time. I propose legislation adjusting premiums to cover administrative costs, which will produce a first full-year saving of $12 million.

6. *The government-owned Alaska Railroad.* It is time for the Federal government to get out of the operation and ownership of the Alaska Railroad. With the discovery of oil and other potential economic development in Alaska, the need for Federal ownership has passed and the Alaska Railroad has become an attractive investment. It should be sold either to the State of Alaska or to private enterprise for a substantial sum.

7. *Replacement of hospital grants with loan guarantees.* At one time, hospitals were not generating enough income to pay off capital construction loans; today, *through reimbursements by Medicare, Medicaid and private insurance plans,* the financial status of hospitals has been markedly improved. Accordingly, using the same principle that has been so successful in the Federal Housing Administration program, the 1971 budget terminates direct grants to hospitals in favor of a new program of mortgage guarantees to hospitals for construction capital with a liberal subsidization of the interest rates they will be charged. The new program, which will be more effective in stimulating hospital construction, will save the taxpayer $65 million in fiscal year 1971.

8. *Miscellaneous items requiring Congressional action.* These include charging the industries involved to recover the costs of Federal grading, classing, and inspecting of tobacco, cotton and grain, saving $4 million; charging to recover the costs of administering marketing agreements and orders, $2 million; ending Federal formula grants to schools of veterinary medicine, a low priority item, $3 million; turning over Federal maintenance of recreational marinas to the users of such facilities, $1 million the first full year.

9. *Terminating the Coast Guard Selected Reserve Program.* The elimination of the Coast Guard Selected Reserve program would not significantly reduce the overall effectiveness of the Coast Guard.

The proposed legislation eliminates the statutory requirement for a Selected Reserve within the Coast Guard Ready Reserve after fiscal year 1971.

It provides that personnel who are fulfilling their Selective Service obligation through the Coast Guard Reserve may be transferred, with their consent, to other Reserve components, with the assurance that their Coast Guard service will be credited toward fulfillment of that obligation. It is also anticipated that some personnel in the Selected Reserve would be retained in the Ready Reserve in a no-training status. All will be offered the opportunity of accepting a discharge from the Coast Guard Reserve or volunteering for extended active duty for the purpose of fulfilling their military service obligation. First full year savings are approximately $25 million.

10. *Sale of stockpile commodities.* The greatest bulk of the stockpile materials to be disposed of in fiscal year 1971 would be sold in accordance with standing authorizations. With respect to those stockpile surpluses for which there is presently no disposal authority, we have already sent to the Congress twenty bills requesting the necessary authority. In addition, we have endorsed three other pending bills. The proposed sales program, including disposals which would be authorized under new legislation, would produce about $750 million in fiscal 1971.

I am transmitting with this message a proposed Federal Economy Act of 1970.

Never has the need to curtail unnecessary spending been as vital as it is now. The rising cost of living, which causes so much hardship to so many of our people, must be arrested; a balanced budget is needed to hold the line on rising prices and interest rates.

In this fight, no time-honored program is sacrosanct if it cannot be justified on the grounds of high priority; there is too much that needs to be done for all the people to permit special benefits to be conferred unfairly upon some of the people.

Of course animal-lovers want more veterinarians, but Federal funds should be spent on providing more doctors for people; of course harbors should be kept clear for pleasure craft, but Federal funds should be directed to help clean water for people to drink; of course all the elderly should be cared for, but Federal funds should be directed to medical rather than custodial care of the elderly who are poor and ill.

That is why we have looked at Federal spending with new eyes—not on the basis of government as it is, but on the basis of what comes first for now and tomorrow. The time is past for "more of the same."

Federal spending must be in response to present needs, not a reflex caused by old habits. The savings we make now are dollars enlisted in the fight against inflation, and there is no need more urgent to all the people than the need to hold down the rising cost of living.

I have already made a great many of the hard decisions that are mine to make to hold down nonessential domestic spending, above and beyond the substantial cuts already made in our defense budget, and I urge the Congress to make the hard, responsible decisions that the Congress is charged to make. This is no time for business as usual, spending as usual, politics as usual. This is the time for cutting out waste and cutting down costs with new vigor and new determination.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 26, 1970

NOTE: A summary description of the proposed legislation was also released.

63 Remarks on Presenting the Atomic Pioneers Award. *February* 27, 1970

DR. GLENN T. SEABORG. Mr. President, we are honoring three old friends here, friends of yours, friends of mine in the field of atomic energy.

You are presenting them with the Atomic Pioneers Award. This is the first of a kind, and the only presentation that will be made of this award, because there is only one Dr. Bush, only one Dr. Conant, and only one General Groves.

No one would be able to be in their class with respect to the field that we are honoring them for today.

I would like to begin by reading the citation for Dr. Vannevar Bush:

For his exceptional contributions to the national security as Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development in marshalling the resources of American science for national defense during World War II and for his pioneering leadership as a Presidential advisor in fostering the establishment of new Federal agencies, including the National Sci-

ence Foundation and the Atomic Energy Commission, which have made possible the unprecedented growth of scientific research and development in the last two decades.

That is signed by President Nixon and the five Commissioners of the Atomic Energy Commission.

THE PRESIDENT. I would emphasize what you said, that this is most unusual, because the President has the responsibility to present many awards, the Medal of Freedom and others, and they are always distinguished people. But this is the only award that I know of that is a one-time award, and presented only to the three men that are here.

The award was created for the three pioneers in this field. I think, therefore, it has a unique quality that no other award that we have ever presented has had.

We want to congratulate all of you.

DR. SEABORG. Now the award to Dr. James B. Conant, and for Dr. Conant, the citation reads:

For his exceptional contributions to the national security as Chairman of the National Defense Research Committee in overseeing the successful development of weapons systems, including the atomic bomb, during World War II and for his pioneering leadership in the Nation's atomic energy program after the war as Chairman of the Committee on Atomic Energy of the Joint Research and Development Board and as a member of the General Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission.

I had the pleasure of serving with Jim on that at that time.

THE PRESIDENT. You were also chairman of other commissions. You started it all.

DR. SEABORG. Now I will read the citation for General Leslie R. Groves:

For his exceptional contributions to the national security as Commanding General of the Manhattan Engineer District, United States Army, in developing the world's first nuclear weapons during World War II and for his pioneering efforts in establishing administrative patterns adopted by the Atomic Energy Commission in effecting the use of atomic energy for military and peaceful purposes.

THE PRESIDENT. We have representatives of the Senate and House here. I wonder if the ranking Senator, Senator Pastore,[1] would like to say a word to our three award winners.

SENATOR PASTORE. I think that mankind owes these three gentlemen a tremendous debt of gratitude. If it hadn't been for the development of the bomb, I think we would not have been able to withhold the onslaught of communism in the world.

I think it was the mainstay in Europe. I think it is still a deterrent today and is really helping the security of this country and the free world. It all began with you. Without you, it wouldn't have happened.

CONGRESSMAN HOSMER. Both for myself and Congressman Holifield,[2] who regrets very much that he couldn't be here today, I want to express our deep appreciation, particularly because although you started this in a warlike fashion, today the emphasis is on what the atom can do for the world. All future generations will owe you gentlemen a vast debt for this.

THE PRESIDENT. I think you can probably add, too, that this really quantum breakthrough in knowledge had a very dramatic effect in the thinking of the people of not only this country but the people of the world, particularly the scientific community.

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[1] Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island, vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

[2] Representative Craig Hosmer of California, member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, chaired by Representative Chet Holifield of California.

After this breakthrough, then came the breakthrough in space and everything else.

DR. SEABORG. I think we should emphasize the tremendous peacetime applications that we are reaping the benefits of now and can look forward to an even greater extent in the future.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony began at 11:25 a.m. in the President's office at the White House.

64 Special Message to the Congress on Labor Disputes in the Transportation Industry. *February* 27, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Early in my Administration I pledged that I would submit a new proposal for dealing with national emergency labor disputes. Since that time, members of my Administration have carefully reviewed the provisions of these laws and the nation's experience under them. We have concluded from that review that the area in which emergency disputes have created the greatest problem is that of transportation.

Our highly interdependent economy is extraordinarily vulnerable to any major interruption in the flow of goods. Work stoppages in the railroad, airline, maritime, longshore, or trucking industries are more likely to imperil the national health or safety than work stoppages in other industries. Yet, it is in this same transportation area that the emergency procedures of present laws—the Railway Labor Act of 1926 and the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947—have most frequently failed.

It is to repair the deficiencies of existing legislation and to better protect the public against the damaging effects of work stoppages in the transportation industry that I am today proposing that Congress enact the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970.

TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES

Our past approaches to emergency labor disputes have been shaped by two major objectives.

The first is that health and safety of the nation should be protected against damaging work stoppages.

The second is that collective bargaining should be as free as possible from government interference.

As we deal with the particularly difficult problems of transportation strikes and lockouts, we should continue to work toward these objectives. But we must also recognize that, in their purest form, these two principles are mutually inconsistent. For if bargaining is to be perfectly free, then the government will have no recourse in time of emergency. And almost any government effort to prevent emergency strikes will inevitably have some impact on collective bargaining.

Our task, then, is to balance partial achievement of both objectives. We must work to maximize both values. Ideally, we would provide maximum public protection with minimum federal interference. As we examine the laws which presently cover the transportation industry, however, we find that interference has

often been excessive and protection has often been inadequate.

The Railway Labor Act

Work stoppages in both the railroad and airline industries are presently handled under the emergency procedures of the Railway Labor Act. Under this law, the President can delay a strike or lockout for sixty days by appointing an Emergency Board to study the positions of both parties and to recommend a settlement. If the sixty-day period ends without a settlement, then the President has no recourse other than to let the strike occur or to request special legislation from the Congress.

Past events and recent experiences demonstrate the failure of these provisions. Since the passage of the Railway Labor Act 45 years ago, the emergency provisions have been invoked 187 times—an average of four times yearly. Work stoppages at the end of the sixty-day period have occurred at a rate of more than one per year since 1947. Twice the President has had to request special legislation from the Congress to end a railroad dispute, most recently in 1967.

Why does the Railway Labor Act have such a bad record? Most observers agree that the Act actually discourages genuine bargaining. Knowing that the Emergency Board will almost always move in with its own recommendation whenever a strike is threatened, the disputants have come to look upon that recommendation as a basis for their own further bargaining. They have come to regard it as a routine part of the negotiation process.

Over the years, the members of one Emergency Board after another have concluded that little meaningful bargaining takes place before their involvement. Most of what happens in the early bargaining, they report, is merely done to set the stage for the appearance of the Federal representatives. Designed as a last resort, the emergency procedures have become almost a first resort. The very fact that an official recommendation is *possible* tends to make such a recommendation *necessary*.

The disputants also know that government participation need not end with the Board's recommendation. They know that the nation will not tolerate a damaging railroad strike—and that even compulsory arbitration is a possible legislative solution if they are unable to compromise their differences. This expectation can also have a significant, discouraging effect on serious bargaining. Aware that arbitrators and public opinion will often take a middle ground between two bargaining positions, each disputant feels a strong incentive to establish a more extreme position which will pull the final settlement in his own direction. Expecting that they might have to *split* the difference tomorrow, both parties find it to their advantage to *widen* that difference today. Thus the gap between them broadens; the bargaining process deteriorates; government intervention increases; and work stoppages continue.

Many of the deficiencies in the Railway Labor Act do not appear in the Taft-Hartley Act. Therefore, as the first step in my proposed reform, *I recommend that the emergency strike provisions of the Railway Labor Act be discontinued and that railroad and airline strikes and lockouts be subject to a new law—one which draws upon our experience under the Taft-Hartley Act.*

The Taft-Hartley Act

Labor disputes in other transportation industries—maritime, longshore, and trucking—are now subject to the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, legislation which I helped write in 1947.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, the President may appoint a Board of Inquiry when he believes that a strike or lockout or the threat thereof imperils the nation's health or safety. After the Board of Inquiry has reported on the issues involved in the dispute, the President may direct the Attorney General to petition a Federal District Court to enjoin the strike for an eighty-day "cooling-off" period. During the eighty-day period, the Board of Inquiry makes a second finding of fact and the employees have an opportunity to vote on the employer's last offer.

There are a number of features in the Taft-Hartley Act which encourage collective bargaining to a far greater extent than does the Railway Labor Act. First, government intervention is more difficult to invoke since the Taft-Hartley Act—unlike the Railway Labor Act—requires a court injunction to stop a strike or lockout. Moreover, the Taft-Hartley Act explicitly prohibits the Board of Inquiry from proposing a settlement. Thus neither party is tempted to delay an agreement in the hope that the Board's recommendation will strengthen its hand. Finally, the standard for judging whether the threatened work stoppage justifies government intervention is stricter under Taft-Hartley than under the older Act—though the use of stricter standards does *not* imply that a strike or lockout which primarily involves one region of the country could not be enjoined if it threatens the national health or safety.

But even the Taft-Hartley Act gives the President inadequate options if a strike or lockout occurs after the eighty-day cooling-off period has elapsed—something that has happened in eight of the twenty-nine instances in which this machinery has been invoked since 1947. All of these instances of failure have involved transportation industries. As is the case under the Railway Labor Act, the President has no recourse in such a situation other than to submit the dispute to the Congress for special legislation.

Each of the last four Presidents, the President's Labor-Management Advisory Committee, numerous voices in the Congress, and many other students of labor relations have concluded that the President's options at this point in the dispute should be broadened. I share this conclusion—but I believe it advisable to limit its application at present to the transportation field. It is in the area of transportation, after all, that our present procedures have encountered the greatest difficulty. If at some later date, conditions in other industries seem to demand further reform—and if our experience with the new transportation procedures has been encouraging—we may then wish to extend the application of these new procedures.

Three New Options

The President must have additional procedures which he can follow at the end of the cooling-off period if damaging work stoppages in vital transportation industries are to be avoided. *Accordingly, I propose that the Taft-Hartley Act—as it applies to transportation industries—be amended to give the President three additional options if, at the end of the eighty-day injunction period, the labor dispute in*

question has not been settled and national health or safety is again endangered.

1. The first option would allow the President *to extend the cooling-off period for as long as thirty days.* This choice might be most attractive if the President believed the dispute were very close to settlement.

2. The President's second option would be *to require partial operation of the troubled industry.* Under this provision, the major part of the strike or lockout could continue. But danger to national health or safety could be minimized by keeping essential segments of the industry in operation or by maintaining service for the most critical group of service-users. This procedure could be invoked for a period of up to six months.

It is important, of course, that the precise level of partial operation be correctly determined—it must be large enough to protect the society but small enough so that both parties feel continued economic pressures for early settlement. Responsibility for determining whether partial operation is possible and for establishing the proper level of operations would be assigned to a special board of three impartial members appointed by the President. The panel would be required to conduct an extensive study of the matter and to report its findings within thirty days of its appointment. The strike or lockout could not continue during that period.

3. The President's third option would be *to invoke the procedure of "final offer selection."* Under this procedure, each of the parties would be given three days to submit either one or two final offers to the Secretary of Labor. The parties would then have an additional five days to meet and bargain over these final proposals for settlement. If no agreement emerged from those meetings, a final offer selector group of three neutral members would be appointed by the disputants or, if they could not agree on its membership, by the President. This group would choose one of the final offers as the final and binding settlement.

The selectors would hold formal hearings to determine which of the final offers was most reasonable—taking into account both the public interest and the interests of the disputants. They would be required to choose one of the final offers in the exact form in which it was presented; in no case could they modify any of its terms nor in any way attempt to mediate the conflict.

The final offer selection procedure would guarantee a conclusive settlement without a dangerous work stoppage. But—unlike arbitration—it would also provide a strong incentive for labor and management to reach their own accommodation at an earlier stage in the bargaining. When arbitration is the ultimate recourse, the disputants will compete to stake out the strongest bargaining position, one which will put them at the greatest advantage when a third party tries to "split the difference." But when final offer selection is the ultimate recourse, the disputants will compete to make the most reasonable and most realistic final offer, one which will have the best chance to win the panel's endorsement.

Rather than pulling apart, the disputants would be encouraged to come together. Neither could afford to remain in an intransigent or extreme position. In short, while the present prospect of government arbitration tends to widen the gap between bargaining positions and thus invite intervention, the possibility of final

offer selection would work to narrow that gap and make the need for intervention less likely.

It should be emphasized that the President could exercise any one of these options only if the eighty-day cooling-off period failed to produce a settlement. Whatever option the President might choose, either House of Congress would have the opportunity—within ten days—to reject his recommendation under a procedure similar to that established by the Reorganization Act of 1949.

Either a partial operation plan or a final offer selection could be voided in the courts if it were judged arbitrary and capricious. If the President were to choose none of the three additional options, if the Congress were to reject his choice, or if one of the first two options were chosen and failed to bring a settlement, then the President could refer the entire matter to the Congress as he can do under the present law.

Other Recommendations

The effort to broaden Presidential options is at the heart of the reforms I propose. There are a number of additional repairs, however, that would also strengthen our labor disputes legislation.

—*I recommend that a National Special Industries Commission be established to make a comprehensive study of labor relations in those industries which are particularly vulnerable to national emergency disputes.* Experience has clearly shown that such labor crises occur with much greater frequency in some industries than in others. The Commission, which would have a two-year life span, should tell us why this is so and what we can do about it.

—The Railway Labor Act presently calls for final arbitration by government boards of unresolved disputes over minor grievances. Usually these disputes involve the interpretation of existing contracts in the railroad or airline industries. Again, the availability of government arbitration seems to have created the necessity for it; the National Railroad Adjustment Board, for example, has a backlog of several thousand cases to arbitrate. The growing dependence on government represents a dangerous trend; moreover, the resulting delay in settlement is burdensome and unfair to both labor and management.

I propose therefore that the National Railroad Adjustment Board be abolished. A two-year transition period should be allowed for completing cases now in process. The parties themselves should be asked to establish full grievance machinery procedures, including no-strike, no lockout clauses and provisions for final binding arbitration. When necessary, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service would assist in this process.

—A labor contract in the railroad or airlines industry presently has no effective termination date. This is true because the right of the parties to engage in a strike or lockout depends on a declaration by the National Mediation Board that the dispute cannot be resolved through mediation. Negotiations can thus drag on for an indeterminate period, far beyond the intended expiration date of the contract, with no deadlines to motivate serious bargaining.

I recommend that this unusual procedure be discontinued and that new labor contracts for railroads and airlines be negotiated in the same manner as those for most other industries. The party which

desires to change or terminate any contract would be required to provide written notice to that effect sixty days in advance of the date on which the change is to go into effect. The schedule of negotiations would thus depend not on the decision of the National Mediation Board, but on the decisions of the parties; earlier, more earnest, and more independent bargaining would be encouraged.

—The National Mediation Board now handles two very different functions: mediating railway and airlines disputes and regulating the process by which bargaining units are determined and bargaining representatives are chosen. This combination of functions is unique to the railroad and airlines industries, and again, I propose that the discrepancy be eliminated. *The mediation functions of the National Mediation Board should be transferred to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service*—which presently handles this work for the vast majority of our industries. *The regulatory functions should remain with the National Mediation Board, but its name should be changed to the Railroad and Airline Representation Board to reflect this new reality.*

Whenever possible, the government should stay out of private labor disputes. When the public interest requires that government step in, then it should do so through procedures which bring the current conflict to an equitable conclusion without weakening the self-reliance of future bargainers.

The nation cannot tolerate protracted work stoppages in its transportation industries, but neither should labor contracts be molded by the Federal government. The legislation which the Secretary of Labor is submitting to the Congress would help us to avoid both pitfalls; it would do much to foster both freedom in collective bargaining and industrial peace. The hallmark of this program is fairness; under its procedures we will be able to end national emergency labor disputes in our transportation industries in a manner which is fair to labor, fair to management and fair to the American public.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
February 27, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings by George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor, on the message.

65 Toast of the President at a Dinner Honoring President Pompidou of France in New York City. *March* 2, 1970

Ambassador Burden, Mr. President, Madame Pompidou, Mr. Foreign Minister, Madame Schumann, Senator Mansfield, Senator Scott, all the distinguished guests at the head tables, and all of the distinguished guests in this audience:

It is indeed a very great honor for me to be here on this occasion; and in my very brief remarks, prior to proposing a toast to the President of the Republic of France, I should like to indicate the importance I attach to this occasion.

When I learned that President and Madame Pompidou were coming to the United States, I wanted them to see our country, the United States, as a Presi-

dent of the United States saw it—and I must say, we overdid it a bit, as we usually do.

But he is the first President, I am proud to say, to spend a night at Camp David as the guest of the President of the United States. We, of course, have been honored to have him and Madame Pompidou at the White House, and we have been very honored to go to the French Embassy as the guests of Ambassador Lucet, and he has visited Florida, California, Illinois—and tonight gets a reception from his friends in New York, and they are legion in this city and this State, I can assure you.

But now quickly, to a point of history that will be of interest to you. This magnificently inscribed program, one that does credit to these outstanding dinners that are held in this beautiful ballroom, indicates the various groups that are participating in this dinner, and also indicates those who sit at this table, this table, and that table, and there is a full guest list.

But there is one reason why I trust that each of you who is interested in history will keep this program, because there will probably never be another one like it.

I refer you, if I may, to—the pages are not numbered, we may say—page 3, where it says "Toasts," and the first toast is, as it should be, to His Excellency Georges Pompidou, proposed by the Vice President of the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the 190-year history of this country, the Vice President of the United States has often substituted for the President, and I am an expert on that; I have done it. Tonight, here in the Waldorf-Astoria, March 2, 1970, is the first time in the history of the United States of America that the President has ever substituted for the Vice President of the United States of America.

I will tell you very briefly why: Because France is our oldest ally and our oldest friend; and second, because that friendship is so deep and so long that any minor irritations or bad manners or differences are not going to impair it; and third, because that alliance and friendship, for 190 years, has been joined together on several occasions, always on the side of freedom against the forces of those that oppose freedom.

And finally for a personal note, because I was proud to welcome the President of France just a few days ago at the White House as an official friend, I am proud tonight to say goodby to the President of France as a personal friend.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very proud tonight to propose this toast. I wish I could speak the language better, but at least I can say: *Vive la France; vive le President Pompidou.*

Let's raise our glasses to the President of France. *Vive la France.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:47 p.m. at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City, at a dinner given in honor of President Pompidou by the Alliance Française de New York, the American Society of the French Legion of Honor, the Chambre de Commerce Française aux Etats-Unis, the Federation of French Alliances in the United States, the France-America Society, the French Institute, the Lycée Française de New York, the Order of Lafayette, and the Paris-American Club.

William A. M. Burden, United States Ambassador to Belgium, 1959–1961, chairman of the Council of French-American Societies, and president of the France-America Society, presided at the dinner.

See also Items 52, 53, 56, 59, and 60.

66 Special Message to the Congress on Education Reform. *March* 3, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

American education is in urgent need of reform.

A nation justly proud of the dedicated efforts of its millions of teachers and educators must join them in a searching re-examination of our entire approach to learning.

We must stop thinking of primary and secondary education as the school system alone—when we now have reason to believe that young people may be learning much more *outside* school than they learn in school.

We must stop imagining that the Federal government had a cohesive education policy during a period of explosive expansion—when our Federal education programs are largely fragmented and disjointed, and too often administered in a way that frustrates local and private efforts.

We must stop letting wishes color our judgments about the educational effectiveness of many special compensatory programs, when—despite some dramatic and encouraging exceptions—there is growing evidence that most of them are not yet measurably improving the success of poor children in school.

We must stop pretending that we understand the mystery of the learning process, or that we are significantly applying science and technology to the techniques of teaching—when we spend less than one half of one percent of our educational budget on research, compared with 5% of our health budget and 10% of defense.

We must stop congratulating ourselves for spending nearly as much money on education as does the entire rest of the world—$65 billion a year on all levels—when we are not getting as much as we should out of the dollars we spend.

A new reality in American education can mark the beginning of an era of reform and progress for those who teach and those who learn. Our schools have served us nobly for centuries; to carry that tradition forward, the decade of the 1970s calls for thoughtful redirection to improve our ability to make up for environmental deficiencies among the poor; for long-range provisions for financial support of schools; for more efficient use of the dollars spent on education; for structural reforms to accommodate new discoveries; and for the enhancement of learning before and beyond the school.

When educators, school boards and government officials alike admit that we have a great deal to learn about the way we teach, we will begin to climb the up staircase toward genuine reform.

Therefore, *I propose that the Congress create a National Institute of Education* as a focus for educational research and experimentation in the United States. When fully developed, the Institute would be an important element in the nation's educational system, overseeing the annual expenditure of as much as a quarter of a billion dollars.

I am establishing a President's Commission on School Finance to help States and communities to analyze the fiscal plight of their public and non-public schools. We must make the nation aware of the dilemmas our schools face, new methods of organization and finance must

be found, and public and non-public schools should together begin to chart the fiscal course of their educational planning for the Seventies.

I propose new steps to help States and communities to achieve the Right to Read for every young American. I will shortly request that funds totalling $200 million be devoted to this objective during fiscal 1971. The basic ability to read is a right that should be denied to no one, and the pleasures found in books and libraries should be available to all.

I propose that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity begin now to establish a network of child development projects to improve our programs devoted to the first five years of life. In fiscal 1971, a minimum of $52 million will be provided for this purpose.

New Measurements of Achievement

What makes a "good" school? The old answer was a school that maintained high standards of plant and equipment; that had a reasonable number of children per classroom; whose teachers had good college and often graduate training; a school that kept up to date with new curriculum developments, and was alert to new techniques in instruction. This was a fair enough definition so long as it was assumed that there was a direct connection between these "school characteristics" and the actual amount of learning that takes place in a school.

Years of educational research, culminating in the Equal Educational Opportunity Survey of 1966 have, however, demonstrated that this direct, uncomplicated relationship does not exist.

Apart from the general public interest in providing teachers an honorable and well-paid professional career, there is only one important question to be asked about education: *What do the children learn?*

Unfortunately, it is simply not possible to make any confident deduction from school characteristics as to what will be happening to the children in any particular school. Fine new buildings alone do not predict high achievement. Pupil-teacher ratios may not make as much difference as we used to think. Expensive equipment may not make as much difference as its salesmen would have us believe.

And yet we know that something does make a difference.

The *outcome* of schooling—what children learn—is profoundly different for different groups of children and different parts of the country. Although we do not seem to understand just what it is in one school or school system that produces a different outcome from another, one conclusion is inescapable: *We do not yet have equal educational opportunity in America.*

The purpose of the National Institute of Education would be to begin the serious, systematic search for new knowledge needed to make educational opportunity truly equal.

The corresponding need in the school systems of the nation is to begin the responsible, open measurement of how well the educational process is working. It matters very little how much a school building costs; it matters a great deal how much a child in that building learns. An important beginning in measuring the end result of education has already been made through the National Assessment of Educational Progress being conducted by the Education Commission of the States.

To achieve this fundamental reform it will be necessary to develop broader and more sensitive measurements of learning than we now have.

The National Institute of Education would take the lead in developing these new measurements of educational output. In doing so it should pay as much heed to what are called the "immeasurables" of schooling (largely because no one has yet learned to measure them) such as responsibility, wit and humanity as it does to verbal and mathematical achievement.

In developing these new measurements, we will want to begin by comparing the actual educational effectiveness of schools in similar economic and geographic circumstances. We will want to be alert to the fact that in our present educational system we will often find our most devoted, most talented, hardest working teachers in those very schools where the general level of achievement is lowest. They are often there because their commitment to their profession sends them where the demands upon their profession are the greatest.

From these considerations we derive another new concept: *accountability.* School administrators and school teachers alike are responsible for their performance, and it is in their interest as well as in the interest of their pupils that they be held accountable. Success should be measured not by some fixed national norm, but rather by the results achieved in relation to the actual situation of the particular school and the particular set of pupils.

For years the fear of "national standards" has been one of the bugaboos of education. There has never been any serious effort to impose national standards on educational programs, and if we act wisely in this generation we can be reasonably confident that no such effort will arise in future generations. The problem is that in opposing some mythical threat of "national standards" what we have too often been doing is avoiding accountability for our own local performance. We have, as a nation, too long avoided thinking of the *productivity* of schools.

This is a mistake because it undermines the principle of local control of education. Ironic though it is, the avoidance of accountability is the single most serious threat to a continued, and even more pluralistic educational system. Unless the local community can obtain dependable measures of just how well its school system is performing for its children, the demand for national standards will become even greater and in the end almost certainly will prevail. When local officials do not respond to a real local need, the search begins for a level of officialdom that will do so, and all too often in the past this search has ended in Washington.

I am determined to see to it that the flow of power in education goes toward, and not away from, the local community. The diversity and freedom of education in this nation, founded on local administration and State responsibility, must prevail.

The National Institute of Education

As the first step toward reform, we need a coherent approach to research and experimentation. Local schools need an objective national body to evaluate new departures in teaching that are being conducted here and abroad and a means of disseminating information about projects that show promise.

The National Institute of Education would be located in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the

Assistant Secretary for Education, with a permanent staff of outstanding scholars from such disciplines as psychology, biology and the social sciences, as well as education.

While it would conduct basic and applied educational research itself, the National Institute of Education would conduct a major portion of its research by contract with universities, non-profit institutions and other organizations. Ultimately, related research activities of the Office of Education would be transferred to the Institute.

It would have a National Advisory Council of distinguished scientists, educators and laymen to ensure that educational research in the Institute achieves a high level of sophistication, rigor and efficiency.

The Institute would set priorities for research and experimentation projects and vigorously monitor the work of its contractors to ensure a useful research product.

It would develop criteria and measures for enabling localities to assess educational achievement and for evaluating particular educational programs, and would provide technical assistance to State and local agencies seeking to evaluate their own programs.

It would also link the educational research and experimentation of other Federal agencies—the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Department of Defense, the National Science Foundation and others—to the attainment of particular national educational goals.

Here are a few of the areas the National Institute of Education would explore:

(a) *Compensatory Education.* The most glaring shortcoming in American education today continues to be the lag in essential learning skills in large numbers of children of poor families.

In the last decade, the Government launched a series of ambitious, idealistic, and costly programs for the disadvantaged, based on the assumption that extra resources would equalize learning opportunity and eventually help eliminate poverty.

In some instances, such programs have dramatically improved children's educational achievement. In many cases, the programs have provided important auxiliary services such as medical care and improved nutrition. They may also have helped prevent some children from falling even further behind.

However, the best available evidence indicates that most of the compensatory education programs have not measurably helped poor children catch up.

Recent findings on the two largest such programs are particularly disturbing. We now spend more than $1 billion a year for educational programs run under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Most of these have stressed the teaching of reading, but before-and-after tests suggest that only 19% of the children in such programs improve their reading significantly; 13% appear to fall behind more than expected; and more than two-thirds of the children remain unaffected—that is, they continue to fall behind. In our Headstart program, where so much hope is invested, we find that youngsters enrolled only for the summer achieve almost no gains, and the gains of those in the program for a full year are soon matched by their non-Headstart classmates from similarly poor backgrounds.

Thoughtful men recognize the limitations of such measurements and would

not conclude that the programs thus assessed are without value. It may be necessary to wait many years before the full impact of such programs on the lives of poor youngsters can be ascertained. But as we continue to conduct special compensatory education for the disadvantaged, we must recognize that our present knowledge about how to overcome poor backgrounds is so limited that major expansion of such programs could not be confidently based on their results.

While our understanding of what works in compensatory education is still inadequate, we do know that the social and economic environment which surrounds a child at home and outside of school probably has more effect on what he learns than the quality of the school he now attends. Therefore, the major expansion of income support proposed in the Family Assistance Plan should also have an important educational effect.

The first order of business of the National Institute of Education would be to determine what is needed—inside and outside of school—to make our compensatory education effort successful. To help get this process under way now, I have also reactivated the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, and have appointed a slate of distinguished educators who will make recommendations and help monitor our efforts in this field. The nation cannot afford defeat in this area.

(b) *The Right To Read.* In September, the nation's chief education officer, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., proclaimed the Right to Read as a goal for the 1970's. I endorse this goal.

Achievement of the Right to Read will require a national effort to develop new curricula and to better apply the many methods and programs that already exist. Where we do not know how to solve a reading problem, the National Institute of Education would undertake the research. But often we find that someone does know how, and the Institute would make that knowledge available in forms that can be adopted by local schools.

In some critical areas, we already know how to work toward achieving the Right to Read for our nation's children. In the coming year, I will ask the Congress to appropriate substantial resources for two programs that can most readily serve to achieve this new commitment—the program that assists school libraries to obtain books, and the program that provides funds through the states for special education improvement projects.

I will shortly ask Congress to increase the funds for these two programs—funds which are available to public and nonpublic schools alike—to $200 million. I shall direct the Commissioner of Education to work with State and local officials to assist them in using these programs to teach children to read. This is a purpose which I believe to be of the very highest priority for our schools, and a right which, with the cooperation of the nation's educators, can be achieved for every young American.

(c) *Television and Learning.* Most education takes place outside the school. Although we often mistakenly equate "schooling" with "learning," we should begin to pay far greater attention to what youngsters learn during the more than three quarters of their time they spend elsewhere.

In the last twenty years, there has been a revolution in the way most boys and girls—and their parents—occupy themselves. The average high school student,

for example, by the time he graduates, has spent 11,000 hours in school—and 15,000 hours watching television.

Our goal must be to increase the use of the television medium and other technological advances to stimulate the desire to learn and to help teach.

The technology is here, but we have not yet learned how to employ it to our full advantage. How can local school systems extend and support their curricula working with local television stations? How can new techniques of programmed learning be applied so as to make each television set an effective teaching aid? How can television, audiovisual aids, the telephone, and the availability of computer libraries be combined to form a learning unit in the home, revolutionizing "homework" by turning a chore into an adventure in learning?

The National Institute of Education would examine questions such as these, especially in that vital area where out-of-school activities can combine with modern technology and public policy to enhance our children's education. It will work in concert with other organizations and agencies dedicated to the educational uses of television technology. Prominent among these is the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which the Congress established in 1967 as a private entity to channel and shape the use of Federal funds in support of public broadcasting. With its authorization for Federal funds expiring shortly, the time has come to extend the Federal support for the Corporation to stimulate its continuing growth and improvement. Accordingly, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is today transmitting a bill to authorize funds for the Corporation for a three-year period. This will permit the Corporation to grow in the orderly and planned way so important to a new undertaking. A portion of the annual Federal funding would be based on matching the dollars raised by the Corporation from non-Federal sources. The Congress did not intend that the Corporation derive its funds solely from the Federal Government. Therefore, increased contributions from private sources should be stimulated during the early years through the incentive offered in the matching process.

(d) *Experimental Schools.* As a bridge between basic educational research and actual school practices, I consider the Experimental Schools program to be highly important. Accordingly, I renew my request to the Congress to appropriate the full amount asked—$25 million in Fiscal Year 1971.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is today transmitting a bill to establish the National Institute of Education. We have taken a similar approach in biomedical research through the National Institutes of Health; this effort in education would be an historic step forward.

The President's Commission on School Finance

I am today signing an Executive Order [11513] establishing a President's Commission on School Finance, to be in existence for two years, reporting to the President periodically on future revenue needs and fiscal priorities for public and non-public schools.

(a) *From Quantity to Quality.* Over the past twenty years the public schools have experienced the greatest expansion in their history. Enrollments increased by 80%—from 25 million to 45 million

pupils—in those two decades.

But now the period of steep enrollment growth in the schools is over: The birth-rate has been declining for about ten years and the number of pupils in the public schools is expected to rise only slightly in the decade ahead. This means that the schools, no longer faced with a problem of sharply increasing numbers, will now be able to concentrate on finding improved educational methods. They can now shift their emphasis from quantity to quality.

(b) *Future Financial Needs.* Despite this leveling-off of enrollments, additional resources will be necessary, particularly if the present rate of growth in *per pupil* expenditures continues. Yet, because we have neglected to plan how we will deal with school finance, we have great instability and uncertainty in the financial structure of education.

(c) *Disparity Among Districts and States.* The continuing if narrowing gap in educational expenditures between rich and poor States and rich and poor school districts is cause for national concern. Differences in dollars per pupil are not in themselves wrong; in a democracy, communities should have the right to provide extra support to their schools if they wish. But some areas with a low tax base find it difficult or impossible to provide *adequate* support to their schools, a problem that crosses State lines in an era of mobility—when the poorly taught of one area frequently become unemployed adults elsewhere.

The need is apparent for a central body to study the different approaches being pioneered by States and local districts, and to disseminate the information about successes achieved and problems encountered at the local level.

(d) *Sources of Funds for Education.* State support accounts for 38% of school revenues, Federal support for about 8%, with 54% of the burden carried locally. Of the local funds, almost all come from property taxes, but that tax base is not keeping up with educational expenditures. A major review of the tax resources and needs of education is in order.

The best method of providing direct Federal monetary aid to education, and the one most consistent with local control of education, is through the system of revenue sharing which I proposed to the Congress in August. Much of the tax revenue which the Federal government would return to the States will probably be used where two-fifths of State and local funds now go—to the schools. Revenue sharing proposals which would total five billion dollars annually by 1975 will help States and localities meet their educational and other needs in the way that ensures the most diversity and the most responsiveness to local need—without Federal domination.

A related and important reform is urgently needed in the present program of grants to schools in Federally-impacted areas. As presently constituted, this program neither assists States to determine their own education expenditures nor redirects funds to the individual districts in greatest need. That is why, in the Federal Economy Act submitted to the Congress last week, I called for a thoroughgoing reform of this program. The President's Commission on School Finance will examine the combined effects of this reform, the potential of revenue sharing for educational finance, and the impact of savings accruing to States under the proposed Family Assistance Program, and will assist State and Federal agencies to plan effectively for these important changes.

(e) *Possible Efficiencies.* Many public and non-public school systems make inefficient use of their facilities and staff. The nine-month school year may have been justified when most youngsters helped in the fields during the summer months, but it is doubtful whether many communities can any longer afford to let expensive facilities sit idle for one-quarter of the year.

Thousands of small school districts—some without schools—continue to exist, resulting in inequities in both finance and education. On the other hand, some of our large city school systems have become too large, too bureaucratic, and insensitive to varying educational needs.

The present system of Federal grants frequently creates inefficiency. There are now about 40 different Federal categorical grant programs in elementary and secondary education. This system of carving up Federal aid to education into a series of distinct programs may have adverse educational effects. Federal "pieces" do not add up to the whole of education and they may distract the attention of educators away from the big picture and into a constant scramble for special purpose grants. Partly for this reason, I will continue to recommend to the Congress plans for consolidation of grants into packages that are truly useful to States and localities receiving them. This would place much more administrative control of these Federal funds in local hands, removing red tape and providing flexibility.

(f) *Non-Public Schools.* The non-public elementary and secondary schools in the United States have long been an integral part of the nation's educational establishment—supplementing in an important way the main task of our public school system. The non-public schools provide a diversity which our educational system would otherwise lack. They also give a spur of competition to the public schools—through which educational innovations come, both systems benefit, and progress results.

Should any single school system—public or private—ever acquire a complete monopoly over the education of our children, the absence of competition would neither be good for that school system nor good for the country. The non-public schools also give parents the opportunity to send their children to a school of their own choice, and of their own religious denomination. They offer a wider range of possibilities for education experimentation and special opportunities for minorities, especially Spanish-speaking Americans and black Americans.

Up to now, we have failed to consider the consequences of declining enrollments in *private* elementary and secondary schools, most of them church supported, which educate 11% of all pupils—close to six million school children. In the past two years, close to a thousand non-public elementary and secondary schools closed and most of their displaced students enrolled in local public schools.

If most or all private schools were to close or turn public, the added burden on public funds by the end of the 1970s would exceed $4 billion per year in operations, with an estimated $5 billion more needed for facilities.

There is another equally important consideration: these schools—non-sectarian, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and other—often add a dimension of spiritual value giving children a moral code by which to live. This government cannot be indifferent to the potential collapse of such schools.

The specific problem of parochial schools is to be a particular assignment of the Commission.

In its deliberations, I urge the commission to keep two considerations in mind. First, our purpose here is not to aid religion in particular but to promote diversity in education; second, that non-public schools in America are closing at the rate of one a day.

Early Learning

In the development of the mind, child's play is serious business. One of my first initiatives upon taking office was to commit this Administration to an expansion of opportunities during the First Five Years of Life. That commitment was based on new scientific knowledge about the development of intelligence—that as much of that development takes place in the first five years as in the next thirteen.

We have established a new Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. I am now directing that Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity jointly to establish a network of experimental centers to discover what works best in early childhood education.

An experimental program of this nature is necessary as we expand our child development programs. The Early Learning Program will also provide us with a strong experimental base on which to build the new day care program, involving $386 million in its first full year of operation, which I have proposed as part of the Family Assistance Plan.

The experimental units of the Early Learning Program, working with the National Institute of Education, will study a number of provocative questions raised in recent years by educators and scientists:

—A study of language and number competence between lower and middle-class children shows a significant difference by the time a child is four years old, but the difference is said to become "awesome" by the time the child enters first grade. If this is so, what effect should it have on our approach to compensatory education in the early years?

—A study of poor children in Washington, D.C., conducted by the National Institute of Mental Health, indicates a decline in I.Q.s of infants between the ages of 14 and 21 months—a decline that can be forestalled by skillful tutoring during their second year. If this is true, how should it affect our approach to the education of the very young?

—Many child development experts believe that the best opportunity for improving the education of infants under the age of three lies not in institutional centers but at home, and through working with their mothers. What might we do, therefore, to communicate to young women and mothers—especially to those in or near poverty—the latest information on effective child development techniques with specific suggestions about its application at home?

The Future of Learning in America

The tone of this message, and the approach of this Administration, is intended to be challenging. America's educators have the capacity and dedication to respond to that challenge.

For most of our citizens, the American educational system is among the most successful in the history of the world. But for a portion of our population, it has never delivered on its promises. Until we know why education works when it is successful,

we can know little about what makes it fail when it is unsuccessful. This is knowledge that must precede any rational attempt to provide our every student with the best possible education.

Mankind has witnessed a few great ages when understanding of a social or scientific process has expanded and changed so quickly as to revolutionize the process itself. The time has come for such an era in education.

There comes a time in any learning process that calls for reassessment and reinforcement. It calls for new directions in our methods of teaching, new understanding of our ways of learning, for a fresh emphasis on our basic research, so as to bring behavioral science and advanced technology to bear on problems that only appear to be insuperable.

That is why, in this field more importantly than in any other, I have called for fundamental studies that should lead to far-reaching reforms before going ahead with major new expenditures for "more of the same."

To state dogmatically "money is not the answer" is not the answer. Money will be needed, and this Administration is prepared to commit itself to substantial increases in Federal aid to education—to place this among the highest priorities in our budget—as we seek a better understanding of the basic truths of the learning process, as we gain a new confidence that our education dollars are being wisely invested to bring back their highest return in social benefits, and as we provide some assurance that those funds contribute toward fundamental reform of American education.

As we get more education for the dollar, we will ask the Congress to supply many more dollars for education.

In the meantime, we are committing effort and money toward finding out how to make our education dollars go further. Specifically, the 1971 budget increases funds for educational research by $67 million to a total of $312 million. Funds for the National Institute of Education would be in addition to this increase.

Nearly a century ago, Benjamin Disraeli advised Parliament that "upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends." That is no less true in the United States today, where nearly one person out of three is teaching or studying in one of our schools and colleges and where the greatest social controversy of our generation has centered.

This Administration is committed to the principle and the practice of seeing to it that equal educational opportunity is provided every child in every corner of this land.

I am well aware that "quality education" is already being interpreted as "code words" for a delay of desegregation. We must never let that meaning take hold. Quality is what education is all about; desegregation is vital to that quality; as we improve the quality of education for all American children, we will help them improve the quality of their own lives in the next generation.

We must not permit the controversy about the progress toward desegregation to detract from the shared purpose of all—better education, and especially better education for the poor of every race and color.

That is why this Administration has committed itself to finding the reason—all other things seeming equal—why so much educational achievement remains unequal. We commit ourselves to the realizable dream of raising the American

standard of learning.

Teachers and taxpayers alike must not accept the *status quo* in the process of teaching. We must make the schooling fit the student. We must improve education in those areas of life outside the school where people learn so much or so little. We must discover how to begin educating the young mind when it really begins to learn.

By demanding educational reform now, we can gain the understanding we need to help every student reach new levels of achievement; only by challenging conventional wisdom can we as a nation gain the wisdom we need to educate our young in the decade of the 70s.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 3, 1970

NOTE: On March 3, 1970, the White House also released a fact sheet and the transcripts of two news briefings on the President's message; the first briefing held by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President, and Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the second by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford.

67 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Legislation To Avert Stoppage of Rail Service. *March* 3, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Once again this nation is on the brink of a nationwide rail strike.

A nationwide stoppage of rail service would cause hardship to human beings and harm to our economy, and must not be permitted to take place.

In two previous disputes, when the railroad employers and unions have not been able to settle their differences, the President has recommended, and the Congress has enacted, special legislation to avert a stoppage. I am taking similar action to protect the public interest today.

The legislation I propose is closely related to the facts of this dispute. After all the procedures of the Railway Labor Act had been exhausted, and after extensive mediation under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor, the parties finally reached an agreement incorporated in a Memorandum of Understanding dated December 4, 1969. That Memorandum was ratified by an overall majority of all the members voting as well as by the majority of those voting in three of the four unions.

However, the majority of the voting members of one union, the Sheetmetal Workers' International Association, failed to ratify the Memorandum. I am forwarding to you today legislation that merely makes that Memorandum the contract between the parties. We must not submit to the chaos of a nationwide rail stoppage because a minority of the affected workers rejected a contract agreed to by their leadership. The public interest comes first.

Four days ago, I sent to the Congress a measure to protect the public interest in cases where a strike or lockout in the transportation industry imperils the national health and safety. In that message I

stressed two principles: first, that the health and safety of the Nation must be protected against damaging work stoppages; second, that collective bargaining should be as free as possible from Government interference.

The legislation I am submitting with this message to resolve this dispute abides by those two principles. We will protect the national interest, and we will limit Government interference to enforcing the contract to which responsible agents of the parties agreed.

I urge the Congress to act quickly on my proposal, so that a crippling stoppage can be averted and the Nation's travellers and shippers can depend on uninterrupted service.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 3, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz on the railway labor dispute.

On March 4, 1970, an act "To provide for a temporary prohibition of strikes or lockouts with respect to the current railway labor-management dispute" was enacted (Public Law 91–203, 84 Stat. 22).

On April 9, 1970, an act "To provide for the settlement of the labor dispute between certain carriers by railroad and certain of their employees" was enacted (Public Law 91–226, 84 Stat. 118).

68 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program. *March* 4, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

It is my conviction that continued U.S. assistance to the developing countries is essential both for humanitarian reasons and for those of our own national self interest.

The challenges we face are both moral and practical in nature. We seek a stable and peaceful world in which all nations can cooperate effectively to improve the quality of human life.

The Annual Report on the Foreign Assistance Program for Fiscal Year 1969, which I transmit herewith, indicates the ways in which we have attempted to promote our interests in the developing world in the recent past. It also provides a preview of the new directions this Administration has charted for the future.

We have determined that a new emphasis should be placed on enlisting the energies and expertise of American private enterprise. As a first step toward doing so, I proposed the creation of an Overseas Private Investment Corporation to provide businesslike management of our incentives to private investment in the developing countries. I am pleased that the Congress has accepted this proposal.

We have also decided to give a strong new emphasis to technical assistance. The transfer of skills to the people of the developing world is vitally important to their future. Technical assistance plants the seeds that enable developing countries to grow by themselves. To give practical expression to these concepts, we have established a new Technical Assistance Bureau within the Agency for International Development. The Bureau has been charged with the task of raising the quality of our advisory, training and research services.

These are only first steps, however. To assist me in determining the course of our international development programs in the 1970's, I named a task force of distinguished private citizens, headed by Rudolph Peterson, to review all U.S. foreign assistance programs. This task force is now at work, and its recommendations will provide a basis for my proposals for a new U.S. program for the years ahead.

To assure continuous management inspection of our program, the post of Auditor-General has been created in AID. The job of the Auditor-General is to make sure that AID's funds are used efficiently and for the intended purposes.

To make the AID dollar go further and to assist free market systems in the developing countries, I also eliminated some of the commodity-purchase requirements which were forcing some nations to employ regressive exchange, import or credit arrangements.

During fiscal year 1969, 87 percent of our economic aid was concentrated in the 15 countries which we believed could make best use of it: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Panama, Indonesia, Laos, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, India, Pakistan, Turkey, Ethiopia, and Nigeria.

A record commitment of $45 million was made in the priority field of family planning, so essential for speeding the rate of economic and social progress in many of the developing nations.

Achievements in which our assistance played a pivotal role during fiscal year 1969 included:

—growth of the Korean economy at a rate of 13 percent;

—self-sufficiency in rice production for the Philippines;

—control of inflation in Indonesia;

—use of Food-for-Peace supplies in self-help food-for-work projects which employed 16 million people;

—assistance in providing nutritious diets for 50 million children in 105 countries.

These are substantial achievements. They can be surpassed in the future through our continued commitment to the proposition that development of the best in all nations provides the surest hope for security and dignity for all men.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 4, 1970

NOTE: The text of the message is printed in "The Foreign Assistance Program, Annual Report to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1969" (Government Printing Office, 83 pp.).

69 Memorandum to Members of an Interagency Economic Adjustment Committee. *March* 4, 1970

Memorandum for Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Secretary of Transportation, Administrator, General Services Administration, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors:

This Administration is committed to bringing the resources of the Federal government to bear on the alleviation of economic difficulties caused by necessary Defense realignments.

Therefore, I am directing the Secretary of Defense to take the leadership respon-

sibility in assisting individuals and communities in cases where adverse economic impacts occur as a result of the revision of our military base structure. I am asking each addressee to serve as a member of an Inter-Agency Economic Adjustment Committee, which will be chaired by the Secretary of Defense. He will seek the assistance of each agency in meeting this responsibility, and will also enlist the support of State and local governments and the private sector.

Your cooperation in devoting the resources of your agency to this effort will be appreciated.

RICHARD NIXON

70 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Ratification and Entry Into Force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. *March* 5, 1970

Mr. Secretary, Your Excellencies, the members of the diplomatic corps, Members of the Senate and the House, and our other distinguished guests:

With the completion of this ceremony, this Treaty is now in force and has become the law of the land.

Mr. Secretary, I would like to be permitted something beyond that formal statement which puts the treaty in force.

I feel that on an occasion like this, an historic occasion, it is well to pay tribute to some of those, both in our Government and in other governments, who have been responsible for the success in negotiating this Treaty.

First, in our own Government, I should point out that the Treaty spans three administrations—the Kennedy administration, the Johnson administration, and its completion in this administration.

It was primarily negotiated during the Johnson administration. And we very much regret that he was unable to attend this ceremony due to an illness, which I understand will be certainly temporary. We trust that if he is looking on television that he has seen this ceremony and the culmination of, I know, what was one of his major objectives during his administration, the ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Having spoken of President Johnson and his administration, I think it is also appropriate to speak of the negotiating team. Seated at this table is William C. Foster.[1] In speaking of him, I speak of all the men who worked with him.

I can speak with some experience in that respect. I remember on two occasions when I was in Geneva—when I was out of office with no influence in the administration in Washington and very little influence in my own party—Mr. Foster felt so strongly about this Treaty that he took much of his time to explain it and also to present the facts in an effective way as to why the treaty was in the best interest of the United States, as well as the other nations involved. In other words what was involved here was not only negotiation on his part, and the other members of his team, but a very effective and necessary program of education.

And for that long and at times very

[1] Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1961–1968.

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frustrating and at times almost, it seemed, impossible task, we can congratulate him and all the members of the diplomatic corps who worked as he did for that Treaty. And on this occasion, too, I wish to pay respect to the Members of the House and the Senate that are here.

This Treaty indicates both the continuity of American foreign policy in its search for a just peace, and it also indicates its bipartisan character, because without bipartisan support in the Senate, where the Treaty received the consent of the Senate, and bipartisan support in the House as well, this Treaty could not go into effect as it has today.

And, finally, I wish to pay tribute and express appreciation to all the representatives of the other governments that are present here today.

The fact that so many governments have brought this Treaty into effect is an indication of the immense desire that exists among all people in the world to reduce the danger of war and to find a way peacefully to settle our differences.

This is indeed an historic occasion. And as I sit here today, I only hope that those of us who were fortunate enough to be present will look back one day and see that this was the first milestone on a road which led to reducing the danger of nuclear war and on a road which led to lasting peace among nations.

This milestone, as has already been indicated, results in nonproliferation of nuclear weapons to the extent that the nations participating in this ceremony and who have ratified the Treaty have indicated.

The next milestone we trust will be the limitation of nuclear weapons, the historic strategic arms limitation talks which will enter their second phase on April 15 in Vienna. And we noted the fact that when Prime Minister Kosygin signed the Treaty in Moscow today, reference was made to those talks.

We trust that on April 15 the climate for progress in those talks will be good and that we can at some time in the future look forward to a ceremony in which we note the ratification of that historic Treaty.

And then finally, of course, we trust that the third milestone will be continued progress in reducing the political tensions, the differences between governments which make it necessary for us to consider that we must maintain armed forces to the degree that we maintain them.

This is the work of all of us, the work of the diplomats, the work of the men of peace, and all of us I think can be so described today.

And so, Mr. Secretary, on this historic occasion, let us trust that we will look back and say that this was one of the first and major steps in that process in which the nations of the world moved from a period of confrontation to a period of negotiation and a period of lasting peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:23 a.m. in the International Conference Room at the Department of State, after signing the proclamation of the Treaty.

Announcement of the ceremony is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 304). The text of the Treaty is printed in United States Treaties and Other International Agreements (21 UST 483).

71 Statement About Approval of the Family Assistance Act of 1970 by the House Ways and Means Committee. *March* 5, 1970

THE prompt and favorable action of the House Ways and Means Committee on the administration's proposals for reforming our failing welfare system is most gratifying and encouraging.

I have great confidence in this legislation; I believe it provides the best method for reversing the trend toward greater welfare dependency. I am most happy that the Ways and Means Committee—after conducting its own searching investigation—has reached a similar conclusion.

Very few questions will come before this Congress that are more important than welfare reform. Without a basic, conceptual change in our welfare system, we can expect only that welfare rolls will continue to grow and that costs will inevitably skyrocket. I hope that the members of both parties in both Houses of the Congress will follow the lead of the Ways and Means Committee so that our Nation can avoid that misfortune.

While the initial "start-up" costs of this program are higher than our present welfare costs, I am confident that we can afford this program and that it is consistent with a responsible fiscal policy. I would not support the program unless that were the case. It is my view, in fact, that responsible fiscal policy demands rapid welfare reform, for such reform will enable us to make significant long-run savings. The question is not whether we can afford this legislation, but whether we can afford to go on without it.

A central point of the new program is that only those who are willing to take a job or to enter training are eligible for benefits. In addition, the new payment schedule would be structured to reward those people who take jobs, rather than penalizing them as does the present system. In short, the family assistance program—for the first time—would make welfare a method for putting people *back* to work, reducing the welfare rolls, and expanding the payrolls of the Nation.

This new program would also remove that element in the present system which encourages fathers to desert their families. In addition, it would give significant assistance to the aged, the blind, and the disabled by establishing for them a national minimum benefit level.

It is often said that nothing in this world is as powerful as an idea whose time has come. In my view, the family assistance program is an idea whose time has come—and the welcome action of the Ways and Means Committee confirms that judgment. Not every Congress has the opportunity to enact a fundamental reform of our basic institutions. The 91st Congress now has that historic opportunity.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House issued the transcript of a news briefing on the President's family assistance program by George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor; Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President; and Robert Patricelli, Special Assistant for Urban Affairs, and John G. Veneman, Under Secretary, both of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

72 Statement About the Situation in Laos. *March* 6, 1970

IN LIGHT of the increasingly massive presence of North Vietnamese troops and their recent offensives in Laos, I have written letters today to British Prime Minister Wilson and Soviet Premier Kosygin asking their help in restoring the 1962 Geneva agreements for that country.

As Cochairmen of that conference, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union have particular responsibilities for seeing that its provisions are honored. My letters note the persistent North Vietnamese violations of the accords and their current offensives; support the Laotian Prime Minister's own current appeal to the Cochairmen for consultations; urge the Cochairmen to work with other signatories of the Geneva accords; and pledge full United States cooperation.

Hanoi's most recent military build-up in Laos has been particularly escalatory. They have poured over 13,000 additional troops into Laos during the past few months, raising their total in Laos to over 67,000. Thirty North Vietnamese battalions from regular division units participated in the current campaign in the Plain of Jars with tanks, armored cars, and long-range artillery. The indigenous Laotian Communists, the Pathet Lao, are playing an insignificant role.

North Vietnam's military escalation in Laos has intensified public discussion in this country. The purpose of this statement is to set forth the record of what we found in January 1969 and the policy of this administration since that time.

I. What We Found

A. THE 1962 ACCORDS

When we came into office, this administration found a highly precarious situation in Laos. Its basic legal framework had been established by the 1962 accords entered into by the Kennedy administration.

Laos has been a battleground for most of the past 20 years. In 1949 it became a semi-independent state within the French Union. The Pathet Lao Communists rebelled against the government in the early 1950's, and fighting continued until the 1954 Geneva settlements ended the Indochina War. Laos at that time became an independent neutral state. The indigenous Communists, the Pathet Lao, nevertheless retained control of the two northern provinces.

Since then, this small country has been the victim of persistent subversion and finally invasion by the North Vietnamese.

By 1961 North Vietnamese involvement became marked, the Communist forces made great advances, and a serious situation confronted the Kennedy administration. In his news conference of March [23] 1961, President Kennedy said: "Laos is far away from America, but the world is small. . . . The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence."

In May 1961 negotiations for a Laotian settlement opened in Geneva, with Governor Harriman as the chief American

negotiator.[1] During the course of those long negotiations fighting continued, and the Communists made further advances. Faced with a potential threat to Thailand, President Kennedy ordered 5,000 Marines to that country in May 1962.

Finally, in July 1962, after 14 months of negotiations, 14 nations signed the Geneva accords providing for the neutralization of Laos. Other signatories besides the United States included the Soviet Union, Communist China, North Vietnam, the United Kingdom, France, the Southeast Asian nations most directly involved, and the members of the International Control Commission [ICC], Canada, India and Poland.

These accords came one month after the three contending forces within Laos announced agreement on the details of a coalition government composed of the three major political factions and headed by the neutralist, Prince Souvanna Phouma. North Vietnam claimed that it favored a coalition government. Both North Vietnam and the Soviet Union backed Prince Souvanna for his new post. The present government of Laos thus has been the one originally proposed by the Communists. In approving the 1962 arrangements, the Kennedy administration in effect accepted the basic formulation which had been advanced by North Vietnam and the Soviet Union for a Laotian political settlement.

B. THE RECORD 1962–1969

Before the ink was dry on the 1962 Geneva documents, and despite the fact that they embodied most of its own proposals, North Vietnam started violating them. In compliance with the Accords, the 666 Americans who had been assisting the Royal Lao Government withdrew under ICC supervision. In contrast, the North Vietnamese passed only a token 40 men through ICC checkpoints and left over 6,000 troops in the country.

A steadily growing number of North Vietnamese troops have remained there ever since, in flagrant violation of the Geneva accords. They climbed to about 33,000 in mid-1967, 46,000 in mid-1968, and 55,000 in mid-1969. Today they are at an all-time high of some 67,000 men.

These are not advisers or technicians or attachés. They are line units of the North Vietnamese army conducting open aggression against a neighbor that poses no threat to Hanoi.

In addition, since 1964, over a half-million North Vietnamese troops have crossed the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos to invade South Vietnam. This infiltration route provides the great bulk of men and supplies for the war in South Vietnam.

The political arrangements for a three-way government survived only until April 1963 when the Pathet Lao Communist leaders departed from the capital and left their cabinet posts vacant. Fighting soon resumed and since then, there have been cycles of Communist offensives and Royal Laotian Government counteroffensives. The enemy forces have been led and dominated throughout by the North Vietnamese. In recent years Hanoi has provided the great majority of Communist troops in Laos.

North Vietnam appears to have two aims in Laos. The first is to insure its ability to use Laos as a supply route for North Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. The

[1] W. Averell Harriman, Governor of New York State 1955–1958.

second is to weaken and subvert the Royal Lao Government—originally established at its urging—to hinder it from interfering with North Vietnamese use of Laotian territory, and to pave the way for the eventual establishment of a government more amenable to Communist control.

Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma has tried a variety of diplomatic efforts to restore peace in Laos. He has repeatedly appealed to the Cochairmen and others to help arrange for restoration of the 1962 Accords. He and the International Control Commission, hampered by lack of authority, have reported and publicized North Vietnamese violations of the Accords. And Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma has made several attempts to achieve political reconciliation with the Pathet Lao and to reconstitute a tripartite government.

None of these efforts has borne fruit. Frustrated in his diplomatic efforts and confronted with continuing outside aggression, Souvanna has called upon three American administrations to assist his government in preserving Laotian neutrality and integrity.

By early 1963 the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao had openly breached the 1962 agreements by attacking the neutralist government forces in north Laos and by occupying and fortifying the area in southeast Laos along what came to be known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In these circumstances, the Laotian Prime Minister requested American aid in the form of supplies and munitions. The Kennedy administration provided this assistance in line with the Laotian Government's right under the Geneva Accords to seek help in its self-defense.

In mid-May 1964 the Pathet Lao supported by the North Vietnamese attacked Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma's neutralist military forces on the Plain of Jars. North Vietnam also began to increase its use of the Ho Chi Minh Trail to further its aggression against South Vietnam. The Johnson administration responded to Royal Laotian Government requests to meet this escalation by increasing our training and logistic support to the Royal Lao Government. In May 1964, as North Vietnamese presence increased, the United States, at Royal Lao Government request, began flying certain interdictory missions against invaders who were violating Lao neutrality.

Thus, when this administration came into office we faced a chronically serious situation in Laos. There had been 6 years of seasonal Communist attacks and growing U.S. involvement at the request of the Royal Laotian Government. The North Vietnamese had steadily increased both their infiltration through Laos into South Vietnam and their troop presence in Laos itself. Any facade of native Pathet Lao independence had been stripped away. In January 1969, we thus had a military assistance program reaching back over 6 years, and air operations dating over 4 years.

II. The Policy of This Administration

Since this administration has been in office, North Vietnamese pressure has continued. Last spring, the North Vietnamese mounted a campaign which threatened the royal capital and moved beyond the areas previously occupied by Communists. A counterattack by the Lao Government forces, intended to relieve this military pressure and cut off supply lines, caught the enemy by surprise and succeeded beyond expectations in pushing them off the

strategic central plain in north Laos known as the Plain of Jars.

The North Vietnamese left behind huge stores of arms, ammunition, and other supplies cached on the Plain. During their operations in the Plain of Jars last summer and fall, Lao Government forces captured almost 8,000 tons of Communist equipment, supplies and weapons, including tanks, armored cars, artillery pieces, machine guns, and thousands of individual weapons including about 4,000 tons of ammunition. The size and nature of these supply caches the Communists had emplaced on the Plain by the summer of 1969 show clearly that many months ago the North Vietnamese were preparing for major offensive actions on Laotian territory against the Royal Lao Government.

During the final months of 1969 and January 1970, Hanoi sent over 13,000 additional troops into Laos and rebuilt their stocks and supply lines. They also introduced tanks and long-range artillery.

During January and February, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma proposed to the other side that the Plain of Jars be neutralized. The Communists' response was to launch their current offensive which has recaptured the Plain of Jars and is threatening to go beyond the furthest line of past Communist advances.

The Prime Minister is now once again trying to obtain consultations among all the parties to the Geneva accords, envisaged under Article IV when there is a violation of Lao sovereignty, independence, neutrality, or territorial integrity.

In this situation, our purposes remain straightforward.

We are trying above all to save American and allied lives in South Vietnam which are threatened by the continual infiltration of North Vietnamese troops and supplies along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Hanoi has infiltrated over 100,000 men through Laos since this administration took office and over 500,000 altogether. Our airstrikes have destroyed weapons and supplies over the past 4 years which would have taken thousands of American lives.

We are also supporting the independence and neutrality of Laos as set forth in the 1962 Geneva agreements. Our assistance has always been at the request of the legitimate government of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma which the North Vietnamese helped establish; it is directly related to North Vietnamese violations of the agreements.

We continue to be hopeful of eventual progress in the negotiations in Paris. But serious doubts are raised as to Hanoi's intentions if it is simultaneously violating the Geneva agreements on Laos which we reached with them largely on the basis of their own proposals. What we do in Laos has thus as its aim to bring about conditions for progress toward peace in the entire Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

I turn now to the precise nature of our aid to Laos.

In response to press conference questions on September 26, December 8, and January 30, I have indicated:

—that the United States has no ground combat forces in Laos;

—that there were 50,000 North Vietnamese troops in Laos and that "more perhaps are coming";

—that, at the request of the Royal Laotian Government which was set up by the Geneva accords of 1962, we have provided logistical and other assistance to that government for the purpose of helping it to prevent the Communist conquest of Laos;

—that we have used air power for the purpose of interdicting the flow of North Vietnamese troops and supplies on that part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail which runs through Laos;

—that, at the request of the Royal Laotian Government, we have flown reconnaissance missions in Northern Laos in support of the Laotian Government's efforts to defend itself against North Vietnamese aggression and that we were engaged in "some other activities."

It would, of course, have posed no political problem for me to have disclosed in greater detail those military support activities which had been initiated by two previous administrations and which have been continued by this administration.

I have not considered it in the national interest to do so because of our concern that putting emphasis on American activities in Laos might hinder the efforts of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma to bring about adherence to the Geneva agreements by the Communist signatories.

In recent days, however, there has been intense public speculation to the effect that the United States involvement in Laos has substantially increased in violation of the Geneva accords, that American ground forces are engaged in combat in Laos, and that our air activity has had the effect of escalating the conflict.

Because these reports are grossly inaccurate, I have concluded that our national interest will be served by putting the subject into perspective through a precise description of our current activities in Laos.

These are the facts:

—There are no American ground combat troops in Laos.

—We have no plans for introducing ground combat forces into Laos.

—The total number of Americans directly employed by the U.S. Government in Laos is 616. In addition, there are 424 Americans employed on contract to the Government or to Government contractors. Of these 1040 Americans, the total number, military and civilian, engaged in a military advisory or military training capacity numbers 320. Logistics personnel number 323.

—No American stationed in Laos has ever been killed in ground combat operations.

—U.S. personnel in Laos during the past year has not increased while during the past few months, North Vietnam has sent over 13,000 additional combat ground troops into Laos.

—When requested by the Royal Laotian Government, we have continued to provide military assistance to regular and irregular Laotian forces in the form of equipment, training and logistics. The levels of our assistance have risen in response to the growth of North Vietnamese combat activities.

—We have continued to conduct air operations. Our first priority for such operations is to interdict the continued flow of troops and supplies across Laotian territory on the Ho Chi Minh Trail. As Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, I consider it my responsibility to use our air power to interdict this flow of supplies and men into South Vietnam and thereby avoid a heavy toll of American and allied lives.

—In addition to these air operations on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, we have continued to carry out reconnaissance flights in Northern Laos and to fly

combat support missions for Laotian forces when requested to do so by the Royal Laotian Government.

—In every instance our combat air operations have taken place only over those parts of Laos occupied and contested by North Vietnamese and other Communist forces. They have been flown only when requested by the Laotian Government. The level of our air operations has been increased only as the number of North Vietnamese in Laos and the level of their aggression has increased.

Our goal in Laos has been and continues to be to reduce American involvement and not to increase it, to bring peace in accordance with the 1962 accords and not to prolong the war.

That is the picture of our current aid to Laos. It is limited. It is requested. It is supportive and defensive. It continues the purposes and operations of two previous administrations. It has been necessary to protect American lives in Vietnam and to preserve a precarious but important balance in Laos.

III. The Future

Peace remains the highest priority of this administration. We will continue our search for it in Vietnam. I hope my appeal today to the Geneva conference cochairmen will help in Laos. Our policy for that torn country will continue to rest on some basic principles:

—We will cooperate fully with all diplomatic efforts to restore the 1962 Geneva agreements.

—We will continue to support the legitimate government of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and his efforts to deescalate the conflict and reach political understandings.

—Our air interdiction efforts are designed to protect American and allied lives in Vietnam. Our support efforts have the one purpose of helping prevent the recognized Laotian government from being overwhelmed by larger Communist forces dominated by the North Vietnamese.

—We will continue to give the American people the fullest possible information on our involvement, consistent with national security.

I hope that a genuine quest for peace in Indochina can now begin. For Laos, this will require the efforts of the Geneva conference cochairmen and the signatory countries.

But most of all it will require realism and reasonableness from Hanoi. For it is the North Vietnamese, not we, who have escalated the fighting. Today there are 67,000 North Vietnamese troops in this small country. There are no American troops there. Hanoi is not threatened by Laos; it runs risks only when it moves its forces across borders.

We desire nothing more in Laos than to see a return to the Geneva agreements and the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops, leaving the Lao people to settle their own differences in a peaceful manner.

In the search for peace we stand ready to cooperate in every way with the other countries involved. That search prompted my letters today to the British Prime Minister and the Soviet Premier. That search will continue to guide our policy.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

56-087—71——20

73 Statement About the Future of the United States Space Program. *March* 7, 1970

OVER the last decade, the principal goal of our Nation's space program has been the moon. By the end of that decade men from our planet had traveled to the moon on four occasions and twice they had walked on its surface. With these unforgettable experiences, we have gained a new perspective of ourselves and our world.

I believe these accomplishments should help us gain a new perspective of our space program as well. Having completed that long stride into the future which has been our objective for the past decade, we must now define new goals which make sense for the seventies. We must build on the successes of the past, always reaching out for new achievements. But we must also recognize that many critical problems here on this planet make high priority demands on our attention and our resources. By no means should we allow our space program to stagnate. But—with the entire future and the entire universe before us—we should not try to do everything at once. Our approach to space must continue to be bold—but it must also be balanced.

When this administration came into office, there were no clear, comprehensive plans for our space program after the first Apollo landing. To help remedy this situation, I established in February of 1969 a space task group, headed by the Vice President, to study possibilities for the future of that program. Their report was presented to me in September. After reviewing that report and considering our national priorities, I have reached a number of conclusions concerning the future pace and direction of the Nation's space efforts. The budget recommendations which I have sent to the Congress for fiscal year 1971 are based on these conclusions.

Three General Purposes

In my judgment, three general purposes should guide our space program.

One purpose is exploration. From time immemorial, man has insisted on venturing into the unknown despite his inability to predict precisely the value of any given exploration. He has been willing to take risks, willing to be surprised, willing to adapt to new experiences. Man has come to feel that such quests are worthwhile in and of themselves—for they represent one way in which he expands his vision and expresses the human spirit. A great nation must always be an exploring nation if it wishes to remain great.

A second purpose of our space program is scientific knowledge—a greater systematic understanding about ourselves and our universe. With each of our space ventures, man's total information about nature has been dramatically expanded; the human race was able to learn more about the Moon and Mars in a few hours last summer than had been learned in all the centuries that had gone before. The people who perform this important work are not only those who walk in spacesuits while millions watch or those who launch powerful rockets in a burst of flame. Much of our scientific progress comes in laboratories and offices, where dedicated, inquiring men and women decipher new facts and add them to old ones in ways which reveal new truths. The abilities of

these scientists constitute one of our most valuable national resources. I believe that our space program should help these people in their work and should be attentive to their suggestions.

A third purpose of the United States space effort is that of practical application—turning the lessons we learn in space to the early benefit of life on earth. Examples of such lessons are manifold; they range from new medical insights to new methods of communication, from better weather forecasts to new management techniques and new ways of providing energy. But these lessons will not apply themselves; we must make a concerted effort to see that the results of our space research are used to the maximum advantage of the human community.

A Continuing Process

We must see our space effort, then, not only as an adventure of today but also as an investment in tomorrow. We did not go to the moon merely for the sport of it. To be sure, those undertakings have provided an exciting adventure for all mankind and we are proud that it was our Nation that met this challenge. But the most important thing about man's first footsteps on the moon is what they promise for the future.

We must realize that space activities will be a part of our lives for the rest of time. We must think of them as part of a continuing process—one which will go on day in and day out, year in and year out—and not as a series of separate leaps, each requiring a massive concentration of energy and will and accomplished on a crash timetable. Our space program should not be planned in a rigid manner, decade by decade, but on a continuing flexible basis, one which takes into account our changing needs and our expanding knowledge.

We must also realize that space expenditures must take their proper place within a rigorous system of national priorities. What we do in space from here on in must become a normal and regular part of our national life and must therefore be planned in conjunction with all of the other undertakings which are also important to us. The space budget which I have sent to Congress for fiscal year 1971 is lower than the budget for fiscal year 1970, a condition which reflects the fiscal constraints under which we presently operate and the competing demands of other programs. I am confident, however, that the funding I have proposed will allow our space program to make steady and impressive progress.

Six Specific Objectives

With these general considerations in mind, I have concluded that our space program should work toward the following specific objectives:

1. We should continue to *explore the moon*. Future Apollo manned lunar landings will be spaced so as to maximize our scientific return from each mission, always providing, of course, for the safety of those who undertake these ventures. Our decisions about manned and unmanned lunar voyages beyond the Apollo program will be based on the results of these missions.

2. We should move ahead with bold *exploration of the planets and the universe*. In the next few years, scientific satellites of many types will be launched into earth orbit to bring us new information

about the universe, the solar system, and even our own planet. During the next decade, we will also launch unmanned spacecraft to all the planets of our solar system, including an unmanned vehicle which will be sent to land on Mars and to investigate its surface. In the late 1970's, the "Grand Tour" missions will study the mysterious outer planets of the solar system—Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune, and Pluto. The positions of the planets at that time will give us a unique opportunity to launch missions which can visit several of them on a single flight of over 3 billion miles. Preparations for this program will begin in 1972.

There is one major but longer-range goal we should keep in mind as we proceed with our exploration of the planets. As a part of this program we will eventually send men to explore the planet Mars.

3. We should work to *reduce substantially the cost of space operations.* Our present rocket technology will provide a reliable launch capability for some time. But as we build for the longer-range future, we must devise less costly and less complicated ways of transporting payloads into space. Such a capability—designed so that it will be suitable for a wide range of scientific, defense, and commercial uses—can help us realize important economies in all aspects of our space program. We are currently examining in greater detail the feasibility of reusable space shuttles as one way of achieving this objective.

4. We should seek to *extend man's capability to live and work in space.* The Experimental Space Station (XSS)—a large orbiting workshop—will be an important part of this effort. We are now building such a station—using systems originally developed for the Apollo program—and plan to begin using it for operational missions in the next few years. We expect that men will be working in space for months at a time during the coming decade.

We have much to learn about what man can and cannot do in space. On the basis of our experience with the XSS, we will decide when and how to develop longer-lived space stations. Flexible, long-lived space station modules could provide a multipurpose space platform for the longer-range future and ultimately become a building block for manned interplanetary travel.

5. We should *hasten and expand the practical applications of space technology.* The development of earth resources satellites—platforms which can help in such varied tasks as surveying crops, locating mineral deposits, and measuring water resources—will enable us to assess our environment and use our resources more effectively. We should continue to pursue other applications of space-related technology in a wide variety of fields, including meteorology, communications, navigation, air traffic control, education, and national defense. The very act of reaching into space can help man improve the quality of life on earth.

6. We should *encourage greater international cooperation in space.* In my address to the United Nations last September, I indicated that the United States will take positive, concrete steps "toward internationalizing man's epic venture into space—an adventure that belongs not to one nation but to all mankind. I believe that both the adventures and the applications of space missions should be shared by all peoples. Our progress will be faster and our accomplishments will be greater if nations will join together in this effort,

both in contributing the resources and in enjoying the benefits. Unmanned scientific payloads from other nations already make use of our space launch capability on a cost-shared basis; we look forward to the day when these arrangements can be extended to larger applications satellites and astronaut crews. The Administrator of NASA recently met with the space authorities of Western Europe, Canada, Japan, and Australia in an effort to find ways in which we can cooperate more effectively in space.

It is important, I believe, that the space program of the United States meet these six objectives. A program which achieves these goals will be a balanced space program, one which will extend our capabilities and knowledge and one which will put our new learning to work for the immediate benefit of all people.

As we enter a new decade, we are conscious of the fact that man is also entering a new historic era. For the first time, he has reached beyond his planet; for the rest of time, we will think of ourselves as men *from* the planet earth. It is my hope that as we go forward with our space program, we can plan and work in a way which makes us proud *both* of the planet from which we come *and* of our ability to travel beyond it.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing about the United States space program by Dr. Thomas O. Paine, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

On March 15, 1970, the Office of Science and Technology released a report by the Space Science and Technology Panel of the President's Science Advisory Committee entitled "The Next Decade in Space" (Government Printing Office, 63 pp.). The report set out in detail the administration's space program as outlined in the President's statement.

74 Statement on Receiving a Report by the Presidential Task Force on International Development. *March* 8, 1970

I HAVE just received the report of my Task Force on International Development, chaired by Rudolph Peterson.

The task force has recommended sweeping changes in the foreign assistance programs of the United States: clarification of their fundamental objectives, changes in the overall role of the United States in the international development process, changes in the organization of the U.S. Government to carry out its responsibilities in contributing to that process.

A new U.S. approach to foreign assistance, based on the proposals of the task force, will be one of our major foreign policy initiatives in the coming years. I will propose this new approach in responding to the requirement of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1967 that I reappraise our present assistance effort and recommend changes for the future. Taking into account the discussion which will follow my proposals, including close consultation with the Congress, I will submit legislation in January 1971 to carry out the new U.S. approach.

To contribute to the discussion of this important subject, I am making the Peterson report public immediately. I believe its ideas are fresh and exciting. They can pro-

vide new life and a new foundation for the U.S. role in this vitally important area of our relations with the developing countries.

The task force intensively examined our assistance programs of the past and present. Looking to the future, it concluded that: "The United States has a profound national interest in cooperating with developing countries in their efforts to improve conditions of life in their societies." I agree. It is to enable the United States to best pursue that profound national interest that I will propose a new U.S. approach to foreign assistance for the 1970's.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The report is entitled "Report to the President of the United States From the Task Force on International Development; U.S. Foreign Assistance in the 1970's: A New Approach" (Government Printing Office, 49 pp.).

The White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Mr. Peterson and Edward R. Fried, Executive Director of the Presidential Task Force on International Development.

75 Remarks at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Congressional Banquet. *March* 10, 1970

Commander Gallagher, all the distinguished Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who are the guests at this dinner tonight, all of the winners of the Voice of Democracy Contest, and my comrades, the Veterans of the Foreign Wars:

What I was talking about just a moment ago after we finished meeting all of these winners—I always like to meet winners, believe me, and to give condolences to losers; I have done both, you know—but I was reminded of a little bit of history that I would like to share particularly with these very young people who were not born when these dinners first began in 1947, and with the Members of the House and the Senate who, like myself, may have attended that first dinner in 1947.

For 23 years the Veterans of Foreign Wars have had a dinner here in Washington in which they have honored the Members of the House and the Senate. And I attended that first dinner in '47 as a freshman Member of Congress. I was privileged to attend.

I remember among those who were in attendance, incidentally, on that occasion was another freshman Member of Congress, Olin Teague, the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

And then I remember through the years my association with this organization. And I, without imposing on your time, would like to share it with you very briefly before introducing our honored guest and award winner tonight. I recall that not only many dinners like this for Members of Congress, but on eight different occasions as Vice President of the United States, I have had the honor of addressing the National Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. However, that is all past history.

I am proud to be here tonight, proud because of this special occasion in which these young people who have won these awards, the Voice of Democracy Awards, in which they are honored, but proud also because this is the first time, as President of the United States, that I have had the honor of addressing any meeting of the

Veterans of Foreign Wars. And I am proud to be here in that capacity.

But I speak to you tonight not as Commander in Chief which, of course, was referred to by our Commander, Ray Gallagher, but I speak to you as one of your comrades who has been with you on so many of these occasions in the past.

And I think that I can speak to you in the spirit in which this award is being given by referring very briefly to, I think, what this contest has been about, in which all of you have participated, and also where America stands today at this very critical juncture in our history and in world history.

I think back to the very early days of this Republic. I think back to the time when America was very young, with only 3 million people. It was very weak and very poor, but very respected in the world; because America then, weak and poor as it was, meant something to the world that was far more important than wealth or military strength.

They called it then "The Spirit of '76" and in just a few years—and all of you will be here, and we hope some of us are too—in 1976, we are going to celebrate the 200th anniversary of America. And we are going to look back on those 200 years to the great moments of this Nation's history. And whether America has met fully its responsibility and its destiny will depend—and I particularly emphasize this tonight—not simply on the fact that we will be, as we will be then, the richest nation in the world, not simply on the fact that we will be, and we can be if we have the will, the strongest nation in the world; but it will depend on whether America has been able to retain, after 200 years, that spirit that it had 200 years ago, a spirit more important than wealth and more important than arms—character, national character. And that is what is important for all of us to remember.

That is why I congratulate the Commander of this organization for what he has been saying for America, not just for the VFW but for America, in speaking for national security and for a just peace, all of those things that we, as Americans, believe in.

That is why I congratulate all of these award winners in the Voice of Democracy program in speaking as you have for America for those deepest things that we believe in, at a time when sometimes America seems to be divided, divided about our problems at home and our problems abroad. It is well to be reminded of some very great fundamental principles that we believe in. You have been doing that. We thank you for it.

We thank you also for reminding us that American youth has a lot of character, and we depend on you for the future.

And now a word about the man who is receiving an award that for only the past half a dozen years has been given on alternate years to a Congressman or to a Senator by the VFW at this dinner.

In 1960, I ran for President the first time. Incidentally, I could see some of you with the political glint in your eyes as I went down there. Some of you may never be able to get to run the first time. [*Laughter*]

But in any event, I remember when I ran the first time. I didn't quite make it. And I also remember that the chairman of the other party was the honored guest tonight, Senator Jackson of Washington.

I was just thinking tonight as I shook his hand and was speaking about this award we are going to present: You know, suppose he had been chairman in 1968, I

might not be President today.

I, of course, am a Republican. Senator Jackson is a Democrat. But I can say to you what I said to the Congress a few weeks ago. And I say this particularly to all the young people who are here who are receiving these awards. When the great issues of the defense of America are involved—the security of America, the fate of our men who are fighting for America abroad—when the issues of peace and freedom are involved, when these issues are involved, we are not Democrats; we are not Republicans; we are Americans. That is what we are.

And it is in that spirit that I, as President of the United States and also as a comrade and as a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, am very proud tonight on behalf of your Commander and of this organization to present the Congressional Award to a man who in his public life has spoken not as a partisan, but as an American, a man who understands national defense and is not afraid to speak out for it, a man who understands national security and is not afraid to speak out for it, a man who understands the threat to peace and freedom in the world as well as any man that I know, a man who is a great credit not only to his party but more important, a credit to the United States of America: Senator Jackson of the State of Washington.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington.

The Voice of Democracy Contest was sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The 1970 national and State winners, present at the dinner, were chosen from more than 400,000 students from 10,000 schools who had competed in writing and delivering an original essay on "Freedom's Challenge."

76 Statement Announcing an Expanded Federal Program To Combat Drug Abuse. *March* 11, 1970

IN RECENT MONTHS, there have been stories about two heroin addicts that starkly illustrated the ominous nature of the narcotics problem. Like many addicts, one of them not only used the drug, but sold it. Their stories were, in fact, different from those of other drug addicts in only one major aspect: each was only 12 years old.

One boy is now being treated for addiction at a clinic. The other died from an overdose of heroin.

Drug addiction among school-age youth is increasing at an alarming rate. Although funds for drug education and training have grown six-fold between fiscal 1969 and fiscal 1971, the situation calls for much greater effort. Today, I announce a greatly expanded Federal program to fight this growing problem.

The major points of the new effort are:

—a $3.5 million program operated by the Office of Education to train school personnel, particularly teachers, in the fundamentals of drug abuse education;

—creation of a National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Information and Education, giving the public one central office to contact;

—publication of a book in which, for the first time, all of the concerned Federal departments and agencies have pooled their knowledge of the national drug problem;

—modification of a program of the

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to allow large cities to apply for funds to be used for drug education, as well as for law enforcement programs;

—development by the Advertising Council of an expanded public service campaign on drug abuse in cooperation with the media and the Federal Government;

—close cooperation of the administration with concerned citizens' organizations.

Closely related to these projects is this administration's decision to more than double the amount of money that will be spent this fiscal year on research into the effects of marihuana on man.

One of the great tragedies of the past decade has been that our schools, where our children should learn about the wonder of life, have often been the places where they learn the living—and sometimes actual—death of drug abuse. There is no priority higher in this administration than to see that children—and the public—learn the facts about drugs in the right way and for the right purpose through education.

NOTE: A drug abuse program fact sheet released by the White House on March 11, 1970, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 351).

On the same day the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the expanded program by Charles B. Wilkinson, Special Consultant to the President; John E. Ingersoll, Director, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice; and Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, Director, National Institute of Mental Health, both of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

77 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1970. *March* 12, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

We in government often are quick to call for reform in other institutions, but slow to reform ourselves. Yet nowhere today is modern management more needed than in government itself.

In 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed and the Congress accepted a reorganization plan that laid the groundwork for providing managerial assistance for a modern Presidency.

The plan placed the Bureau of the Budget within the Executive Office of the President. It made available to the President direct access to important new management instruments. The purpose of the plan was to improve the administration of the Government—to ensure that the Government could perform "promptly, effectively, without waste or lost motion."

Fulfilling that purpose today is far more difficult—and more important—than it was 30 years ago.

Last April, I created a President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization and named to it a distinguished group of outstanding experts headed by Roy L. Ash. I gave the Council a broad charter to examine ways in which the Executive Branch could be better organized. I asked it to recommend specific organizational changes that would make the Executive Branch a more vigorous and more effective instrument for creating and carrying out the programs that are needed today. The Council quickly concluded that the place to begin was in the Executive Office of the President itself. I agree.

The past 30 years have seen enormous changes in the size, structure and functions of the Federal Government. The budget has grown from less than $10 billion to $200 billion. The number of civilian employees has risen from one million to more than two and a half million. Four new Cabinet departments have been created, along with more than a score of independent agencies. Domestic policy issues have become increasingly complex. The interrelationships among Government programs have become more intricate. Yet the organization of the President's policy and management arms has not kept pace.

Over three decades, the Executive Office of the President has mushroomed but not by conscious design. In many areas it does not provide the kind of staff assistance and support the President needs in order to deal with the problems of Government in the 1970's. We confront the 1970's with a staff organization geared in large measure to the tasks of the 1940's and 1950's.

One result, over the years, has been a tendency to enlarge the immediate White House staff—that is, the President's personal staff, as distinct from the institutional structure—to assist with management functions for which the President is responsible. This has blurred the distinction between personal staff and management institutions; it has left key management functions to be performed only intermittently and some not at all. It has perpetuated outdated structures.

Another result has been, paradoxically, to inhibit the delegation of authority to Departments and agencies.

A President whose programs are carefully coordinated, whose information system keeps him adequately informed, and whose organizational assignments are plainly set out, can delegate authority with security and confidence. A President whose office is deficient in these respects will be inclined, instead, to retain close control of operating responsibilities which he cannot and should not handle.

Improving the management processes of the President's own office, therefore, is a key element in improving the management of the entire Executive Branch, and in strengthening the authority of its Departments and agencies. By providing the tools that are needed to reduce duplication, to monitor performance and to promote greater efficiency throughout the Executive Branch, this also will enable us to give the country not only more effective but also more economical government—which it deserves.

To provide the management tools and policy mechanisms needed for the 1970's, I am today transmitting to the Congress Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1970, prepared in accordance with Chapter 9 of Title 5 of the United States Code.

This plan draws not only on the work of the Ash Council itself, but also on the work of others that preceded—including the pioneering Brownlow Committee of 1936, the two Hoover Commissions, the Rockefeller Committee, and other Presidential task forces.

Essentially, the plan recognizes that two closely connected but basically separate functions both center in the President's office: policy determination and executive management. This involves 1) what government should do, and 2) how it goes about doing it.

My proposed reorganization creates a new entity to deal with each of these functions:

—It establishes a Domestic Council, to

coordinate policy formulation in the domestic area. This Cabinet group would be provided with an institutional staff, and to a considerable degree would be a domestic counterpart to the National Security Council.

—It establishes an Office of Management and Budget, which would be the President's principal arm for the exercise of his managerial functions.

The Domestic Council will be primarily concerned with *what* we do; the Office of Management and Budget will be primarily concerned with *how* we do it, and *how well* we do it.

Domestic Council

The past year's experience with the Council for Urban Affairs has shown how immensely valuable a Cabinet-level council can be as a forum for both discussion and action on policy matters that cut across departmental jurisdictions.

The Domestic Council will be chaired by the President. Under the plan, its membership will include the Vice President, and the Secretaries of the Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation, and the Attorney General. I also intend to designate as members the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and, while he remains a member of the Cabinet, the Postmaster General. (Although I continue to hope that the Congress will adopt my proposal to create, in place of the Post Office Department, a self-sufficient postal authority.) The President could add other Executive Branch officials at his discretion.

The Council will be supported by a staff under an Executive Director who will also be one of the President's assistants. Like the National Security Council staff, this staff will work in close coordination with the President's personal staff but will have its own institutional identity. By being established on a permanent, institutional basis, it will be designed to develop and employ the "institutional memory" so essential if continuity is to be maintained, and if experience is to play its proper role in the policy-making process.

There does not now exist an organized, institutionally-staffed group charged with advising the President on the total range of domestic policy. The Domestic Council will fill that need. Under the President's direction, it will also be charged with integrating the various aspects of domestic policy into a consistent whole.

Among the specific policy functions in which I intend the Domestic Council to take the lead are these:

—Assessing national needs, collecting information and developing forecasts, for the purpose of defining national goals and objectives.

—Identifying alternative ways of achieving these objectives, and recommending consistent, integrated sets of policy choices.

—Providing rapid response to Presidential needs for policy advice on pressing domestic issues.

—Coordinating the establishment of national priorities for the allocation of available resources.

—Maintaining a continuous review of the conduct of on-going programs from a policy standpoint, and proposing reforms as needed.

Much of the Council's work will be accomplished by temporary, ad hoc project committees. These might take a variety of forms, such as task forces, planning groups

or advisory bodies. They can be established with varying degrees of formality, and can be set up to deal either with broad program areas or with specific problems. The committees will draw for staff support on Department and agency experts, supplemented by the Council's own staff and that of the Office of Management and Budget.

Establishment of the Domestic Council draws on the experience gained during the past year with the Council for Urban Affairs, the Cabinet Committee on the Environment and the Council for Rural Affairs. The principal key to the operation of these Councils has been the effective functioning of their various subcommittees. The Councils themselves will be consolidated into the Domestic Council; Urban, Rural and Environment subcommittees of the Domestic Council will be strengthened, using access to the Domestic Council staff.

Overall, the Domestic Council will provide the President with a streamlined, consolidated domestic policy arm, adequately staffed, and highly flexible in its operation. It also will provide a structure through which departmental initiatives can be more fully considered, and expert advice from the Departments and agencies more fully utilized.

Office of Management and Budget

Under the reorganization plan, the technical and formal means by which the Office of Management and Budget is created is by re-designating the Bureau of the Budget as the Office of Management and Budget. The functions currently vested by law in the Bureau, or in its director, are transferred to the President, with the provision that he can then redelegate them.

As soon as the reorganization plan takes effect, I intend to delegate those statutory functions to the Director of the new Office of Management and Budget, including those under section 212 of the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921.

However, creation of the Office of Management and Budget represents far more than a mere change of name for the Bureau of the Budget. It represents a basic change in concept and emphasis, reflecting the broader management needs of the Office of the President.

The new Office will still perform the key function of assisting the President in the preparation of the annual Federal budget and overseeing its execution. It will draw upon the skills and experience of the extraordinarily able and dedicated career staff developed by the Bureau of the Budget. But preparation of the budget as such will no longer be its dominant, overriding concern.

While the budget function remains a vital tool of management, it will be strengthened by the greater emphasis the new office will place on fiscal analysis. The budget function is only one of several important management tools that the President must now have. He must also have a substantially enhanced institutional staff capability in other areas of executive management—particularly in program evaluation and coordination, improvement of Executive Branch organization, information and management systems, and development of executive talent. Under this plan, strengthened capability in these areas will be provided partly through internal reorganization, and it will also require additional staff resources.

The new Office of Management and Budget will place much greater emphasis on the evaluation of program performance: on assessing the extent to which programs are actually achieving their intended results, and delivering the intended services to the intended recipients. This is needed on a continuing basis, not as a one-time effort. Program evaluation will remain a function of the individual agencies as it is today. However, a single agency cannot fairly be expected to judge overall effectiveness in programs that cross agency lines—and the difference between agency and Presidential perspectives requires a capacity in the Executive Office to evaluate program performance whenever appropriate.

The new Office will expand efforts to improve interagency cooperation in the field. Washington-based coordinators will help work out interagency problems at the operating level, and assist in developing efficient coordinating mechanisms throughout the country. The success of these efforts depends on the experience, persuasion, and understanding of an Office which will be an expediter and catalyst. The Office will also respond to requests from State and local governments for assistance on intergovernmental programs. It will work closely with the Vice President and the Office of Intergovernmental Relations.

Improvement of Government organization, information and management systems will be a major function of the Office of Management and Budget. It will maintain a continuous review of the organizational structures and management processes of the Executive Branch, and recommend needed changes. It will take the lead in developing new information systems to provide the President with the performance and other data that he needs but does not now get. When new programs are launched, it will seek to ensure that they are not simply forced into or grafted onto existing organizational structures that may not be appropriate. Resistance to organizational change is one of the chief obstacles to effective government; the new Office will seek to ensure that organization keeps abreast of program needs.

The new Office will also take the lead in devising programs for the development of career executive talent throughout the Government. Not the least of the President's needs as Chief Executive is direct capability in the Executive Office for insuring that talented executives are used to the full extent of their abilities. Effective, coordinated efforts for executive manpower development have been hampered by the lack of a system for forecasting the needs for executive talent and appraising leadership potential. Both are crucial to the success of an enterprise—whether private or public.

The Office of Management and Budget will be charged with advising the President on the development of new programs to recruit, train, motivate, deploy, and evaluate the men and women who make up the top ranks of the civil service, in the broadest sense of that term. It will not deal with individuals, but will rely on the talented professionals of the Civil Service Commission and the Departments and agencies themselves to administer these programs. Under the leadership of the Office of Management and Budget there will be joint efforts to see to it that all executive talent is well utilized wherever it may be needed throughout the Executive

Branch, and to assure that executive training and motivation meet not only today's needs but those of the years ahead.

Finally, the new Office will continue the Legislative Reference functions now performed by the Bureau of the Budget, drawing together agency reactions on all proposed legislation, and helping develop legislation to carry out the President's program. It also will continue the Bureau's work of improving and coordinating Federal statistical services.

Significance of the Changes

The people deserve a more responsive and more effective Government. The times require it. These changes will help provide it.

Each reorganization included in the plan which accompanies this message is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in Section 901(a) of Title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to Section 901(a)(1), "to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the Executive Branch and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;" and Section 901(a)(3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable."

The reorganizations provided for in this plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers, as specified in Section 102(c) of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are comparable to those fixed for other officers in the Executive Branch who have similar responsibilities.

While this plan will result in a modest increase in direct expenditures, its strengthening of the Executive Office of the President will bring significant indirect savings, and at the same time will help ensure that people actually receive the return they deserve for every dollar the Government spends. The savings will result from the improved efficiency these changes will provide throughout the Executive Branch—and also from curtailing the waste that results when programs simply fail to achieve their objectives. It is not practical, however, to itemize or aggregate these indirect expenditure reductions which will result from the reorganization.

I expect to follow with other reorganization plans, quite possibly including ones that will affect other activities of the Executive Office of the President. Our studies are continuing. But this by itself is a reorganization of major significance, and a key to the more effective functioning of the entire Executive Branch.

These changes would provide an improved system of policy making and coordination, a strengthened capacity to perform those functions that are now the central concerns of the Bureau of the Budget, and a more effective set of management tools for the performance of other functions that have been rapidly increasing in importance.

The reorganization will not only improve the staff resources available to the President, but will also strengthen the advisory roles of those members of the Cabinet principally concerned with domestic affairs. By providing a means of formulating integrated and systematic recommendations on major domestic policy issues, the plan serves not only the needs of the President, but also the interests of the Congress.

This reorganization plan is of major

importance to the functioning of modern government. The national interest requires it. I urge that the Congress allow it to become effective.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 12, 1970

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 2 of 1970 became effective on July 1, 1970.

On March 12, 1970, the White House released a summary of the Executive Office reorganization plan and the transcript of a news briefing on it by Robert P. Mayo, Director, Bureau of the Budget; Roy L. Ash, Chairman, Walter N. Thayer, member, and Murray Comarow, Executive Director, all of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization.

78 Special Message to the Congress on Employee Benefits Protection. *March* 13, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In his First Annual Message in 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation."

The United States of America has changed in innumerable ways in the almost seventy years since those words were written. Yet, despite the changes that have transformed our economic and social life, the profound truth of those words remains: today the well-being of the workingman is a prime consideration of this Administration.

Last year I sent to the Congress legislation dealing with Manpower Training, Unemployment Insurance and Occupational Safety and Health.

The Manpower Training bill deals with how we can help a jobless man get work or help the workingman move on to better-paying and more challenging jobs.

The Unemployment Insurance bill deals with how we can help the workingman when he is temporarily out of work.

The Occupational Safety bill deals with how we can help the workingman to do his job under the best possible conditions of health and safety.

This legislation has now been before the Congress for more than seven months. And while I know that all of these bills are in one stage or another of the Congressional process, I am hopeful that they will be enacted promptly and sent to me for signature. I urge the Congress, for the sake of the American workingman, to reach final action on these measures without further delay.

This legislation concerns the American workingman on and off the job. Yet there is another important part to the average workingman's life: after his working years, the time when he can begin to enjoy his pension and welfare benefits.

The earliest known industrial pension plan in this nation was established in 1875. Today, less than one hundred years later, there are hundreds of thousands of employee benefit plans providing pension and welfare benefits to some 50 million workers.

Welfare and pension plans are a part of the success story of the American workingman. Employee benefits are among the most familiar—and most admired—aspects of economic life in our nation.

These plans involve over one hundred twenty billion dollars. More important,

they involve the security, the dignity and the well-being of millions of Americans whose lives have been enhanced upon retirement or on the job by welfare or pension benefits. The control of these funds is shared by employers, unions, banks, insurance companies, and many others. While most of the plans are carefully managed by responsible people, we must make certain that the employee's money is fully protected.

I am therefore proposing the "Employee Benefits Protection Act." This Act would protect employees with pension fund rights against improper investments and conflict of interest on the part of administrators of these funds. This has never before been done by the Federal government.

The reforms proposed in the Employee Benefits Act can be divided into four major areas:

First, the Federal government would require that persons who control employee benefit funds must deal with those funds exclusively in the interest of the employee beneficiaries. A Federal standard of these obligations would more effectively provide a remedy where conflict of interest or carelessness exists in the management and investment of funds.

While these situations are infrequent, existing State and Federal laws are inadequate to deal with them. Theft, embezzlement, bribery, and kickbacks in connection with employee benefit plans have been made Federal crimes in earlier Congressional action, but conduct that breaches established principles of trusteeship has not been adequately dealt with.

Second, the reporting and disclosure provisions would be broadened and strengthened by requirements which call for additional information. Further and more detailed disclosure as to the financial operations and actuarial basis of employee benefit plans is a necessary complement to the imposition of fund management obligations and responsibilities. It is well established that those in a trustee-type relationship should give a detailed accounting of their stewardship. This type of accounting is similar to requirements presently applicable to mutual investment funds, banks, and insurance companies. However, the present reporting and disclosure provisions for employee benefit plans are more limited. The proposed Act would make available to employees vital information about the plans that are run for their welfare and retirement.

Third, changes would be made to implement the newly imposed management responsibility and the newly strengthened reporting provisions. These include broadened investigatory and enforcement powers for the Secretary of Labor and revisions designed to provide an alternative mode of enforcement of remedies through class actions by participants and beneficiaries.

Fourth, the Act would foster a body of uniform Federal law in employee benefits protection. State laws that otherwise regulate banking, insurance and securities are expressly allowed to remain in effect.

In summary, the Act would provide for a uniform source of law for evaluating the conduct of persons acting on behalf of employee benefit plans and for a single system of reporting and disclosure in lieu of burdensome multiple reports. Under the Act, States could require the filing with a State agency of copies of specified reports

and State courts as well as Federal courts would be available to provide remedies. Furthermore, the Act would expressly authorize cooperative arrangements with State agencies as well as other Federal agencies. It would also provide that State laws regulating banking, insurance and securities remain unimpaired. Finally, experience in administering the present law has demonstrated that minor technical amendments are needed to resolve certain details of procedure and to otherwise make the law more workable.

The Employee Benefits Protection Act further expands my program to protect the American worker as he works, when he is out of work, and after his working career is over. Once again, I must express my concern that the first three parts of this program—relating to Manpower Training, Unemployment Insurance, and Occupational Safety—have been so long before the Congress without final action. And again I urge the Congress to enact these measures at the earliest possible date and to give urgent priority to this fourth part of the program—the Employee Benefits Protection Act.

America's most valuable asset is its workers. From their skills and from their determination to build a better life for themselves and their children has come a strong and free economy and a nation whose prosperity is unmatched in the history of the world. They deserve our active interest in their welfare.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 13, 1970

NOTE: Also on March 13, 1970, the White House Press Office released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Secretary George P. Shultz, Laurence H. Silberman, Solicitor, and W. J. Usery, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, all of the Department of Labor.

79 Statement About House Committee Action on the Postal Reform Bill. *March* 13, 1970

THE DECISION of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee to report out the postal reform bill is an important victory for the Nation's mail users and for the 750,000 postal workers. It is a significant first step on the road to total reform of an institution which has failed to keep pace with the mounting demands of our modern economy and expanding population. I hope that the full House and the Senate will move promptly to enact this major piece of reform legislation.

This measure provides the tools—financial, managerial, and technological—necessary to enable the dedicated men and women who wear the uniform of the postal service to deliver the quality mail service which the public deserves and expects. It reaffirms the principle that partisan politics and the mail do not mix—that there is no Republican or Democratic way of delivering the mail; only the right way.

Final enactment of this monumental reform measure will usher in a new, progressive era. It is my hope that it will arrive on my desk for signature at the earliest possible time.

80 Remarks on Signing Bill Establishing the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. *March* 16, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

We have asked you in this room because the Cabinet Room is presently being redecorated. The purpose is to sign the population message. I shall sign the message and then make a brief statement with regard to it.

First, this message is bipartisan in character as is indicated by the Senators and Congressmen who are standing here today. This is the first message on population ever submitted to the Congress and passed by the Congress. It is time for such a message to be submitted and also the time to set up a Population Commission such as this does.

Let me indicate very briefly some of the principles behind this population message.

First, it will study both the situation with regard to population growth in the United States and worldwide.

Second, it does not approach the problem from the standpoint of making an arbitrary decision that population will be at a certain number and will stop there. It approaches the problem in terms of trying to find out what we can expect in the way of population growth, where that population will move, and then how we can properly deal with it.

It also, of course, deals with the problem of excessive population in areas, both in nations and in parts of nations, where there simply are not the resources to sustain an adequate life.

I would also add that the Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, I think, contributed very much to this message by adding amendments indicating that the Population Commission should study the problems of the environment as they are affected by population, and also that the Population Commission should take into account the ethical considerations that we all know are involved in a question as sensitive as this.

I believe this is an historic occasion. It has been made historic not simply by the act of the President in signing this measure, but by the fact that it has had bipartisan support and also such broad support in the Nation.

An indication of that broad support is that John D. Rockefeller has agreed to serve as Chairman of the Commission. The other members of the Commission will be announced at a later time. Of all the people in this Nation, I think I could say of all the people in the world, there is perhaps no man who has been more closely identified and longer identified with this problem than John Rockefeller. We are very fortunate to have his chairmanship of the Commission; and we know that the report that he will give, the recommendations that he will make, will be tremendously significant as we deal with this highly explosive problem, explosive in every way, as we enter the last third of the 20th century.

And I again congratulate the Members of the House and the Senate for their bipartisan support. I wish the members of the Commission well.

And as usual we have pens for all the Members of Congress who participated in making this bill possible and for the members of the staff who are present here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:16 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

A White House release of March 16, 1970, announcing the signing of the bill and the appointment of John D. Rockefeller 3d is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 374).

As enacted, the bill (S. 2701) is Public Law 91-213 (84 Stat. 67).

81 Statement About the Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1970. *March* 16, 1970

S. 2523, which I have approved is significant and major health legislation for the Nation. I regret that in signing it I must express serious reservations about some of its provisions. My reservations do not apply to the basic concept of the Community Mental Health Centers program which the legislation would extend, and which I strongly endorse.

By June 30, 1970, almost 500 mental health centers will have been funded to serve communities with a total population of more than 75 million people. Two hundred and twenty-five of these centers are already operating.

The Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1970 will make it possible for more communities to share in the effort to change and improve the quality of mental health services. I am especially pleased that it provides increased assistance and incentives for urban and rural poverty areas which have not been able to raise sufficient funds to secure Federal grant support.

This legislation will also strengthen Federal support in solving the major mental health problem of narcotic addiction and alcoholism as an integral part of the network of community mental health centers.

This administration is firmly committed to the continuation of this program. However, this bill departs from the proposal which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare submitted to the Congress in a number of respects which are of real concern.

First, I believe it is a serious mistake to authorize appropriations, as S. 2523 does, in amounts which are far above those likely to be appropriated. Even under existing law, recent appropriations have been far below the authorized amounts, and to continue and even increase these unrealistic authorizations creates expectation which will turn into disappointment.

Second, the bill would require that every individual grant for construction or staffing of community mental health centers be approved by the National Advisory Mental Health Council.

While we support a role for the Advisory Council in the development of broad policy and recommendations on research and training grants, this procedure will complicate the decision process and create unnecessary barriers to the development of comprehensive community health programs.

Third, I regret to see that this legislation moves away from our goal of system reform and simplification of Federal grant programs.

This administration has sought to avoid creation of new grant categories, and, instead, to consolidate and simplify grant programs. S. 2523 goes counter to this desirable principle by creating two new categories of separate grants—one for

facilities and services for the mental health of children and the other for consultative services. Certainly there is a pressing need for increased mental health services for children, but I feel strongly that these services should be provided within the total framework of comprehensive mental health services, and not through a separate new categorical program. I expect this authority to be administered as an integral part of the network of community mental health centers, thus avoiding further fragmentation of our scarce mental health manpower and services.

Despite these reservations, I am signing S. 2523 to assure continuation of the vital programs included in the Community Mental Health Centers Act. However, I am asking the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to submit legislation to repeal the requirement that all grants be approved by the National Advisory Mental Health Council. I urge its early and favorable consideration by the Congress so that this program may move forward unimpeded by this cumbersome requirement.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2523, approved March 13, 1970, is Public Law 91-211 (84 Stat. 54).

82 Statement About Combating Inflation in the Construction Industry and Meeting Future Construction Needs. *March* 17, 1970

TODAY, as the result of 5 years of inflation, America is not building the housing that is needed to provide adequate shelter for her people.

Housing starts today have dwindled to a seasonally adjusted rate of 1.3 million per year. If we are to meet our projected housing needs, we must be producing new housing units at the rate of 2½ million a year by 1975.

Our most urgent need is for homes that middle and lower income Americans can afford. Yet today, the average price of all new houses offered for sale is $27,000.

The basic reason why housing is in crisis today is that the cost of buying a house has skyrocketed during the past 5 years. To get at the root of the problem, we must take actions that will end the rampant inflation of construction costs.

The $100 billion construction industry is roughly divided into one-third housing, one-third commercial and industrial building, one-third public projects like schools and hospitals and roads. To meet the needs of our growing economy, demands upon this industry for further expansion in the years ahead will be heavy. By coming to grips with the sharply rising costs of this basic industry, we can do much to stem the tide of inflation throughout the economy.

The runaway inflation of construction costs must be ended. Its costs in human terms—in the urban and rural decay that breeds crime, ill health, joblessness, and despair—are too high for the Nation to pay.

Fundamental Causes

We do not get at the causes of this problem if we engage in any witch hunt for a villain. This basic problem is quite simply that the Nation's needs for construction outran the industry's ability to expand its productive resources available.

The cost of construction is basically the cost of money, the cost of material, the cost of labor, the cost of management, and the cost of improved land.

To bring down the cost of money, we have taken specific action to direct the flow of more money into the mortgage market. I am proposing new actions to strengthen these efforts to get building now. In the longer run, we must have a strong budget after years of deep deficits and we must have the expansion in credit and money needed to finance new construction in our growing economy. This we have done, and we will continue to do until we achieve our goal.

To stabilize the cost of materials, we have taken action to increase the supply of materials in a wide variety of ways. The most dramatic result has been the lowering of lumber costs, which had risen sharply.

To moderate severe increases in the cost of labor, we must increase the labor supply to meet the increasing demand. This means we must assure equal employment opportunity for all in the industry, increase productivity through vocational training, adopt innovative techniques, and reduce seasonality; and make special arrangements for returning Vietnam veterans in the construction industry.

A shortage of skilled labor runs up the cost of that labor. That is what has been happening in construction. While manufacturing wage settlements in 1969 were about 7 percent, they were almost double that in construction—14 percent. Employment opportunities in construction will multiply in the years ahead. We must provide people with the skills needed to take advantage of those opportunities and bring supply more nearly into line with demand.

To encourage more vigorous, dynamic, and competitive management in the industry, we are engaged in programs to step up innovation and technological development. It is on more progressive management that we must ultimately depend to supply, efficiently and competitively, the building needs of a growing economy.

In greater detail, these are our present and future actions to deal with all four basic causes of rising construction costs:

I. BRINGING DOWN THE COST OF MORTGAGE MONEY

A. *In 1969, the flow of funds into mortgages was increased* through new commitments of $6.6 billion by the Federal National Mortgage Association and through advances and a reduction of liquidity requirements by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board $5.6 billion to member savings and loan associations.

B. *Operation of the mortgage markets was improved.* New mortgage-backed securities for sale to institutional investors were created. Interest rate ceilings on FHA and VA mortgages were adjusted to make them more attractive for investors. The position of mortgage lenders in competing for savings was improved by raising the ceiling on yields offered to savers, and by increasing minimum denominations for Treasury bills and agency bond issues.

C. *Special assistance funds were increased* by the Government National Mortgage Association and the Farmers Home Administration to support the financing of subsidized housing units.

D. The administration is recommending

1. *A doubling of the production of subsidized housing* from 223,600 units in 1969 to more than 450,000 units in 1970.

2. *A reallocation of $1.5 billion of spe-*

cial assistance funds to programs to increase housing starts. A supplemental budget request has already been submitted to increase the contract authority for two financial assistance programs by $50 million.

3. *Authority for the Federal National Mortgage Association to deal in conventional as well as FHA and VA mortgages.*

E. I call upon Congress to pass the legislation we have proposed to authorize the Federal Home Loan Bank System to create a secondary market for conventional mortgages.

F. I urge the Congress to act promptly on the administration's proposed Federal Home Loan Bank System program to subsidize borrowing by member savings and loan associations. If Congress acts, up to $250 million will be made available to begin immediately the effort to assist borrowing associations in expanding mortgage loans.

The housing needs of most families are supplied through the market. How successful these home buyers will be depends heavily on how soon mortgage interest rates come down. *No more urgent challenge faces our monetary, banking, and financial community than to help the economy get on with the task of achieving lower interest rates.*

II. STABILIZING THE COST OF BUILDING MATERIALS

Lumber prices soared 21 percent from November 1968 to March 1969. The Department of Agriculture was directed to use a supplemental appropriation for fiscal 1969 and an increased appropriation for 1970 to provide additional timber from national forests. The Department of the Interior was directed to make available increased timber for sale. The Interstate Commerce Commission issued orders to relieve the shortage of boxcars used to move lumber and plywood from the Northwest.

The sharp increase in prices which had seriously affected the building costs for single family homes and small apartments was reversed. Lumber and plywood prices have declined from their high levels of a year ago.

III. TO MODERATE SEVERE INCREASES IN THE COST OF LABOR

Skilled construction labor has been in disturbingly short supply. This shortage has contributed to recent construction industry wage settlements that exceed progress in labor productivity and increases in the general cost of living. They go well beyond the historical spread between construction wages and settlements in manufacturing industries. This is serious for the health of the industry, and it complicates the problem of achieving a new price-cost stability generally. Unions and employers must be cautious lest they price themselves out of the market to the detriment of the community as well as themselves. Unless we act now it will be impossible to meet our building needs.

Between now and 1978 almost 2 million new jobs will be created in the construction industry. The normal operation of the labor market will supply many of these workers, but new training and apprentice programs will be required, and access to the skilled labor market must be eased to meet heavy demands in the 1970's.

Training and apprentice programs also must be developed to take advantage of technological opportunities in the home building industry. The nature of skills required may be modified by shifting part

of the production and assembly of housing units to offsite industrial plants. It is significant that 400,000 mobile homes were produced last year—that industry is strong while traditional housing is depressed. There is clearly a demand for the kind of housing that new, low-cost production techniques could bring.

While the Federal Government looks to the private sector to perform the great bulk of actual construction, its needs for facilities and its financial support of State and local building influence costs and stability for the industry as a whole. Therefore, all Federal agencies must carefully review contracting procedures to make sure that their actions do not unnecessarily disrupt construction activity or inflate the costs of public facilities paid for out of limited Federal budget resources. Conditions in the construction industry change; the Government should recognize that legislation of a generation ago needs to be revised for its relevance to the 1970's. Such a review should produce improvements in procedures and in the administration of regulations.

In the 1970's the construction industry will require a large, well-trained, and expanding work force. Toward that end, I am directing the appropriate Government agencies to carry out the following programs, reporting their progress at regular intervals to the Cabinet Committee on Construction.

A. *Vocational Education*

Vocational education programs now provide training to approximately 250,000 persons in skills used in the construction industry (though many ultimately enter other areas). In order to help meet the demand for more construction workers, I direct the designated Federal departments and agencies to give higher priority to training construction workers.

The Department of Labor will communicate to the State and local agencies of the United States Training and Employment Service the serious national shortage of construction workers and encourage local surveys and reports on specific manpower needs in the construction industry.

The Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission will establish a subcommittee to develop a program to provide leadership and to communicate the need for developing quality vocational education programs with local school districts, unions, and construction contractors. Greater acceptance of training in vocational education programs, as partial fulfillment of apprenticeship entrance requirements, should be promoted.

I am directing that this subcommittee devote attention to one of our great national needs—the need to restore pride in a craft and to promote the dignity of skilled labor. Construction skills are important to the Nation, and they are a source of pride to their possessors. We must stress that such skills are not only well rewarded financially, but that they are a highly regarded and prized national resource—one deserving of the highest respect.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will work with the States—in developing State plans for vocational education in secondary and post-secondary education as well as cooperative education programs—to emphasize training in construction crafts and to channel these trained people into productive employment.

The Department of HEW will encourage States to provide training in

construction crafts in its special funds designated for areas of high youth unemployment.

The Department of HEW will, within 60 days, collect and disseminate information on experimental and innovative training methods and systems, especially in cooperative programs involving construction unions and contractors.

I recommend that the Governors encourage cooperative planning aimed at expanding the supply of construction manpower on a statewide basis, involving the State Employment Service, the vocational education agency, the State Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, and other agencies and advisory groups.

B. *Department of Labor Training Programs*

The Department of Labor presently has approximately 30,000 construction trainees in its existing manpower training programs. These programs offer a variety of approaches to pre-apprenticeship training and training in basic construction skills. The programs are the JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector), Job Corps, MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) Institutional and On-the-Job Training. In addition, programs developed specifically for the construction industry include the Journeyman Training Program, the Outreach Program, and the UA–NCA National Journeyman Trainee Trust.

I direct the Secretary of Labor to prepare a plan within 60 days expanding present enrollment in Department of Labor programs providing training for construction skills by 50 percent, increasing this pace over the next 5 years.

1. *Apprenticeship*

Apprenticeship is one of the best systems for training craftsmen. While there are wide variations among trades, less than half of construction journeymen have received their training through apprenticeship programs. Modern training methods and the large number of pre-apprenticeship training opportunities make it possible to improve existing apprenticeship programs. I am directing the Department of Labor to undertake a comprehensive study of apprenticeship programs in construction crafts during the next 6 months and to recommend to me by October 1, 1970 to what extent and in what ways apprenticeship training programs can be improved and expanded.

2. *Veterans' Training Program*

To permit the talents of thousands of returning veterans to be employed in a manner beneficial both to the Nation and to themselves, I propose a Veterans' Training Program for the Construction Trades. The young men who have served our Nation, risking their lives and delaying their careers, deserve the best we can give them in providing rewarding employment opportunities.

I am directing the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor to develop training programs in the construction crafts to be provided servicemen during the final months of their enlistment. I anticipate that the program will enroll over 50,000 trainees during the next 2 years. Extensive job placement efforts will be required to provide maximum employment opportunities for the program's graduates upon completion of training. Unions and employers should

participate as fully as possible in the planning and implementation of the program to insure that these veterans will be accepted for available employment at a level commensurate with the skills attained.

3. *Supplementary Training*

While the apprenticeship system provides well-trained craftsmen, its potential is limited now to young people with strong educational background. To expand opportunity for other workers, apprenticeship needs to be supplemented with different types of training for construction crafts. One promising supplementary training program is the agreement signed by the Department of Labor, the National Constructors Association, and the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters (AFL–CIO) to train 500 members of minority groups for positions as journeymen pipefitters. I encourage extension of similar training for the disadvantaged to other construction branches and to all regions of the country.

4. *Federal Construction Projects*

Training opportunities in construction crafts presently are provided on most Federal construction projects. *I direct the heads of all Federal Government agencies to include a clause in construction contracts that will require the employment of apprentices or trainees on such projects, and that 25 percent of apprentices or trainees on each project must be in their first year of training.* The number of apprentices employed shall be the maximum permitted in accordance with established ratios.

5. *Equal Employment Opportunity*

There can be no social justice until there is economic justice, and equal employment opportunity is the key to economic justice in America.

To supplement its effort throughout all of industry, the Federal Government has taken a number of steps to insure that employment in the construction industry is available to all persons regardless of race, creed, or color. Executive Order 11246 prohibits discrimination in direct Federal and federally assisted contracts. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination by business firms and unions.

Carrying out this policy in the construction industry poses special problems because of the temporary and shifting nature of the employer-employee relationship. To meet these problems, the Department of Labor has started the Philadelphia Plan. Simultaneously, the Department encouraged the development of area wide multiparty agreements for increasing the opportunity for minority groups in the higher skilled construction trades. I direct the Department of Labor to continue this vital effort to encourage and assist communities in developing these "hometown" solutions to the need for hiring minority group workers in the construction industry.

I direct all Federal agencies and departments to review their construction programs to make sure that they are in accordance with Executive Order 11246, and to provide assistance in the programs for equal employment opportunity in the construction industry being developed by the Department of Labor. I direct the Secretary of Labor to review and propose revisions as appropriate of Federal regulations governing equal employment opportunity in approved apprenticeship programs. All agencies and departments shall report to the Cabinet Committee on

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Construction by July 1 of each year on their programs to insure that equal employment opportunity exists in their direct and assisted construction projects.

IV. ACHIEVING MORE DYNAMIC MANAGEMENT

In the longer run new materials, new techniques, improved designs, and innovations in marketing are needed to improve the efficiency of the building industry. In order to encourage these necessary advances in housing, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has sponsored Operation Breakthrough. I strongly endorse these experimental projects to develop creative techniques for housing construction. The Department has already received over 600 proposals as part of Operation Breakthrough, and experimental projects will soon be underway.

A. *Stabilizing Industry Operations*

The intermittent and seasonal nature of the construction industry has always been a problem in the full utilization of construction resources—especially human resources. The Departments of Commerce and Labor recently completed a joint study of seasonal unemployment in the construction industry. I am directing that the following recommendations of this study be carried out:

1. Counter-seasonal contract award procedures shall be used whenever practical so that peak onsite employment coincides with peak construction unemployment.

2. Experimental pilot projects in off-season construction shall be conducted by Federal agencies and departments.

3. Interior construction activities such as repair, rehabilitation, and painting shall be performed during winter months unless specific permission for performing these activities at other times during the year is obtained from the agency head.

4. Within the next 3 months, agencies responsible for Federal construction shall identify those programs that can best use off-season labor without substantial extra direct costs.

5. Each agency or department of the Federal Government shall report to the Cabinet Committee on Construction by July 1 of each year on the steps it has taken during the fiscal year to lessen seasonality and intermittency in its construction projects.

B. *Effective Use of Science and Technology*

1. The Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) in the Department of Commerce shall report on methods to improve the availability and use of weather information in construction.

2. The Secretary of Commerce shall develop an experimental program to promote dissemination of technical information on winter-building technology to the business community.

3. All Federal specifications must include clauses containing plans for construction under unusual weather conditions and the Department of Commerce shall develop a mechanism through which the Federal Construction Council and Federal laboratories can monitor and evaluate innovations in these contracts.

4. The Secretary of Labor shall develop a pilot construction labor market information system in conjunction with its computerized job bank program.

V. AN IMPROVED INFORMATION SYSTEM

The problem of obtaining accurate and timely information about industry activi-

ties has posed a difficult problem for the Cabinet Committee on Construction. As a basis for improving the quality of policy decisions involving the construction industry, the Cabinet Committee on Construction is examining improved statistical measures. I direct the Committee to present recommendations for improving the information system in providing statistics on prices and costs, industry compensation and fringe benefit patterns, industrial relations information, mortgage financing and construction loan commitments, industry employment, manpower requirements, training and safety statistics, and changes in the housing stock including mobile homes.

America's $100 billion construction industry with its 3 million workers does not need harassment, unwarranted interference, or political denunciation; it does need better access to mortgage money, less costly materials at more stable prices, an end to archaic regulation that hampers productivity, more dynamic management, and—most of all—more trained workers.

The actions outlined in this statement, together with the legislation to be submitted to the Congress by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, are designed to meet those industry needs.

Construction costs are not the "fault" of any one group; they are the result of a system that urgently needs reform and modernization.

We must take care, in making those reforms, to treat fundamentals rather than symptoms—essentially to bring the supply and demand of labor, money, and materials into better balance. That is the only constructive way to stop the spiral of construction costs.

In so doing, we can simultaneously meet two of the Nation's most pressing needs: the need to open up new job opportunities for millions of working men and women, and the need to provide adequate shelter for everyone.

These measures to improve productivity and to expand resources in the construction industry will enhance the capability of this industry to handle the growing needs of our economy for new facilities.

Policies begun last year to deal with an inflation that had already been allowed to run for years are now moving the economy to the path of stable economic growth. I have, therefore, today terminated my request of September 4, 1969, that activity incident to federally assisted State and local construction projects be curtailed sharply. This will permit the resumption of construction activity necessary to meet these needs for facilities. I am also withdrawing my September request to the Governors to cut back on State construction programs. The Governors' response to that request for voluntary action was both widespread and effective. It is an excellent example of Federal-State cooperation. In this resumption of construction activity, however, I am requesting that in the activation of projects there be special attention to areas with a relative balance in construction resources available as compared with demands for these resources.

The rate of inflation still remains an urgent concern and this action is no signal that our effort to sustain a strong budget has relaxed. As our policy to combat the rate of price increase takes hold, I will take the action necessary to help the Nation's economy achieve a stable growth.

NOTE: On the same day the White House re-

leased the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor; Robert P. Mayo, Director, Bureau of the Budget; and Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers.

83 Remarks About a Special Message to the Congress on Higher Education. *March* 19, 1970

TODAY I have sent to the Congress my proposals on a subject vitally important to the future of the Nation—higher education.

Let me first address myself to young people who are thinking of going to college. Under the plan I am proposing today, no qualified student who wants to go to college would be barred from doing so by the lack of money.

Through a combination of student aid and a new Student Loan Association that would make it possible for any student to get a loan, you could afford to go to college no matter what your family's income might be.

Now, it would not be a free ride. You would probably have to work; and you would be expected to pay back the loan when you got a good job. But the important thing is you could afford to go to college, regardless of the income of your family.

I am also proposing a new National Foundation for Higher Education, funded with $200 million in its first year, to give grants to colleges in support of excellence and new ideas.

Our colleges, our technical schools, our great universities need this stimulus now to encourage diversity, to set new and higher standards for education.

A century ago, Benjamin Disraeli said: "Upon the education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends."

For the future of so many of our young people, and for the quality of life of this Nation, I urge the Congress to act promptly on the Higher Education Act of 1970.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room in the White House. His remarks were filmed for later television broadcast.

84 Special Message to the Congress on Higher Education. *March* 19, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. That has long been a great American goal; I propose that we achieve it now.

Something is basically unequal about opportunity for higher education when a young person whose family earns more than $15,000 a year is nine times more likely to attend college than a young person whose family earns less than $3,000.

Something is basically wrong with Federal policy toward higher education when it has failed to correct this inequity, and when government programs spending $5.3 billion yearly have largely been disjointed, ill-directed and without a coherent long-range plan.

Something is wrong with our higher education policy when—on the threshold of a decade in which enrollments will increase almost 50%—not nearly enough attention is focused on the two-year community colleges so important to the careers of so many young people.

Something is wrong with higher education itself when curricula are often irrelevant, structure is often outmoded, when there is an imbalance between teaching and research and too often an indifference to innovation.

To help right these wrongs, and to spur reform and innovation throughout higher education in America today, I am sending to the Congress my proposed Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970.

In this legislation, *I propose that we expand and revamp student aid so that it places more emphasis on helping low-income students than it does today.*

I propose to create the National Student Loan Association to enable all students to obtain government-guaranteed loans, increasing the pool of resources available for this purpose by over one billion dollars in its first year of operation, with increasing aid in future years.

I propose to create a Career Education Program funded at $100 million in fiscal 1972 to assist States and institutions in meeting the additional costs of starting new programs to teach critically-needed skills in community colleges and technical institutes.

I propose to establish a National Foundation for Higher Education to make grants to support excellence, innovation and reform in private and public institutions. In its first year, this would be funded at $200 million.

There is much to be proud of in our system of higher education. Twenty-five years ago, two Americans in ten of college age went to college; today, nearly five out of ten go on to college; by 1976, we expect seven out of ten to further their education beyond secondary school.

This system teaching seven million students now employs more than half a million instructors and professors and spends approximately $23 billion a year. In its most visible form, the end result of this system contributes strongly to the highest standard of living on earth, indeed the highest in history. One of the discoveries of economists in recent years is the extraordinary, in truth the dominant, role which *investment in human beings* plays in economic growth. But the more profound influence of education has been in the shaping of the American democracy and the quality of life of the American people.

The impressive record compiled by a dedicated educational community stands in contrast to some grave shortcomings in our post-secondary educational system in general and to the Federal share of it in particular.

—Federal student loan programs have helped millions to finance higher education; yet the available resources have never been focused on the neediest students.

—The rapidly rising cost of higher education has created serious financial problems for colleges, and especially threatens the stability of private institutions.

—Too many people have fallen prey to the myth that a four-year liberal arts diploma is essential to a full and rewarding life, whereas in fact other forms of post-secondary education—such as a two-year community college or technical training course—are

far better suited to the interests of many young people.

—The turmoil on the nation's campuses is a symbol of the urgent need for reform in curriculum, teaching, student participation, discipline and governance in our post-secondary institutions.

—The workings of the credit markets, particularly in periods of tight money, have hampered the ability of students to borrow for their education, even when those loans are guaranteed by the Federal government.

—The Federal involvement in higher education has grown in a random and haphazard manner, failing to produce an agency that can support innovation and reform.

We are entering an era when concern for the quality of American life requires that we organize our programs and our policies in ways that enhance that quality and open opportunities for all.

No element of our national life is more worthy of our attention, our support and our concern than higher education. For no element has greater impact on the careers, the personal growth and the happiness of so many of our citizens. And no element is of greater importance in providing the knowledge and leadership on which the vitality of our democracy and the strength of our economy depends.

This Administration's program for higher education springs from several deep convictions:

—*Equal educational opportunity,* which has long been a goal, must now become a reality for every young person in the United States, whatever his economic circumstances.

—*Institutional autonomy and academic freedom* should be strengthened by Federal support, never threatened with Federal domination.

—*Individual student aid* should be given in ways that fulfill each person's capacity to choose the kind of quality education most suited to him, thereby making institutions more responsive to student needs.

—*Support should complement rather than supplant* additional and continuing help from *all* other sources.

—*Diversity must be encouraged,* both between institutions and within each institution.

—*Basic reforms* in institutional organization, business management, governance, instruction, and academic programs are long overdue.

Student Financial Aid: Grants and Subsidized Loans

Aside from veterans' programs and social security benefits, the Federal government provides aid to students through four large programs: the Educational Opportunity Grants, College Work-Study Grants, National Defense Student Loans and Guaranteed Student Loans. In fiscal 1970 these programs provided an estimated $577 million in Federal funds to a total of 1.6 million individual students. For fiscal 1971, I have recommended a 10% increase in these programs, to $633 million, for today's students must not be penalized while the process of reform goes on. But reform is needed.

Although designed to equalize educational opportunity, the programs of the past fail to aid large numbers of low-income students.

With the passage of this legislation, every low-income student entering an accredited college would be eligible for a combination of Federal grants and sub-

sidized loans sufficient to give him the same ability to pay as a student from a family earning $10,000.

With the passage of this legislation, every qualified student would be able to augment his own resources with Federally-guaranteed loans, but Federal subsidies would be directed to students who need them most.

Under this plan, every student from a family below the $10,000 income level—nearly 40% of all students presently enrolled—would be eligible for Federal aid. When augmented by earnings, help from parents, market-rate loans or other public or private scholarship aid, this aid would be enough to assure him the education that he seeks.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare would annually determine the formula that would most fairly allocate available Federal resources to qualified low-income students. Because subsidized loans multiply the available resources, and because the lowest-income students would receive more than those from families with incomes near $10,000, the effect would be a near-doubling of actual assistance available to most students with family incomes below $7,500.

If all eligible students from families with an annual income of $4,500 had received grants and subsidized loans under the existing student aid programs, they *would have received* an average of *$215* each. Under our proposal, all eligible students from families of $4,500 annual income would be *guaranteed* a total of *$1,300* each in grants and subsidized loans. This would constitute the financing floor; it will be supplemented by earnings, other scholarships and access to unsubsidized loans.

STUDENT FINANCIAL AID: LOANS

The Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970 would strongly improve the ability of both educational and financial institutions to make student loans. Although most students today are eligible for Guaranteed Student Loans, many cannot obtain them. Because virtually all Guaranteed Loans are made by banks, a student is forced to assemble his financial aid package at two or more institutions—his bank and his college—and colleges are denied the ability to oversee the entire financial aid arrangements of their own students.

In order to provide the necessary liquidity in the student loan credit market, I am asking the Congress to charter a National Student Loan Association. This institution would play substantially the same role in student loans that the Federal National Mortgage Association plays in home loans.

The corporation would raise its initial capital through the sale of stock to foundations, colleges and financial institutions. It would issue its own securities—education bonds—which would be backed by a Federal guarantee. These securities would attract additional funds from sources that are not now participating in the student loan program.

The corporation would be able to buy and sell student loans made by qualified lenders—including colleges as well as financial institutions. This would serve to make more money available for the student loan program, and it would do so at no additional cost to the government.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury, would set an annual

ceiling on these transactions. In fiscal 1972, I estimate that the N.S.L.A. would buy up to $2 billion in student loan paper.

Expanding credit in this manner would make it possible to terminate the payments now made to banks to induce them to make student loans in this tight money market. We would let the interest rates on these loans go to a market rate but the presence of the Federal guarantee would assure that this rate would result in a one to two percent interest reduction for each student. By removing the minimum repayment period we would not only enable students to pay back loans as quickly as they wish but we would make it possible for students to refinance their loans as soon as interest rates are lower.

We would continue to relieve all students of interest payments while they are in college but would defer rather than totally forgive those payments. This would be more than compensated for by extending the maximum repayment period from 10 to 20 years, easing the burden of repaying a student loan until the borrower is well out of school and earning a good income.

The added funds made available from these changes, which should exceed one-half billion dollars by 1975, would be redirected to aid for lower income students.

By increasing the maximum annual individual loan from $1,500 to $2,500, we would enhance the student's ability to avail himself of an education at any institution that will admit him.

Thus, the ability of all students to obtain loans would be increased, and the ability to borrow would be strongly increased for students from low-income families. The financial base of post-secondary education would be correspondingly strengthened. It is significant that this would be done at no cost to the Federal taxpayer.

Career Education

A traditional four-year college program is not suited to everyone. We should come to realize that a traditional diploma is not the exclusive symbol of an educated human being, and that "education" can be defined only in terms of the fulfillment, the enrichment and the wisdom that it brings to an individual. Our young people are not sheep to be regimented by the need for a certain type of status-bearing sheepskin.

Throughout this message, I use the term "college" to define all post-secondary education—including vocational schools, 4-year colleges, junior and community colleges, universities and graduate schools.

Any serious commitment to equal educational opportunity means a commitment to providing the right kind of education for an individual.

—A young person graduating from high school in one of the states that lacks an extensive public junior college system—more commonly and appropriately known as community colleges—today has little opportunity to avail himself of this immensely valuable but economical type of post-secondary education.

—A youth completing 12th grade in a city without an accessible technical institute is now deprived of a chance for many important kinds of training.

—A forty-year old woman with grown children who wants to return to school on a part-time basis, possibly to prepare for a new and rewarding

career of her own, today may find no institution that meets her needs or may lack the means to pay for it.

We must act now to deal with these kinds of needs. Two-year community colleges and technical institutes hold great promise for giving the kind of education which leads to good jobs and also for filling national shortages in critical skill occupations.

Costs for these schools are relatively low, especially since there are few residential construction needs. A dollar spent on community colleges is probably spent as effectively as anywhere in the educational world.

These colleges, moreover, have helped many communities forge a new identity. They serve as a meeting ground for young and old, black and white, rich and poor, farmer and technician. They avoid the isolation, alienation and lack of reality that many young people find in multiversities or campuses far away from their own community.

At the same time, critical manpower shortages exist in the United States in many skilled occupational fields such as police and fire science, environmental technology and medical para-professionals. Community colleges and similar institutions have the potential to provide programs to train persons in these manpower-deficient fields. Special training like this typically costs more than general education and requires outside support.

Accordingly, I have proposed that Congress establish a Career Education Program, to be funded at $100 million in fiscal 1972.

The purpose of this program is to assist States and colleges in meeting the additional costs of starting career education programs in critical skill areas in community and junior colleges and technical institutes. The Department of Health, Edducation and Welfare would provide formula grants to the States, to help them meet a large part of the costs of equipping and running such programs, in critical skill areas as defined by the Secretary of Labor.

The National Foundation for Higher Education

One of the unique achievements of American higher education in the past century has been the standard of excellence that its leading institutions have set. The most serious threat posed by the present fiscal plight of higher education is the possible loss of that excellence.

But the crisis in higher education at this time is more than simply one of finances. It has to do with the uses to which the resources of higher education are put, as well as to the amount of those resources, and it is past time the Federal government acknowledged its own responsibility for bringing about, through the forms of support it has given and the conditions of that support, a serious distortion of the activities of our centers of academic excellence.

For three decades now the Federal government has been hiring universities to do work it wanted done. In far the greatest measure, this work has been in the national interest, and the nation is in the debt of those universities that have so brilliantly performed it. But the time has come for the Federal government to help academic communities to pursue excellence and reform in fields of their own choosing as well, and by means of their

own choice.

Educational excellence includes the State college experimenting with dramatically different courses of study, the community college mounting an outstanding program of technical education, the predominantly black college educating future leaders, the university turning toward new programs in ecology or oceanography, education or public administration.

Educational excellence is intimately bound up with innovation and reform. It is a difficult concept, for two institutions with similar ideas may mysteriously result in one superb educational program and one educational dead end. It is an especially difficult concept for a Federal agency, which is expected to be even-handed in the distribution of its resources to all comers.

And yet, over the past two decades, the National Science Foundation has promoted excellence in American science, and the National Institutes of Health has promoted excellence in American medical research.

Outside of science, however, there is no substantial Federal source for assistance for an institution wishing to experiment or reform. There is a heightened need in American higher education for some source for such support.

To meet this need, I have proposed the creation by Congress of a National Foundation for Higher Education. It would have three principal purposes:

—To provide a source of funds for the support of excellence, new ideas and reform in higher education, which could be given out on the basis of the quality of the institutions and programs concerned.

—To strengthen colleges and universities or courses of instruction that play a uniquely valuable role in American higher education or that are faced with special difficulties.

—To provide an organization concerned, on the highest level, with the development of national policy in higher education.

There is a need to stimulate more efficient and less expensive administration, by better management of financial resources that can reduce capital investment needs, and the use of school facilities year-round. There is also need for better, more useful curricula, while developing a new dimension of adult education.

There is a need to give students far greater opportunities to explore career direction through linking education with the world of work.

There is a need to develop avenues for genuine and responsible student participation in the university. Colleges of today and tomorrow must increase communications and participation between the administration and students, between faculty and students, where they are presently faulty, weak or nonexistent.

The National Foundation for Higher Education would be organized with a semi-autonomous board and director appointed by the President. It would make grants to individual institutions, to States and communities, and to public and private agencies. Its grants would emphasize innovative programs and would be limited to five years each.

A number of small, categorical programs presently located in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—would be transferred to the Foundation.

In addition to the more than $50 million now being spent in those programs, $150 million would be requested for the Foundation in fiscal 1972. Beginning with this $200 million budget, this Foundation would have the capacity to make a major impact on American higher education.

From the earliest times higher education has been a special concern of the national government.

A year ago I asserted two principles which would guide the relations of the Federal government to the students and faculties and institutions of higher education in the nation:

> "First, that universities and colleges are places of excellence in which men are judged by achievement and merit in defined areas . . . . Second, . . . that violence or the threat of violence may never be permitted to influence the actions or judgments of the university community."

I stated then, and I repeat now, that while outside influences, such as the Federal government, can act in such a way as to threaten those principles, there is relatively little they can do to guarantee them. This is a matter not always understood. No one can be forced to be free. If a university community acts in such a way as to intimidate the free expression of opinion on the part of its own members, or free access to university functions, or free movement within the community, no outside force can do much about this. For to intervene to impose freedom, is by definition to suppress it.

For that reason I have repeatedly resisted efforts to attach detailed requirements on such matters as student discipline to programs of higher education. In the first place they won't work, and if they did work they would in that very process destroy what they nominally seek to preserve.

As we enter a new decade, we have a rare opportunity to review and reform the Federal role in post-secondary education. Most of the basic legislation that now defines the Federal role will expire in the next fifteen months. The easy approach would be simply to ask the Congress to extend these old programs. But the need for reform in higher education is so urgent, that I am asking the Congress for a thoroughgoing overhaul of Federal prorams in higher education.

The Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970 would accomplish this purpose. In addition, it would consolidate and modernize a number of other Federal programs that affect higher education. Through it, I propose to systematize and rationalize the Federal government's role in higher education for the first time.

In setting such an ambitious goal, we must also arouse the nation to a new awareness of its cost, and make clear that it must be borne by State, local and private sources as well as by Federal funds. In fiscal year 1972, I anticipate that the new programs authorized by the Higher Education Opportunity Act alone will cost $400 million more than the Federal government is presently spending for post-secondary education. If our goal is to be attained, there must be comparable growth in the investment of other public and private agencies.

The time has come for a renewed national commitment to post-secondary education and especially to its reform and

revitalization. We must join with our creative and demanding young people to build a system of higher education worthy of the ideals of the people in it.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 19, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education, and Lewis H. Butler, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, both of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President.

On April 28, 1970, the White House released the text of a letter to the President concerning higher education from Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, president of the Association of American Universities, and the reply to Dr. Pusey from Dr. Moynihan. The texts of both letters are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 592). The transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Moynihan on his reply to Dr. Pusey was also released.

85 Remarks on Presenting the Boy of the Year Award. *March* 19, 1970

I AM very happy to make this presentation to James Heath. He has been selected out of 850,000 boys all over America who are members of Boys' Clubs as the outstanding boy of the year.

When I think back on others who have received this award—I think this, perhaps, is the 10th time, as Vice President, then when I was out of office as chairman of the board of the Boys Clubs and then once as President and now twice that I have made this presentation—I think back of the 10 men, now men, who received this award.

I can only say that the boy that receives it is going to make a great record in the years ahead.

I want to congratulate you and wish you the very best.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

James Heath received a $4,000 scholarship from the Reader's Digest Foundation, sponsor of the "Boy of the Year" competition of the Boys' Clubs of America. Nine regional winners of the 24th annual competition were also present.

86 Special Message to the Congress on Small Business. *March* 20, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Seventeen years ago President Eisenhower established the Small Business Administration (SBA). This marked the first peacetime recognition by the Federal government of the special needs of small businesses.

—Today there are in the United States an estimated 5,400,000 independent businesses, of which 95 percent are small by SBA size standards.

—97 percent of our nation's firms employ fewer than 100 full-time workers.

—The small business sector of the economy contributes roughly 37 percent of the gross national product and is responsible for over 40 percent of U.S. employment.

We all know the almost legendary stories of men in the past and in our time who have started out in small business with little more than an idea and a belief in themselves and have gone on to great financial success. Yet small business can also mean other things.

—It can mean for the nation a source of independent innovation which continually offers new products and services needed by any economy if it is to remain vital.

—It can mean the everyday success of the average businessman whether he owns his own retail or service enterprise or heads a small manufacturing concern. It is a quiet kind of success that doesn't make the big news on the financial page, but makes life more rewarding for millions of Americans. It is the kind of success that offers personal services to consumers—and personal satisfaction to the businessman.

—It can mean a chance for a young American to bring not only his talent but his individuality to the challenges of the business world.

—It can also mean an opportunity for dignity and for economic and social progress for many Americans previously without access to the economic system of our nation. Small business is a way to become a part of that system—and, after seeing it work, believe in it, in its promises and in its challenges.

The Report of the Task Force on Improving the Prospects of Small Business

In order to discover ways in which we could help improve the prospects of small business in the United States, I appointed a Task Force, chaired by Mr. J. Wilson Newman of New York, to report to me. In line with recommendations in their report, I am:

—Directing the Small Business Administration to emphasize its role as the advocate of the interest of small business. I am further directing all agencies to take these interests fully into account in their activities affecting small business.

—Proposing legislation to expand research to provide a clear picture of the problems, the trends and the needs of small business and a clear picture of the impact of government on small business.

—Proposing legislation to create a new position of Assistant Secretary in the Department of Commerce to assist in formulating policy for the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE). I established OMBE early in my Administration to coordinate programs and activities within the Federal government aimed at assisting minorities to enter the American economic mainstream. This is an extremely important undertaking.

The Task Force identified three major problem areas that can be found in all parts of the small business community, including that of the disadvantaged entrepreneur:

—The need for capital and for recognition of the special financial problems small firms may face in their early years;

—The need for sound management counseling; and

—The need for people and especially

for trained people.

In order to help small business in these areas, I am proposing a far-reaching legislative program.

Financial Assistance

The Small Business Task Force found in surveys of businessmen across the nation that one-fifth of those consulted ranked financing first among their problems. Interest assistance, incentives to make loans, tax reform, bonding for small contractors and Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBIC) are five major areas for action.

Interest Assistance

The risk of failure for small business is high, and the early years are the most perilous. These are the years in which the small businessman most often finds himself short of working capital and when high interest rates can have their greatest impact. In order to help small businessmen in such crucial early years, I propose legislation to authorize the Small Business Administration to make grants to borrowers whose loans are guaranteed by the SBA. These grants would narrow the gap between the prevailing interest rates and the statutory interest rate for SBA direct loans.

Incentives to Make Loans

Another problem area of financing is that of providing adequate incentives to the private sector to make high-risk loans to small business. The cost of processing a small loan may and often does equal or exceed the cost of processing a large loan. In order to help the man who needs a small loan that carries a higher-than-usual degree of risk, I am proposing legislation that would offer compensation in the form of tax incentives to those lenders who bear the additional cost of making such loans. The incentive would be an income tax deduction equal to 20 percent of the interest earned on SBA-guaranteed loans.

To further assist in this area, I am proposing legislation that the SBA be permitted to delegate to the banks to the full extent it deems advisable the authority to make loans that the SBA guarantees, provided the bank retains a portion of the risk. Also, the SBA is revising its procedures so that a bank, with SBA approval, can use its regular loan forms rather than the special SBA forms.

A variety of organizations other than banks—foundations, trusts, church groups, community groups and others—are also interested in assisting the small business efforts of the disadvantaged by loan programs. To encourage these efforts, I also propose legislation to give the SBA the authority to guarantee loans by such organizations.

Tax Reforms for Small Business

The man who is willing to take the financial risks involved in beginning a small business should be encouraged. In recognition of these risks, I propose legislation to provide the following tax reforms:

—Revision of "Subchapter S" of the Internal Revenue Code to make it easier for small business to be treated like a partnership for tax purposes.

—A ten-year tax loss carry-forward period, instead of the present 5-year period. This extension will be of special use to those new businesses that find it necessary during the early years to spend large amounts of money on research and development.

Bonding

No treatment of the problems of small business—especially those problems in the inner city—would be complete without consideration of the problem of insurance, including crime and property protection and surety bonds for construction.

On June 30, 1970, the Federal Insurance Administrator will report on these matters as required by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968. However, the urgency of the need to provide assistance relative to surety bonds for small business calls for immediate action. Accordingly, I am proposing legislation that would enable the SBA to guarantee, for a fee, as much as 90 percent of surety bonds up to $500,000 for small contractors who are qualified by SBA standards but lack the resources to qualify for bonding in the open market. Additional action regarding bonding may be called for in the Federal Insurance Administrator's report.

Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company

The MESBIC concept shows promise of becoming an important tool for the generation of capital and as a source of managerial assistance for the disadvantaged who need help in small business. The Federal government matches the MESBIC sponsor on a "2 for 1" basis. The "leverage" power of this concept can be seen in an example: If a sponsor puts $150,000 into his MESBIC, the government lends it $300,000. This $450,000, with the application of other loans it generates, can result in over $2 million for new enterprises. Of equal importance is the availability of the sponsor's managerial talents.

To provide additional tools to assist this program, I propose legislation to provide:

—Statutory authorization for a bank to become involved in the program as the sole sponsor of a MESBIC.

—Ordinary income tax deductions for contributions to MESBICs organized and operating under non-profit corporation statutes. This would provide a tax incentive for doubling the commitment of funds.

The legislation being proposed also reflects the intention that the program assist all the socially and economically disadvantaged who need such assistance.

Personnel and Management Assistance

In its survey, the Small Business Task Force discovered that two out of every five responses listed the quality and availability of personnel as a major problem. It also is probably the most difficult one to solve. However, there are steps that can be taken at this time.

JOBS Program

The Secretary of Labor is initiating an expansion of the Federal JOBS (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) Program that will aid small business. The JOBS Program until now has been in practice suitable only to larger corporations. But under this new program, consortiums of small businessmen—with the cooperation of local organizations such as boards of trade and chambers of commerce—will receive Federal assistance to offset the extraordinary costs of training employees until they become fully productive.

Stock Options

In order to offset the advantages large businesses have in attracting managerial

talent, I am sending legislation to the Congress which would revise the tax rules for stock options as they relate to small business. The proposal would extend the qualified option exercise period from five to eight years and reduce the required holding period for the stock from three years to one year. This should substantially assist small, technically-oriented growth companies in their competition with larger companies for managerial and other talent.

Managerial Training Assistance

In order to help disadvantaged entrepreneurs get the kind of business know-how needed for success in small business, I propose legislation that would provide management training for those among the disadvantaged who are entrepreneurs and prospective entrepreneurs. Assistance would be offered for extension courses, night school and other management training courses.

Small business is an important part of our national life; it has been an important part of my personal life as well. My father knew the challenges and the rewards of owning and operating a small store. To him—and to our family—that store meant more than a source of income; it meant a daily challenge, a place where we could work out the destiny of the family in our own way, taking the risks, and enjoying the satisfactions of ownership. Looking back on those years, I know now that our store was a success not only because of what it did for our family budget, but for what it did for our spirit. I know that today, in helping Americans in small business, we are helping their spirit—and the spirit of our nation.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 20, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11518 providing for the increased representation of the interests of small business concerns before departments and agencies of the United States Government.

Also on March 20, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Maurice H. Stans, Secretary, and James T. Lynn, General Counsel, Department of Commerce; and Hilary Sandoval, Jr., Administrator, Small Business Administration.

87 The President's News Conference of *March* 21, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I am sorry to delay you, ladies and gentlemen, but we had to revise the statement on the postal workers a bit, because of late developments. It is a very brief statement.

Prior to going to any questions that you may have this morning, I thought that in talking about this particular issue, I could also elaborate on three other announcements that will be made next week.

POSTAL STRIKE

With regard to the postal strike, in addition to the statement,[1] I would simply add that I recognize and appreciate the fact that postal workers in many areas have legitimate grievances. We are prepared to negotiate those issues, to discuss

[1] See Item 88.

those issues, but under no circumstances will any grievances be discussed with any Government employees when they are out on an illegal strike. Any strike involving essential services by Federal employees is illegal.

We have made some progress due to the leadership of the Secretary of Labor and the Postmaster General yesterday in working with the leaders of the postal unions.

The great majority of the postal workers in the country are still at work and we believe will meet their commitment to stay at work and then have their grievances negotiated in an orderly way, which we have agreed to do with the leaders. However, as indicated, as you know, by the postal union in New York, at least in that case, and there may be in other cases, local unions which may reach other decisions.

On Monday I will meet my Constitutional obligation to see to it that the mails will go through. Now, further than that, I will make no statement on the postal strike today because these are very sensitive negotiations. We want to give the responsible leadership of the unions an opportunity to work with the Secretary of Labor and the Postmaster General for an orderly procedure. And I believe that there is still a chance that they may be able to work out a settlement.

Mideast Policy

[2.] On Monday the Secretary of State, as you have already been informed, will make a statement on the administration's Mideast policy, with particular reference to two requests by the Israeli Government, one for economic assistance, and the other for military assistance. The Secretary of State will have a press conference at that time in which he will answer any of the questions you may have on the specifics of that decision.

I would like to, at this preliminary point, indicate the basic factor that led to that decision, and also the factors that will guide us as we make decisions in this area in the future. As far as the military portion of the decision is concerned, I would describe it as essentially an interim decision. Our goal in the Mideast, or goals, I should say, in broad terms, are four.

First, to have a cease-fire; second, to reduce the flow of arms into the area; third, to achieve a political settlement; and fourth, to accomplish to the greatest extent possible, a balance between the forces in that area which will contribute to peace from a military standpoint and not to disturb that balance.

The decision that the Secretary will announce on Monday is one based on our present appraisal of the balance of power in the Mideast.

In recent days there have been disturbing reports that the Soviet Union, by deliveries of new [surface-to-air] missiles, SA–3's, to the U.A.R. and through the insertion of military personnel, may be taking actions which could change that balance. It is too early to say whether that is the case. We are watching the situation closely.

If the U.S.S.R., by its military assistance programs to Israel's neighbors, does essentially change the balance, then the United States would take action to deal with that situation. The Secretary of State will cover this matter in greater detail in his statement.

It is our hope that in our negotiations with the Soviet Union, bilaterally, and in the Four-Power talks, that we can con-

vince all the major powers to stop escalating the arms race in the Mideast, to work together for a cease-fire, and to achieve, of course, a political settlement.

Apart from the recent reports, there have been some developments in the Mideast in our bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union that have been, I would say, modestly encouraging, and we trust that that trend, rather than this latest trend, will be the one that will prevail.

But the Secretary of State's statement on both the economic and military assistance program, as I have indicated, is based on the decision which was made on our analysis of the present balance in the Mideast, one that we believe should be maintained in the interest of peace and of a settlement.

School Desegregation Statement

[3.] On Tuesday I will make the statement on school desegregation which we have been in the process of preparing over the past several weeks.

It will be a very lengthy statement. I say lengthy in terms of the number of words, and it will be a statement made for distribution to the press throughout the country rather than a statement which can be delivered on radio or television, because of its length.

The reason for the length is that I determined that it was time to have a comprehensive study and discussion of all of the relevant legal decisions in this field, not only the decisions of the Supreme Court, but the decisions of the circuit courts and the district courts which apply to the very difficult problems that we have in both the North and the South. I am in the process of completing my final editing of the statement and will do so over this weekend.

I would say, based on its present progress, that I consider this the most comprehensive analysis of the legal situation and also of the problems of segregation and education that has been made since the historic case of *Brown* v. *the Board of Education* in 1954. I am hopeful that it will contribute to a better understanding of, first, what the law is; and, second, that it will provide the direction to all of the agencies of the administration, of the Government, the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and to others who may be interested, the direction that they need to carry out the law of the land. Beyond that I will have no statement on that subject today.

Bombing Legislation Statement

[4.] And then on Wednesday, the statement that was referred to after the leadership meeting on Tuesday will be made in which I will ask the Congress to provide additional legislation where the Federal Government can assist local authorities to deal with the increasing use of terrorism through indiscriminate bombing attacks.

This is an area where it is, from a legal standpoint, necessary to find a Federal interest. The Federal Government, of course, has no right or responsibility unless a Federal interest is involved. But I find that, based on my discussions with the Attorney General, there are several areas

where we can strengthen existing laws, and that statement will be made on Wednesday.

I regret that this opening statement has taken so long, but I felt that it did cover some points that you would be interested in. Now we will go to questions.

QUESTIONS

JUDGE G. HARROLD CARSWELL

[5.] Q. Mr. President, if I could raise one more question. As you know it has been discovered that several hundred letters or postcards have been sent to Senators opposing your nomination to the Supreme Court, Judge Carswell, most of them charging him with being a racist or a bigot. Some of these have been sent from California in bulk, mailed to States throughout the Union and then to be transmailed to the Senators in order to deceive the Senators into thinking that these letters came from their own constituents. I wonder what you thought of this type of procedure and whether you think this will prevent the confirmation of Carswell?

THE PRESIDENT. I always used to tell young Congressmen and Senators when they first came to Washington that in making a decision, they should do it not by weighing the mail but by weighing the evidence.

Now, I am convinced that the Members of the Senate who are considering this very important nomination to the Supreme Court will not be affected by such tactics. These tactics, as you know, have been used over the years in other matters, as well as in the Carswell case. I think the Members of the Senate will not be affected by it.

DELIVERY OF THE MAIL

[6.] Q. You have said you might use the Army Monday in the postal strike. Is this the only step you could take or could you outline some of the steps you could take to get the mails through?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question only by saying that we have the means to deliver the mail. We will use those means. But I do not want to indicate what they would be because I think that might put a disturbing element into the very delicate situation of negotiation going on in local unions throughout the country.

I am not threatening. I am simply stating as a matter of fact that the President of the United States, among his many responsibilities, has a responsibility to see that the mail is delivered. And I shall meet that responsibility and meet it effectively beginning Monday in the event that the postal workers in any area decide that they are not going to meet their constitutional responsibilities to deliver mail.

DEVELOPMENTS IN CAMBODIA

[7.] Q. Mr. President, will you entertain a question on Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure, any question. I am not limiting this to the four subjects.

Q. I am wondering how you feel about the recent developments in Cambodia, and how it relates to our whole effort in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. These developments in Cambodia are quite difficult to appraise. As you know from having been out there yourself on occasion, the Cambodian political situation, to put it conservatively, is quite unpredictable and quite fluid.

However, we have, as you note, established relations on a temporary basis with the government which has been selected by the Parliament and will continue to deal with that government as long as it appears to be the government of the nation. I think any speculation with regard to which way this government is going to turn, what will happen to Prince Sihanouk [2] when he returns, would both be premature and not helpful.

I will simply say that we respect Cambodia's neutrality. We would hope that North Vietnam would take that same position in respecting its neutrality. And we hope that whatever government eventually prevails there, that it would recognize that the United States interest is the protection of its neutrality.

THAI INTEREST IN LAOS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, could I follow that up with another question about Southeast Asia?

The Thais have apparently introduced troops into Laos, either with or without the help of the United States. I, first, wondered whether you could tell us whether we actually helped them by flying them in in our aircraft; and, secondly, what you think about the Thais fighting in Laos? Does that complicate our problem out there?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Thai interest in Laos and the Thai participation in attempting to sustain the neutralist Government of Laos, I think, has been known for years; and their interest is, if anything, perhaps even more acute than ours. They have a 1,000-mile border with Laos. There are 8 million ethnic Laotians, as you know, who live in northeast Thailand. And if Laos were to come under the domination of a Communist North Vietnamese Government, it would be an enormous threat to Thailand.

Thailand also is a signatory of the Geneva accords of 1962, and under those circumstances would be expected to respond to requests by the Government of Laos, set up under those accords and agreed to by all of the parties including the North Vietnamese and the Communist Chinese, and would be expected to provide some assistance.

Beyond that, I would say that any questions in this area should be directed to the Government in Thailand or Laos. It is a matter between these two Governments.

ASSEMBLYMAN TRAN NGOC CHAU OF SOUTH VIETNAM

[9.] Q. There have been numerous reports in the newspapers that the South Vietnamese Assemblyman, Chau, who has recently been sentenced to 20 years in prison, on many occasions cooperated with the United States Government in Saigon and gave them information; and specifically that in August of 1967 he informed Ambassador Bunker and others of the oncoming Tet attacks. Can you tell us if

[2] Prince Norodom Sihanouk was deposed as Chief of State of Cambodia on March 18, 1970.

there is anything to those reports?

THE PRESIDENT. I won't comment on those reports. I will only say that this is a matter which Ambassador Bunker has discussed with President Thieu, that those discussions, of course, were on a private basis, and I think any speculation about what the discussions were would not be appropriate.

FRANCE'S SALE OF PLANES TO LIBYA

[10.] Q. Mr. President, you expressed the hope that all major powers would stop the escalation of the arms race in the Middle East. Do you have any indication that France would be cooperative in their sale of planes to that area?

THE PRESIDENT. First, as has been indicated, there is a long lead time on the delivery of French planes to Libya. Secondly, while, of course, I would not presume to speak for the Government of France—that question should be directed to them—the Government of France is not taking a position that its delivery of planes to Libya is for the purpose of transshipment basically to the U.A.R. France is a participant in the Four-Power talks.

I discussed this matter in considerable detail with President Pompidou when he was here. I will not reveal what those discussions were, as I do not reveal the discussions, as he does not either, between chiefs of state. But I do believe that France recognizes, as we recognize, that any shipment of arms to the Middle East which imperils the balance of power increases the danger of war. And I think that France in its shipments to Libya will be—in its shipments over the next few years, will be guided by that principle, as we are guided by that principle in making our determinations of what arms we ship.

POSSIBILITY OF A TRIP TO EUROPE

[11.] Q. You made a very successful trip to Paris when [President] de Gaulle was there, and I see by the Gallup poll that the visit here of Mr. Pompidou was a success. Would you consider going back to Europe at any moment?

THE PRESIDENT. I would certainly consider it. Seriously, I would enjoy the opportunity to return to Europe. And I think that the chance to have face-to-face discussions with European leaders would be quite constructive in our development of a common foreign policy where our interests were common.

However, I do not have any present plans to go to Europe, none over the next few months. But I would hope to plan a trip to Europe sometime before the end of my term of office.

And incidentally, President Pompidou invited me to return again while he was President, and I told him I would come sometime. After all, he will be in for 7 years and I will have plenty of time.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION STATEMENT

[12.] Q. Why is your civil rights message, from what you say, going to be emphasizing the legal aspects of the problem? What is there that you want to clear up?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the message will speak for itself. It goes into great detail, because the law at all levels is confused. The various circuit courts have come down on both sides of various questions that have come before it. The Supreme

Court has left several gray areas. And wherever the Supreme Court has not spoken, it is the responsibility of the administration, then, to interpret the law and carry it out in a way that it believes is appropriate.

So what I am doing is to map out those areas where the law is clear, and then indicate how I interpret the law; and also indicate how I believe the administration should move in those areas where the Court has not spoken.

To give you one example—and I don't want, of course, to indicate in advance what I am saying in the statement—is that the Supreme Court, while it has spoken out very clearly on *de jure* segregation, has not spoken out on *de facto* segregation. Now the question is, what should the policy, under those circumstances, of the Federal Government be in cases of *de facto* segregation in northern States? I will address myself directly to that question and try to indicate what the best position should be, not only from a legal standpoint, but here primarily from the standpoint of education and the goal of desegregated education that we want to achieve. This is an area that I think probably answers your question.

EFFECT OF EVENTS IN LAOS ON TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM

[13.] Q. Mr. President, as I understand it, you are to make another decision in the near future on further troop withdrawals from South Vietnam. Can you tell us if the events in Laos have had any effect on your judgment that will affect your decisions?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they have not. They have had no effect up to this point, and I do not expect the events in Laos to affect that decision.

The Vietnamization program is going on as scheduled, and when our decision is made, it will take into account, of course, the factors at that time.

But what has happened in Laos to date has not changed the situation as far as the decision is concerned.

ECONOMIC AND MILITARY REQUESTS BY ISRAEL

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in what you had to say about the Middle East and the decisions to be announced by the Secretary of State Monday, there seemed to be the clear implication that the decision is against sending the additional arms to Israel. Could you go so far as to say whether or not that interpretation is on the right track?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star], I am not going to preempt what the Secretary of State is going to say. But let me also indicate that the Secretary of State's statement will cover the whole area of a major economic proposal—request—that was made by the Government of Israel, and also the area of military requests that are made by the Government of Israel.

I would think that it would be unwise to anticipate or speculate in advance what the Secretary of State is going to say on these various things.

What I am simply saying is this: that insofar as the military portion of the decision is concerned, that portion is based on the fact situation as we see it at this time, and that will be constantly reappraised as the fact situation changes.

That is why I refer to it as essentially an interim decision rather than one that

looks forward over a period of say 2 years, 3 years, or 4 years, because the fact situation does change.

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS

[15.] Q. Mr. President, as a California voter, how do you feel about the disclosure that Senator Murphy remains on the Technicolor payroll and the entry of Mr. Simon into the race there? [3]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as a California voter, I intend to vote for Senator Murphy if he wins the nomination, and I expect him to win the nomination.

CONTROL OF INFLATION

[16.] Q. On a domestic question, sir, one of the key issues in the country seems to be still inflation and in light of the last report on the cost of living rise, and some of the indications that the Government policy is being eased on the money supply, et cetera, do you still hold the optimism that you voiced earlier about the control of inflation in the very near future, or what is your analysis of it now?

THE PRESIDENT. The problem of inflation, when you refer to monetary policy, of course, indicates the irony which only the sophisticated economists seem to understand.

As Dr. [Arthur F.] Burns indicated in his testimony—or let me be perhaps a bit more precise in that, as some who interpreted his testimony indicated, there has been some easing of monetary policy, and the question therefore naturally arises, as you have put it, why do you ease monetary policy when the rate of inflation is still at a high level?

Of course the answer is that because of the long lead time, the lag, in the effect of monetary policy on the economy, it is necessary to change your monetary policy before prices start to come down. I don't mean that; I should say not before prices start to come down, because that is not going to happen—before the rate of increase of prices starts to come down.

The reason that decision must be made in that rather complex way is that if in monetary policy you wait until you see the Consumer Price Index moving on a downward curve, if you wait that long, then the danger is that you will have waited so long that you trigger recession, and what we are trying to do here is have a policy in which we avoid both recession, on the one side, and still control inflation, stop the rate of increase, on the other side.

Incidentally, in this kind of a conference my answers, I think, should be a little bit more extended, because it is a question that requires a longer answer. When we speak of the question of recession, I have noted some statements to the effect, "Well, aren't we in a recession now?" Well, the answer to that question is, of course, that if one man is out of work, he is in a recession. That is a recession for him.

The rate of unemployment at the present time is 4.2 percent. I have noted that some of our critics have suggested that this, therefore, is a recession.

Well, I was looking over the figures this morning and if 4.2 percent rate of unemployment is a recession—and as far as I am concerned, I don't like to see any man out of work—but if 4.2 percent is a recession, then the 6.7 percent unemployment that we had in 1961 was a recession; the

[3] Senator George Murphy and industrialist Norton Simon were both candidates for the Republican United States Senate nomination in California.

5.5 percent in 1962, we were in a recession; 5.7 percent unemployment in 1963 was a recession; and 5.2 percent unemployment in 1964 was a recession.

I think, however, that any fair-minded appraiser of the economic trends of that time would have not said that that period from 1961 to 1965 was a period of recession for the United States, even though the unemployment rate was over 5 percent.

I am not suggesting that this administration expects an unemployment rate of over 5 percent, and that we are not going to take action to keep the rate below that. I am only suggesting simply these conclusions:

One, this country is not in a recession at the present time.

Second, this is an activist administration. We are going to take action to avoid a recession at the same time that we are taking action to cool the fires of inflation.

And third, 1970 is going to be a good year from an economic standpoint. From a political standpoint, I really cannot judge.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS

[17.] Q. Mr. President, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday voted out unanimously and sent to the floor a "sense of the Senate" resolution concerning the U.S. position at SALT [strategic arms limitation talks]. Could you make a remark about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Senate resolution, I understand, simply says that the United States and Soviet Union should try to negotiate a freeze on offensive and defensive missiles.

Of course, that is what SALT is all about, so I think the resolution really is irrelevant to what we are going to do. That is our goal. It takes two, however, to make the deal.

If the Soviet Union will come along with that, as we hope they will, then perhaps we can make some arrangements. I can certainly say in this respect, though, that it is somewhat more intricate than the resolution would imply.

We found in our preliminary discussions that the Soviet Union did not come in with generalized language, which had been previously their tactic in arms negotiations, but they came in with very precise weapon systems by weapon systems analysis.

Now whether we eventually have a comprehensive agreement or a system-by-system agreement, remains to be seen. We are prepared for either.

But our goal certainly is to limit both offensive and defensive missiles, and if the Soviet Union has the same goal, we will make a bargain.

BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST

[18.] Q. Mr. President, a clarifying on the Mideast: You said earlier, I think, that Secretary Rogers' decision on the military side would be based in large part on our best present assessment of the balance of power in the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. That is right.

Q. Have you included in that calculation the recent reports of additional weapons and personnel from the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Semple [Robert B. Semple, Jr., New York Times], those reports came in during this last week, after we had made our decisions. We, however, have evaluated those reports—and they are, as you know, somewhat fragmentary at this time; they are intelligence

reports—we evaluated those reports. Those reports, as of the present time, and considering our present evaluation, do not indicate a significant shift in the balance.

What I am saying here, basically, is that the United States intends to continue to watch the Mideast situation to see whether further shipments of arms or personnel to the Mideast does tip the balance in a way that it would be necessary for us to provide some assistance, additional assistance to Israel, so that they would not be in an inferior position.

Because what we must understand here is that once that balance shifts perceptibly to one side or the other, then the danger of war greatly increases, until you have a political settlement. We have to realize that we have in the Mideast peoples whose enmities go back over centuries. We have to realize that when one gets an enormous advantage over another, or a significant advantage, the danger of war coming escalates.

That is why our policy has been to try to maintain a balance, so that neither is encouraged to embark on an aggressive course.

BUSINESS-LABOR BARGAINING AND ECONOMIC POLICY

[19.] Q. Mr. President, one more question on economic policy, sir: Is your administration no longer concerned about the inflationary expectations on the part of business or union leaders at the bargaining table?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes, we are concerned. I think your question really relates to inflationary psychology, as I understand it.

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. We are concerned about that. For example, that is why our budget policy is not changing. While we have, as you know, made one change in the construction area, because construction, as you know, is the area where monetary policy is strict—it is hit first, and hit hardest—and that is why we have eased up on our construction freeze where Federal and State projects are concerned.

But except for that particular area, our budgetary policy remains one of restraint, and that, of course, will tend to cool off any inflationary psychology.

We also believe that business and labor leaders cannot help but be impressed by the fact that over the past 4 months the economy has been, in terms of its growth, on a flat projection rather than on an upward projection. And we are going to continue to do everything that we can to see that the inflationary psychology doesn't get another jolt just at the time that we had it cooled, which we think had occurred in January and February and early March.

But I want to be quite candid. I wish that our economic friends could, with great precision, tell us that, well, if you do this, that, or the other thing, at a certain month in the future your unemployment rate will be this, and your interest rate will be this, and the inflation will have been checked to this extent. But no honest economist will tell you that. We aren't that sure.

But I will say this: I am confident that the policies that we are following, first, have taken the fire out of the inflation. I am confident that the Consumer Price Index will begin to reflect that as we go on through the balance of the year.

I am also confident that this economy is not going to be plunged into a reces-

sion, because I believe that the steps that are being taken now in the monetary field and in other areas will keep the economy from being depressed and will keep it on a moderately upward trend. That is what we are trying to accomplish.

Reporter: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

NOTE: Reporters were called to the President's office at the White House for his unscheduled news conference at 11:55 a.m. on Saturday, March 21, 1970. It was not broadcast on radio or television.

88 Statement About Work Stoppages in the Postal System. *March* 21, 1970

THE meetings held Friday between Government officials and leaders of the postal unions provide the foundation for a swift end to the work stoppages in the postal system and the rapid reestablishment of the Nation's postal service. Were these unauthorized work stoppages to continue for any duration of time it would seriously jeopardize the national public interest.

The men who work in the United States postal service have taken the same oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States as I have taken. Further, their proud tradition—that the "mails must go through"—dates to the earliest days of our Republic. I expect that both the oath and the tradition will be honored, as they are now being honored by the overwhelming majority of postal employees who have remained on the job.

There are legitimate grievances that have been brought to the fore in the current postal crisis. But those grievances cannot justify illegal remedies, and those grievances cannot and will not be negotiated or ameliorated in a climate of intimidation.

89 Remarks About Work Stoppages in the Postal System. *March* 23, 1970

My fellow Americans:

I want to report to you on developments on the postal work stoppage and on the actions I have decided to take.

First, the overwhelming majority of postal workers across the Nation remain on their jobs—upholding their tradition and their oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

Second, in many communities where walkouts occurred last week, postal employees are returning to their jobs.

However, in several large cities, the post offices are shut down. In New York, for example, the mail system is wholly paralyzed by illegal walkouts and essential services have been halted.

Last Saturday, I pledged to the Nation that if the current situation existed on Monday—today—that I would take action to fulfill my constitutional obligation to move the mails and I am taking that action now.

Injunctions have been sought, and in most cases already granted, forbidding striking postal workers from interfering with those who wish to return to work.

I directed the Attorney General to take

whatever action he believes necessary to see that these court orders are obeyed and, working with local authorities, to see that no illegal picket lines interfere with workers returning to work.

Secondly, I have just now directed the activation of the men of the various military organizations to begin in New York City the restoration of essential mail services. New York City is where the current illegal stoppages began; it is where the mail has been halted the longest; and it is where the resultant problems have become most acute. If the Postmaster General deems it necessary to act in other affected major cities, I will not hesitate to act.

These replacements are being sent in as a supplemental work force to maintain essential services. Only as many workers as are necessary to accomplish that will be used and they will be withdrawn as the striking postal workers return to their jobs.

Let me now address my comments to both the postal workers who have stayed on the job and those who are engaging in the work stoppage.

The United States postal system is a vital element of our entire communications system. The poor depend heavily upon it for medical services and also for government assistance. Veterans depend upon it for their compensation checks. The elderly depend upon it for their social security checks. The Nation's businesses depend upon it as a way to stay in business so they can meet their payrolls. And our men in Vietnam depend on "mail call" as their only link with their loved ones at home.

From the time I came to Congress 23 years ago, I have recognized that the hundreds of thousands of fine Americans in the mail service—the Post Office Department—are underpaid and they have other legitimate grievances.

For the past year, almost since the day we took office, both the Postmaster General and I have been working to alleviate not only the legitimate grievances of postal workers but to move to eliminate the source of those grievances, that is, the obsolete postal system itself, a system that no longer serves its employees, its customers, or the country as it should.

That was why that among our first major legislative proposals was wholesale reform of the United States Post Office. Included have been requests for increased pay for postal workers, for increased benefits, for compression by 60 percent of the time it takes a worker to move from the bottom to the top of the pay scale.

I believe that if that postal reform had become law we wouldn't have the current crisis. But that crisis is here and it has brought additional grievances to the fore. The country has recognized these inequities in postal pay and benefits.

This administration has always been willing to work them out. As the Secretary of Labor and postal union leaders indicated again Saturday, we stand ready to begin negotiations, discussions on all issues, including pay, immediately after postal workers are back on their jobs. But we cannot and we will not negotiate while thousands of postal workers are participating in an illegal work stoppage.

At this time, it is only those who have struck and are staying off the job who are preventing meaningful negotiations and resolution of their problems through those negotiations and the legislative process.

And so I urge you to return to your jobs so that these negotiations can begin in an urgent but reasonable climate.

Just as this issue goes beyond the ques-

tion of mail service, so my remarks at this time are addressed to all Americans. What has occurred here is that some employees of the Federal Government are now not only going against the best interests and the best tradition of their service, but against the recommendations of their national union leaders, against the oath of office that they took, against orders handed down by the Federal courts, and they are cutting off service essential to thousands—millions—of Americans.

What is at issue then is the survival of a government based upon law. Essential services must be maintained and, as President, I shall meet my constitutional responsibility to see that those services are maintained.

And I am asking for the understanding and support of every American in this decision that I have made in behalf of our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. in his office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 3972, declaring a national emergency as a result of work stoppages in the postal system, and Executive Order 11519, calling into service members and units of the National Guard to help maintain postal service. Also on March 23, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the postal work stoppage by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount and Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz.

On March 25, 26, and 30, the White House released the transcripts of additional news briefings by Postmaster General Blount on negotiations with postal unions.

90 Toasts of the President and Ambassador S. Edward Peal of Liberia at a Dinner for Ambassadors of the Organization of African Unity. *March* 23, 1970

Mr. Secretary of State and Mrs. Rogers, Ambassador Peal, Mrs. Peal, all of the distinguished Ambassadors, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Senate and the House, and other distinguished guests on this occasion:

The Secretary of State has informed me that his check of the precedents indicates that this is the first time in the history of this room—the State Dining Room at the White House—that a state dinner has been given for the Ambassadors of the Organization of African Unity. And we are very happy to have you here for the first time on this occasion.

I suppose that in mentioning that, that the reasons might be appropriate to mention. I think of the fact that it was just 13 years ago tonight that I returned with Mrs. Nixon from my first trip to Africa. You will remember Congressman Diggs was with us on that trip. We had been to Ghana, and learned about the "high life" [1]; and we also had been on that occasion to Liberia, and a brief stopover at Uganda and Ethiopia, as well as some stops in Northern Africa, and I remember we were in Libya, in Tunisia, and Morocco.

But when I think of what has happened in those 13 years, I think particularly of what has happened in terms of new nations. There are 33 new nations in Africa over the past 13 years. Ghana

[1] A West African dance.

was the first to have its independence at that period of time, and then others followed.

I think of the other things. I think of the fact that the Secretary of State, in his recent trip, was the first Secretary of State of the United States ever to pay a state visit to Africa. And I want to say that my remarks tonight can be somewhat limited because his official report and recommendations on that trip will be made in just a few days. And I will let that report speak for itself, except to say that I endorse it in advance, and I have great confidence in the Secretary of State on the basis of his oral report already.

Now what I am really trying to bring home by these vague references, to an extent—the fact that this is the first dinner in which all the African diplomats were honored in this room; the fact that 13 years ago an American Vice President returned from the first state visit by an American Vice President to Africa, and what has happened since then; the fact that the Secretary of State has returned, too, recently from a visit to Africa; and all these new countries have been born—this indicates the escalating manner in which Africa and the nations of Africa have come upon the American as well as the international scene in a very short period of time.

Now, in speaking to Ambassador Peal, whose country is a bit older than some of the others represented here, he was saying earlier that some of the new countries, because they were new, had problems. I can only say that older countries have problems, too. I know. And perhaps the problems become more complex as the countries get older.

Well, whatever the case may be, I want you to know that we in this Government, not only this administration but in the Senate and the House, Democrats and Republicans alike, as we welcome you tonight we welcome you for the people that you represent. We welcome you and have an understanding of the problems that you have, and we particularly think of your future and how we can be helpful to the extent that it does not interfere with your own decision in making that future one that will be better for you and the people of that great continent.

I have often been asked what I remember about the countries of Africa that I visited on three trips, the one in 1957 and then twice as a private citizen, in 1963 and then in 1967. Of course, I remember the 13 countries that I covered in those trips—I remember the Presidents and the Emperor and the other great dignitaries that I met, and the officials that I had the opportunity to talk with. And I remember, too, the tremendous promise of those lands that I could see, the resources that were there, some developed, some waiting to be developed.

But most of all, my memories are of the children that I saw. I can see them now in Morocco, in Tunisia, in Libya; I can see them in Uganda, Kenya, the Congo; and I can see them in the Ivory Coast, in Liberia, in Zambia, and in Ghana. And I think that tonight all of us realize that that is what our responsibilities are all about. We think of those children and our own children. We think of their future. We think of the kind of a world we presently live in, and we think of what we want the world to be for them. We think of the fact that in Africa they are children, for the most part, in new nations with great hope and great problems and also enormous opportunities—if they just had a chance.

That is what I think is the American experiment: hope, opportunity. But you have to give people a chance.

And we only hope that in our policy toward Africa—these new countries as well as the old ones, that we will be able to help you realize your hope, to extend to the greatest opportunity that is possible the ideas that you have for your future, but, above all, to see that your children realize that they have a chance, a chance for a better world, a more peaceful world, a world of progress, a world of opportunity for them and all of the other children of the world.

And so tonight I, of course, now propose a toast. I cannot to each head of state—that would take quite a time—and I cannot to each Ambassador or each Senator or each Cabinet officer, but I think that the Organization of African Unity, in which all of the hopes of this great continent are certainly represented, I think that we would all like to rise and raise our glasses to the Organization of African Unity, to the OAU.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:47 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Ambassador S. Edward Peal, Dean of the African Ambassadors, responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mr. Secretary of State, Mrs. Rogers, and other distinguished Members of the Cabinet and officials of Government, distinguished Members of the Congress, Excellencies, my colleagues, ladies and gentlemen:

Permit me, Mr. President, first of all to thank you very sincerely for your warm remarks and for the hopes you have expressed for our continent and for the warm toast you have proffered to the health of the OAU, and in doing so, to our Presidents and chiefs of state and of government.

Having done us this honor of your kind invitation this evening and the gracious manner in which you, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, have received us, I want to say that tonight will long be remembered by me and all those for whom I have the privilege to speak as a rare and significant experience. Not the least among the compelling factors in this significance, Mr. President, is the glimpse you have afforded us of seeing the multiple function that the White House has come to serve in the national life of the people of this great country, the United States of America.

And let me say, too, that this historic residence now under the spell of such a distinguished family is proving to be not merely a continuing and treasured symbol of American faith and strength but also a window looking onto our troubled and changing world, which prays that it will never turn to this country and this capital in vain for understanding and leadership.

We Africans know that our once neglected continent, dark only in the sense of the ignorance of those who have only sought a passing acquaintance with our people and our culture, is now within the panoramic view of the White House.

As you have said, Mr. President, I think one of the things we are celebrating this evening is the return from Africa of the first visit there of an American Secretary of State when in the full authority of his office. This visit, Mr. President, let me say, did not take us all by surprise because we had privately counted on some such warmly generous initiative from you, sir, because you are no stranger to Africa, as you have said, and you had already shown your close and enduring concern for the welfare of our people and our continent and for continuing productive friendship between the American and African people.

You have been kind enough to hint to us in advance about the approval you have given to the report which the Secretary of State is submitting to you.

Well, sir, I think for me it is a little bit too early to speculate what is in that report or, indeed, to say what diplomatic triumph the Secretary and Mrs. Rogers brought back from their trip to Africa.

But this I am certain: They came back armed with an invaluable souvenir, the respect, the affection, and the high esteem of all of our people, especially those whom they were able to see for one reason or another.

And, sir, let me give an example: Secretary

Rogers probably will recall that in the crowd in Monrovia that swarmed around his car were some of our tumbling dancers. This is one of our traditional ways of showing our affection and our approval to the presence of a distinguished personality among us.

After they left, I had the privilege later of talking to one of the dancers. And in referring to Secretary Rogers he said, "I saw his face when he got out of the car to wave to us. And I said to myself, 'Ah, there goes somebody to whom I can tell my troubles.' And when you see him again, tell him that he has earned the title among us and we will call him our 'Old Man.' "

And may I explain to you, please, that this is a venerated title which is the only one that can be popularly bestowed in my country and most of the countries in Africa.

Mr. President, you have spoken about some of your hopes for our continent and of our future cooperation. Let me say that Africa has many things to be grateful to America for. We recognize the earnest altruism that has motivated the assistance, moral and material, extended to our people over many years and in a variety of contexts.

We will always remain mindful of the close, strong brotherly ties that link us to that large and creative segment of the American people. But, above all, Mr. President, we will continue to draw sustaining vigor and comfort from the words and deeds of those great Americans who have charted the course and enriched the vocabulary of freedom. And we will continue to say that so long as there is respect for human dignity, and so long as there is one man who cries out from the dwindling jungle of tyranny, so long, Mr. President, will the American example and pattern have a very relevant and shining example for the building of the African dream.

That is why, Mr. President, we have always been glad to welcome and to look to the United States for understanding because we have often reached out to her for tangible support in our own struggle.

My country, as you correctly said, is an old one. And you know how often we have reached for your assistance. So it is true with my newer brothers, because the problems we share there, despite our age, are common. And we know that your tradition, hallowed and cherished by you, will always allow you to lend assistance and to respond to a genuine and sincere cause.

Now, Mr. President, forgive me, but some of us who have been here a little long were witness to your campaign. And I remember, and I am sure all of us here remember, that during this campaign when you were seeking the Presidency of this great Nation a young girl held out a phrase that so impressed you that it became the rallying cry for your administration: "Bring us together."

Let me say, sir, that that is one of the watchwords for us in Africa, just as it should be for every world statesman who cannot plead any more that he is ignorant of the calamity that awaits us all if we should remain apart.

I thank you on behalf of my colleagues for the kind words you have addressed to us and to our organization, the Organization of African Unity.

Let me say, sir, that this organization was created to protect our welfare and our security. But not only that; it was also created to insure that we would all have better growth and prosperity in peace. But I think above all our organization, the Organization of African Unity, was created to enable us, we in Africa, to make the maximum contribution to the peace and welfare and plenty of men.

That is why I think my colleagues would want me to promise you, the American people, that in Africa we do not seek the exclusion of anybody, of any men of good will. We are pledged to constructive and rational and conciliatory partnership.

We have aspired to share in the good things of this world on the same basis as anybody, and above all, when we clamor for justice to be done and done quickly in our continent, in some cases it is because we do not wish that any man would suffer a wrong or the denial of the right for one moment than it is longer.

And if there be any man in this country or anywhere else who would himself vexatiously be seeking a policy for Africa, all I want to say is that he should borrow a phrase from you: "Bring us together."

Now, I promised you, Mr. President, not to speak long. But I think sir, I would like to end and ask your forgiveness but I am guilty of gaining this reputation of telling a story about an elephant.

Please excuse me, but I am not too much

obsessed with the day-to-day development of the political rule of this country; although I have been, as an observer and like many of my colleagues, and will always be interested in insuring the support, the sympathy, and understanding of the elephant. But, Mr. President, there is a tribe in my country that has always given godlike qualities to the elephant.

You remember the last story I told you last year and Secretary Rogers will remember the one I told him about the elephant at the National Art Gallery.

So here is my latest. Once upon a time there were three brothers sitting in a village outside of the forest in a "palaver" hut, each deeply immersed in his personal dilemma. The first brother, well-known for his prowess as a hunter, had wounded a leopard. And in keeping with our custom, it was his responsibility to remove this dangerous threat from the life of the village.

The second brother had to build a hut very quickly in order to receive his expected bride. The third brother had to clear several acres of land before the rains came and knew that it would be impossible to do this without some help.

And as in all of these fictional predicaments an elephant happened to stroll by, for the gods are always kind. Each of the brothers started to bombard him with pleas for advice and assistance.

The elephant let them exhaust themselves. And he lifted up his head and he called to them: "Please, be quiet and listen. All I am trying to do is get us all across the creek into the plains where we can, if we start and work together, we will quickly clear the forest. There will be no place for the leopard to hide and he will be trapped. And in doing this, we would fell ourselves so many trees that there would be enough logs to build a hut."

Well, sir, here is the moral of that story, as told by this tribe in Liberia: To heed the cry of one's brother is often-times the crucial key to one's own fulfillment.

In our forests of underdevelopment, and the cry is many, is loud, and is varied, but, sir, and thanks to you, we have seen a new friendship in this country for Africa and we are sure, sir, that under your guidance it will flourish.

So it is in this village that I would like to ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to join my colleagues and me in a warm and esteemed toast to the President of the United States wishing him all success in his many varied and onerous duties, to friendship between the American and African people, and to peace and good will to all men.

Mr. President.

91 Statement About Desegregation of Elementary and Secondary Schools. *March* 24, 1970

MY PURPOSE in this statement is to set forth in detail this administration's policies on the subject of desegregation of America's elementary and secondary schools.

Few public issues are so emotionally charged as that of school desegregation, few so wrapped in confusion and clouded with misunderstanding. None is more important to our national unity and progress.

This issue is not partisan. It is not sectional. It is an American issue, of direct and immediate concern to every citizen.

I hope that this statement will reduce the prevailing confusion and will help place public discussion of the issue on a more rational and realistic level in all parts of the Nation. It is time to strip away the hypocrisy, the prejudice, and the ignorance that too long have characterized discussion of this issue.

My specific objectives in this statement are:

—To reaffirm my personal belief that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was right in both constitutional and human terms.

—To assess our progress in the 16 years since *Brown* and to point the way to continuing progress.

—To clarify the present state of the law, as developed by the courts and the Congress, and the administration policies guided by it.

—To discuss some of the difficulties encountered by courts and communities as desegregation has accelerated in recent years, and to suggest approaches that can mitigate such problems as we complete the process of compliance with *Brown.*

—To place the question of school desegregation in its larger context, as part of America's historic commitment to the achievement of a free and open society.

Anxiety over this issue has been fed by many sources.

On the one hand, some have interpreted various administration statements and actions as a backing away from the principle of *Brown*—and have therefore feared that the painstaking work of a decade and a half might be undermined. We are not backing away. The constitutional mandate will be enforced.

On the other hand, several recent decisions by lower courts have raised widespread fears that the Nation might face a massive disruption of public education: that wholesale compulsory busing may be ordered and the neighborhood school virtually doomed. A comprehensive review of school desegregation cases indicates that these latter are untypical decisions, and that the prevailing trend of judicial opinion is by no means so extreme.

Certain changes are needed in the Nation's approach to school desegregation. It would be remarkable if 16 years of hard, often tempestuous experience had not taught us something about how better to manage the task with a decent regard for the legitimate interests of all concerned—and especially the children. Drawing on this experience, I am confident the remaining problems can be overcome.

What the Law Requires

In order to determine what ought to be done, it is important first to be as clear as possible about what *must* be done.

We are dealing fundamentally with inalienable human rights, some of them constitutionally protected. The final arbiter of constitutional questions is the United States Supreme Court.

The President's Responsibility

There are a number of questions involved in the school controversy on which the Supreme Court has not yet spoken definitely. Where it has spoken, its decrees are the law. Where it has not spoken, where Congress has not acted, and where differing lower courts have left the issue in doubt, my responsibilities as Chief Executive make it necessary that I determine, on the basis of my best judgment, what must be done.

In reaching that determination, I have sought to ascertain the prevailing judicial view as developed in decisions by the Supreme Court and the various circuit courts of appeals. In this statement I list a number of principles derived from that prevailing judicial view. I accept those principles and shall be guided by them. The departments and agencies of the Government will adhere to them.

A few recent cases in the lower courts have gone beyond those generally accepted principles. Unless affirmed by the Su-

preme Court, I will not consider them as precedents to guide administration policy elsewhere.

What the Supreme Court Has Said

To determine the present state of the law, we must first remind ourselves of the recent history of Supreme Court rulings in this area.

This begins with the *Brown* case in 1954, when the Court laid down the principle that deliberate segregation of students by race in the public schools was unconstitutional. In that historic ruling, the Court gave legal sanction to two fundamental truths—that separation by law establishes schools that are inherently unequal, and that a promise of equality before the law cannot be squared with use of the law to establish two classes of people, one black and one white.

The Court requested further argument, however, and propounded the following questions, among others:

"Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

"a. would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"b. may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?"

In its second *Brown* decision the following year, the Court addressed itself to these questions of manner and timing of compliance. Its ruling included these principles:

—Local school problems vary: School authorities have the primary responsibility for solving these problems; courts must consider whether these authorities are acting in good faith.

—The courts should be guided by principles of equity, which traditionally are "characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies and by a facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs."

—Compliance must be achieved "with all deliberate speed," including "a prompt and reasonable start" toward achieving full compliance "at the earliest practicable date."

In 1964, the Supreme Court spoke again: "The time for mere 'deliberate speed' has run out, and that phrase can no longer justify denying these . . . children their constitutional rights."

At the same time, Congress also added to the impetus of desegregation by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, an act that as a private citizen I endorsed and supported.

Although the Supreme Court in the *Brown* cases concerned itself primarily, if not exclusively, with pupil assignments, its decree applied also to teacher assignments and school facilities as a whole.

In 1968, the Supreme Court reiterated the principle enunciated in prior decisions, that teacher assignments are an important aspect of the basic task of achieving a public school system wholly freed from racial discrimination. During that same year, in another group of Supreme Court decisions, a significant and new set of principles also emerged:

—That a school board must establish "that its proposed plan promises meaningful and immediate progress toward disestablishing State-imposed

segregation," and that the plan must "have real prospects for dismantling the State-imposed dual system 'at the earliest practicable date.' "

—That one test of whether a school board has met its "affirmative duty to take whatever steps might be necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch" is the extent to which racial separation persists under its plan.

—That the argument that effective desegregation might cause white families to flee the neighborhood cannot be used to sustain devices designed to perpetuate segregation.

—That when geographic zoning is combined with "free transfers," and the effect of the transfer privilege is to perpetuate segregation despite the zoning, the plan is unacceptable.

The most recent decisions by the Supreme Court have now rejected any further delay, adding to the Court's mandate:

—"The obligation of every school district is to terminate dual systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools."

—That the obligation of such districts is an affirmative one and not a passive one.

—That freedom of choice plans could no longer be considered as an appropriate substitute for the affirmative obligation imposed by the Court unless they, in fact, discharge that obligation immediately.

The Court has dealt only in very general terms with the question of what constitutes a "unitary" system, referring to it as one "within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color." It has not spoken definitely on whether or not, or the extent to which, "desegregation" may mean "integration."

In an opinion earlier this month, Chief Justice Burger pointed out a number of "basic practical problems" which the Court had not yet resolved, "including whether, as a constitutional matter, any particular racial balance must be achieved in the schools; to what extent school districts and zones may or must be altered as a constitutional matter; to what extent transportation may or must be provided to achieve the ends sought by prior holdings of this Court."

One of these areas of legal uncertainty cited by Chief Justice Burger—school transportation—involves congressional pronouncements.

In the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Congress stated, ". . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards."

In the 1966 amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Congress further stated, ". . . nothing contained in this Act shall . . . require the assignment or transportation of students or teachers in order to overcome racial imbalance."

I am advised that these provisions cannot constitutionally be applied to *de jure* segregation. However, not all segregation as it exists today is *de jure*.

I have consistently expressed my opposition to any compulsory busing of pupils

beyond normal geographic school zones for the purpose of achieving racial balance.

What the Lower Courts Have Said

In the absence of definitive Supreme Court rulings, these and other "basic practical problems" have been left for case-by-case determination in the lower courts—and both real and apparent contradictions among some of these lower court rulings have generated considerable public confusion about what the law really requires.

In an often-cited case in 1955 (*Briggs* v. *Elliott*), a district court held that "the Constitution . . . does not require integration. . . . It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation."

But in 1966 another court took issue with this doctrine, pointing out that it had been used as justifying "techniques for perpetuating school segregation," and declaring that:

> ". . . the only adequate redress for a previously overt system-wide policy of segregation directed against Negroes as a collective entity is a system-wide policy of integration."

In 1969, the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals declared:

> "The famous *Briggs* v. *Elliott* dictum—adhered to by this court for many years—that the Constitution forbids segregation but does not require integration . . . is now dead."

Cases in two circuit courts have held that the continued existence of some all-black schools in a formerly segregated district did *not* demonstrate unconstitutionality, with one noting that there is "no duty to balance the races in the school system in conformity with some mathematical formula."

Another circuit court decision declared that even though a district's geographic zones were based on objective, nonracial criteria, the fact that they failed to produce any significant degree of integration meant that they *were* unconstitutional.

Two very recent Federal court decisions continue to illustrate the range of opinion: a plan of a southern school district has been upheld even though three schools would remain all-black, but a northern school system has been ordered by another Federal court to integrate all of its schools completely "by the revising of boundary lines for attendance purposes as well as busing so as to achieve maximum racial integration."

This range of differences demonstrates that lawyers and judges have honest disagreements about what the law requires. There have been some rulings that would divert such huge sums of money to non-educational purposes, and would create such severe dislocations of public school systems, as to impair the primary function of providing a good education. In one, for example—probably the most extreme judicial decree so far—a California State court recently ordered the Los Angeles School Board to establish a virtually uniform racial balance throughout its 711-square-mile district, with its 775,000 children in 561 schools. Local leaders anticipate that this decree would impose an expenditure of $40 million over the next school year to lease 1,600 buses, to acquire site locations to house them, to hire drivers, and to defray operating costs. Subsequent costs would approximate $20 million annually. Some recent rulings by Federal district courts applicable to other school districts appear to be no less severe.

I am dedicated to continued progress toward a truly desegregated public school

system. But, considering the always heavy demands for more school operating funds, I believe it is preferable, when we have to make the choice, to use limited financial resources for the improvement of education—for better teaching facilities, better methods, and advanced educational materials—and for the upgrading of the disadvantaged areas in the community rather than buying buses, tires, and gasoline to transport young children miles away from their neighborhood schools.

What Most of the Courts Agree On

Despite the obvious confusion, a careful survey of rulings both by the Supreme Court and by the circuit courts of appeals suggests that the basic judicial approach may be more reasonable than some have feared. Whatever a few lower courts might have held to the contrary, the prevailing trend of judicial opinion appears to be summed up in these principles:

—There is a fundamental distinction between so-called *de jure* and *de facto* segregation: *de jure* segregation arises by law or by the deliberate act of school officials and is unconstitutional; *de facto* segregation results from residential housing patterns and does not violate the Constitution. (The clearest example of *de jure* segregation is the dual school system as it existed in the South prior to the decision in *Brown*—two schools, one Negro and one white, comprised of the same grades and serving the same geographical area. This is the system with which most of the decisions, and the Supreme Court cases up until now, have been concerned.)

—Where school boards have demonstrated a good-faith effort to comply with court rulings, the courts have generally allowed substantial latitude as to method—often making the explicit point that administrative choices should, wherever possible, be made by the local school authorities themselves.

—In devising particular plans, questions of cost, capacity, and convenience for pupils and parents are relevant considerations.

—Whatever the racial composition of student bodies, faculties and staff must be assigned in a way that does not contribute to identifying a given school as "Negro" or "white."

—In school districts that previously operated dual systems, affirmative steps toward integration are a key element in disestablishing the dual system. This positive integration, however, does not necessarily have to result in "racial balance" throughout the system. When there is racial separation in housing, the constitutional requirement has been held satisfied even though some schools remained all-black.

—While the dual school system is the most obvious example, *de jure* segregation is also found in more subtle forms. Where authorities have deliberately drawn attendance zones or chosen school locations for the express purpose of creating and maintaining racially separate schools, *de jure* segregation is held to exist. In such a case the school board has a positive duty to remedy it. This is so even though the board ostensibly operates a unitary system.

—In determining whether school authorities are responsible for existing racial separation—and thus whether

they are constitutionally required to remedy it—the *intent* of their action in locating schools, drawing zones, etc., is a crucial factor.

—In the case of genuine *de facto* segregation (i.e., where housing patterns produce substantially all-Negro or all-white schools, and where this racial separation has not been caused by deliberate official action) school authorities are not constitutionally required to take any positive steps to correct the imbalance.

To summarize: There is a constitutional mandate that dual school systems and other forms of *de jure* segregation be eliminated totally. But within the framework of that requirement an area of flexibility—a "rule of reason"—exists, in which school boards, acting in good faith, can formulate plans of desegregation which best suit the needs of their own localities.

De facto segregation, which exists in many areas both North and South, is undesirable but is not generally held to violate the Constitution. Thus, residential housing patterns may result in the continued existence of some all-Negro schools even in a system which fully meets constitutional standards. But in any event, local school officials *may,* if they so choose, take steps beyond the constitutional minimums to diminish racial separation.

School Desegregation Today

The Progress

Though it began slowly, the momentum of school desegregation has become dramatic.

Thousands of school districts throughout the South have met the requirements of law.

In the past year alone, the number of black children attending southern schools held to be in compliance has doubled, from less than 600,000 to nearly 1,200,000—representing 40 percent of the Negro student population.

In most cases, this has been peacefully achieved.

However, serious problems are being encountered both by communities and by courts—in part as a consequence of this accelerating pace.

The Problems

In some communities, racially mixed schools have brought the community greater interracial harmony; in others they have heightened racial tension and exacerbated racial frictions. Integration is no longer seen automatically and necessarily as an unmixed blessing for the Negro, Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American child. "Racial balance" has been discovered to be neither a static nor a finite condition; in many cases it has turned out to be only a way station on the road to resegregation. Whites have deserted the public schools, often for grossly inadequate private schools. They have left the now resegregated public schools foundering for lack of support. And when whites flee the central city in pursuit of all- or predominantly-white schools in the suburbs, it is not only the central city schools that become racially isolated, but the central city itself.

These are not theoretical problems, but actual problems. They exist not just in the realm of law, but in the realm of human attitudes and human behavior. They are

part of the real world, and we have to take account of them.

The Complexities

Courts are confronted with problems of equity, and administrators with problems of policy. For example: To what extent does desegregation of dual systems require positive steps to achieve integration? How are the rights of individual children and their parents to be guarded in the process of enforcement? What are the educational impacts of the various means of desegregation—and where they appear to conflict, how should the claims of education be balanced against those of integration? To what extent should desegregation plans attempt to anticipate the problem of *re*segregation?

These questions suggest the complexity of the problems. These problems confront us in the North as well as the South, and in rural communities, suburbs, and central cities.

The troubles in our schools have many sources. They stem in part from deeply rooted racial attitudes; in part from differences in social, economic, and behavioral patterns; in part from weaknesses and inequities in the educational system itself; in part from the fact that by making schools the primary focus of efforts to remedy longstanding social ills, in some cases greater pressure has been brought to bear on the schools than they could withstand.

The Context

Progress toward school desegregation is part of two larger processes, each equally essential:

—The improvement of educational opportunities for all of America's children.

—The lowering of artificial racial barriers in all aspects of American life.

Only if we keep each of these considerations clearly in mind—and only if we recognize their separate natures—can we approach the question of school desegregation realistically.

It may be helpful to step back for a moment, and to consider the problem of school desegregation in its larger context.

The school stands in a unique relationship to the community, to the family, and to the individual student. It is a focal point of community life. It has a powerful impact on the future of all who attend. It is a place not only of learning, but also of living—where a child's friendships center, where he learns to measure himself against others, to share, to compete, to cooperate—and it is the one institution above all others with which the parent shares his child.

Thus it is natural that whatever affects the schools stirs deep feelings among parents, and in the community at large.

Whatever threatens the schools, parents perceive—rightly—as a threat to their children.

Whatever makes the schools more distant from the family undermines one of the important supports of learning.

Quite understandably, the prospect of any abrupt change in the schools is seen as a threat.

As we look back over these 16 years, we find that many changes that stirred fears when they first were ordered have turned out well. In many southern communities, black and white children now learn together—and both the schools and the

communities are better where the essential changes have been accomplished in a peaceful way.

But we also have seen situations in which the changes have not worked well. These have tended to command the headlines, thus increasing the anxieties of those still facing change.

Overburdening the Schools

One of the mistakes of past policy has been to demand too much of our schools: They have been expected not only to educate, but also to accomplish a social transformation. Children in many instances have not been served, but used—in what all too often has proved a tragically futile effort to achieve in the schools the kind of a multiracial society which the adult community has failed to achieve for itself.

If we are to be realists, we must recognize that in a free society there are limits to the amount of Government coercion that can reasonably be used; that in achieving desegregation we must proceed with the least possible disruption of the education of the Nation's children; and that our children are highly sensitive to conflict, and highly vulnerable to lasting psychic injury.

Failing to recognize these factors, past policies have placed on the schools and the children too great a share of the burden of eliminating racial disparities throughout our society. A major part of this task falls to the schools. But they cannot do it all or even most of it by themselves. Other institutions can share the burden of breaking down racial barriers, but only the schools can perform the task of education itself. If our schools fail to educate, then whatever they may achieve in integrating the races will turn out to be only a Pyrrhic victory.

With housing patterns what they are in many places in the Nation, the sheer numbers of pupils and the distances between schools make full and prompt school integration in every such community impractical—even if there were a sufficient desire on the part of the community to achieve it. In Los Angeles, 78 percent of all Negro pupils attend schools that are 95 percent or more black. In Chicago the figure is 85 percent—the same as in Mobile, Alabama. Many smaller cities have the same patterns. Nationwide, 61 percent of all Negro students attend schools which are 95 percent or more black.

Demands that an arbitrary "racial balance" be established as a matter of right misinterpret the law and misstate the priorities.

As a matter of educational policy, some school boards have chosen to arrange their school systems in such a way as to provide a greater measure of racial integration. The important point to bear in mind is that where the existing racial separation has not been caused by official action, this increased integration is and should remain a matter for local determination.

Pupil assignments involve problems which do not arise in the case of the assignment of teachers. If school administrators were truly colorblind and teacher assignments did not reflect the color of the teacher's skin, the law of averages would eventually dictate an approximate racial balance of teachers in each school within a system.

Not Just a Matter of Race

Available data on the educational effects of integration are neither definitive nor comprehensive. But such data as we have suggest strongly that, under the appropriate conditions, racial integration in

the classroom can be a significant factor in improving the quality of education for the disadvantaged. At the same time, the data lead us into several more of the complexities that surround the desegregation issue.

For one thing, they serve as a reminder that, from an educational standpoint, to approach school questions solely in terms of race is to go astray. The data tell us that in educational terms, the significant factor is not race but rather the educational environment in the home—and indeed, that the single most important educational factor in a school is the kind of home environment its pupils come from. As a general rule, children from families whose home environment encourages learning—whatever their race—are higher achievers; those from homes offering little encouragement are lower achievers.

Which effect the home environment has depends on such things as whether books and magazines are available, whether the family subscribes to a newspaper, the educational level of the parents, and their attitude toward the child's education.

The data strongly suggest, also, that in order for the positive benefits of integration to be achieved, the school must have a majority of children from environments that encourage learning—recognizing, again, that the key factor is not race but the kind of home the child comes from. The greater concentration of pupils whose homes encourage learning—of whatever race—the higher the achievement levels not only of those pupils but also of others in the same school. Students learn from students. The reverse is also true: the greater concentration of pupils from homes that discourage learning, the lower the achievement levels of all.

We should bear very carefully in mind, therefore, the distinction between educational difficulty as a result of race, and educational difficulty as a result of social or economic levels, of family background, of cultural patterns, or simply of bad schools. Providing better education for the disadvantaged requires a more sophisticated approach than mere racial mathematics.

In this same connection, we should recognize that a smug paternalism has characterized the attitudes of many white Americans toward school questions. There has been an implicit assumption that blacks or others of minority races would be improved by association with whites. The notion that an all-black or predominantly-black school is automatically inferior to one which is all- or predominantly-white—even though not a product of a dual system—inescapably carries racist overtones. And, of course, we know of hypocrisy: not a few of those in the North most stridently demanding racial integration of public schools in the South at the same time send their children to private schools to avoid the assumed inferiority of mixed public schools.

It is unquestionably true that most black schools—though by no means all—are in fact inferior to most white schools. This is due in part to past neglect or short-changing of the black schools; and in part to long-term patterns of racial discrimination which caused a greater proportion of Negroes to be left behind educationally, left out culturally, and trapped in low-paying jobs. It is not really because they serve black children that most of these schools are inferior, but rather because they serve poor children who often lack the home environment that encourages learning.

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Innovative Approaches

Most public discussion of overcoming racial isolation centers on such concepts as compulsory "busing"—taking children out of the schools they would normally attend, and forcing them instead to attend others more distant, often in strange or even hostile neighborhoods. Massive "busing" is seen by some as the only alternative to massive racial isolation.

However, a number of new educational ideas are being developed, designed to provide the educational benefits of integration without depriving the student of his own neighborhood school.

For example, rather than attempting dislocation of whole schools, a portion of a child's educational activities may be shared with children from other schools. Some of his education is in a "home-base" school, but some outside it. This "outside learning" is in settings that are defined neither as black nor white, and sometimes in settings that are not even in traditional school buildings. It may range all the way from intensive work in reading to training in technical skills, and to joint efforts such as drama and athletics.

By bringing the children together on "neutral" territory friction may be dispelled; by limiting it to part-time activities no one would be deprived of his own neighborhood school; and the activities themselves provide the children with better education.

This sort of innovative approach demonstrates that the alternatives are not limited to perpetuating racial isolation on the one hand, and massively disrupting existing school patterns on the other. Without uprooting students, devices of this kind can provide an additional educational experience within an integrated setting. The child gains both ways.

Good Faith and The Courts

Where desegregation proceeds under the mandate of law, the best results require that the plans be carefully adapted to local circumstances.

A sense of compassionate balance is indispensable. The concept of balance is no stranger to our Constitution. Even first amendment freedoms are not absolute and unlimited; rather the scales of that "balance" have been adjusted with minute care, case by case, and the process continues.

In my discussion of the status of school desegregation law, I indicated that the Supreme Court has left a substantial degree of latitude within which specific desegregation plans can be designed. Many lower courts have left a comparable degree of latitude. This does not mean that the courts will tolerate or the administration condone evasions or subterfuges; it does mean that if the essential element of good faith is present, it should ordinarily be possible to achieve legal compliance with a minimum of educational disruption, and through a plan designed to be responsive to the community's own local circumstances.

This matter of good faith is critical.

Thus the farsighted local leaders who have demonstrated good faith by smoothing the path of compliance in their communities have helped lay the basis for judicial attitudes taking more fully into account the practical problems of compliance.

How the Supreme Court finally rules on the major issues it has not yet determined

can have a crucial impact on the future of public education in the United States.

Traditionally, the Court has refrained from deciding constitutional questions until it became necessary. This period of legal uncertainty has occasioned vigorous controversy over what the thrust of the law should be.

As a Nation, we should create a climate in which these questions, when they finally are decided by the Court, can be decided in a framework most conducive to reasonable and realistic interpretation.

We should not provoke any court to push a constitutional principle beyond its ultimate limit in order to compel compliance with the court's essential, but more modest, mandate. The best way to avoid this is for the Nation to demonstrate that it does intend to carry out the full spirit of the constitutional mandate.

POLICIES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION

It will be the purpose of this administration to carry out the law fully and fairly. And where problems exist that are beyond the mandate of legal requirements, it will be our purpose to seek solutions that are both realistic and appropriate.

I have instructed the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and other appropriate officials of the Government to be guided by these basic principles and policies:

Principles of Enforcement

—Deliberate racial segregation of pupils by official action is unlawful, wherever it exists. In the words of the Supreme Court, it must be eliminated "root and branch"—and it must be eliminated at once.

—Segregation of teachers must be eliminated. To this end, each school system in this Nation, North and South, East and West, must move immediately, as the Supreme Court has ruled, toward a goal under which "in each school the ratio of White to Negro faculty members is substantially the same as it is throughout the system."

—With respect to school facilities, school administrators throughout the Nation, North and South, East and West, must move immediately, also in conformance with the Court's ruling, to assure that schools within individual school districts do not discriminate with respect to the quality of facilities or the quality of education delivered to the children within the district.

—In devising local compliance plans, primary weight should be given to the considered judgment of local school boards—provided they act in good faith, and within constitutional limits.

—The neighborhood school will be deemed the most appropriate base for such a system.

—Transportation of pupils beyond normal geographic school zones for the purpose of achieving racial balance will not be required.

—Federal advice and assistance will be made available on request, but Federal officials should not go beyond the requirements of law in attempting to impose their own judgment on the local school district.

—School boards will be encouraged to be flexible and creative in formulat-

ing plans that are educationally sound and that result in effective desegregation.

—Racial imbalance in a school system may be partly *de jure* in origin, and partly *de facto*. In such a case, it is appropriate to insist on remedy for the *de jure* portion, which is unlawful, without insisting on a remedy for the lawful *de facto* portion.

—*De facto* racial separation, resulting genuinely from housing patterns, exists in the South as well as the North; in neither area should this condition by itself be cause for Federal enforcement actions. *De jure* segregation brought about by deliberate school-board gerrymandering exists in the North as the South; in both areas this must be remedied. In all respects, the law should be applied equally, North and South, East and West.

This is one Nation. We are one people. I feel strongly that as Americans we must be done, now and for all future time, with the divisive notion that these problems are sectional.

Policies for Progress

—In those communities facing desegregation orders, the leaders of the communities will be encouraged to lead—not in defiance, but in smoothing the way of compliance. One clear lesson of experience is that local leadership is a fundamental factor in determining success or failure. Where leadership has been present, where it has been mobilized, where it has been effective, many districts have found that they could, after all, desegregate their schools successfully. Where local leadership has failed, the community has failed—and the schools and the children have borne the brunt of that failure.

—We shall launch a concerted, sustained, and honest effort to assemble and evaluate the lessons of experience: to determine what methods of school desegregation have worked, in what situations, and why—and also what has not worked. The Cabinet-level working group I recently appointed will have as one of its principal functions amassing just this sort of information and helping make it available to the communities in need of assistance.

—We shall attempt to develop a far greater body of reliable data than now exists on the effects of various integration patterns on the learning process. Our effort must always be to preserve the educational benefit for the children.

—We shall explore ways of sharing more broadly the burdens of social transition that have been laid disproportionately on the schools—ways, that is, of shifting to other public institutions a greater share of the task of undoing the effects of racial isolation.

—We shall seek to develop and test a varied set of approaches to the problems associated with *de facto* segregation, North as well as South.

—We shall intensify our efforts to ensure that the gifted child—the potential leader—is not stifled intellectually merely because he is black or brown or lives in a slum.

—While raising the quality of education in all schools, we shall concentrate especially on racially-impacted schools, and particularly on equaliz-

ing those schools that are furthest behind.

Words often ring empty without deeds. In government, words can ring even emptier without dollars.

In order to give substance to these commitments, I shall ask Congress to divert $500 million from my previous budget requests for other domestic programs for fiscal 1971, to be put instead into programs for improving education in racially-impacted areas, North and South, and for assisting school districts in meeting special problems incident to court-ordered desegregation. For fiscal 1972, I have ordered that $1 billion be budgeted for the same purposes.

I am not content simply to see this money spent, and then to count the spending as the measure of accomplishment. For much too long, national "commitments" have been measured by the number of Federal dollars spent rather than by more valid measures such as the quality of imagination displayed, the amount of private energy enlisted, or, even more to the point, the results achieved.

If this $1.5 billion accomplishes nothing, then the commitment will mean nothing.

If it enables us to break significant new ground, then the commitment will mean everything.

This I deeply believe: Communities desegregating their schools face special needs—for classrooms, facilities, teachers, teacher-training—and the Nation should help meet those needs.

The Nation also has a vital and special stake in upgrading education where *de facto* segregation persists—and where extra efforts are needed if the schools are to do their job. These schools, too, need extra money for teachers and facilities.

Beyond this, we need to press forward with innovative new ways of overcoming the effects of racial isolation and of making up for environmental deficiencies among the poor.

I have asked the Vice President's Cabinet committee on school desegregation [Cabinet Committee on Education], together with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to consult with experts in and out of government and prepare a set of recommended criteria for the allocation of these funds.

I have specified that these criteria should give special weight to four categories of need:

—The special needs of desegregating (or recently desegregated) districts for additional facilities, personnel, and training required to get the new, unitary system successfully started.

—The special needs of racially-impacted schools where *de facto* segregation persists—and where immediate infusions of money can make a real difference in terms of educational effectiveness.

—The special needs of those districts that have the furthest to go to catch up educationally with the rest of the Nation.

—The financing of innovative techniques for providing educationally sound interracial experiences for children in racially isolated schools.

This money—the $500 million next year, and $1 billion in fiscal 1972—must come from other programs. Inevitably, it represents a further reordering of priorities on the domestic scene. It represents a heightened priority for making school desegregation work, and for helping the victims of racial isolation learn.

Nothing is more vital to the future of

our Nation than the education of its children; and at the heart of equal opportunity is equal educational opportunity. These funds will be an investment in both the quality and the equality of that opportunity.

This money is meant to provide help *now,* where help is needed now.

As we look to the longer-term future, it is vital that we concentrate more effort on understanding the process of learning—and improving the process of teaching. The educational needs we face cannot be met simply with more books, more classrooms, and more teachers—however urgently these are needed now in schools that face shortages. We need more effective methods of teaching, and especially of teaching those children who are hardest to reach and most lacking in a home environment that encourages learning.

In my message on education reform earlier this month, I proposed creation of a National Institute of Education to conduct and to sponsor basic and applied educational research—with special emphasis on compensatory education for the disadvantaged, on the Right to Read, on experimental schools, and on the use of television for educational purposes.

I repeat that proposal—and I ask that the Congress consider it a matter of high priority.

A Free and Open Society

The goal of this administration is a free and open society. In saying this, I use the words "free" and "open" quite precisely.

Freedom has two essential elements: the *right* to choose, and the *ability* to choose. The right to move out of a mid-city slum, for example, means little without the means of doing so. The right to apply for a good job means little without access to the skills that make it attainable. By the same token, those skills are of little use if arbitrary policies exclude the person who has them because of race or other distinction.

Similarly, an "open" society is one of open choices—and one in which the individual has the mobility to take advantage of those choices.

In speaking of "desegregation" or "integration," we often lose sight of what these mean within the context of a free, open, pluralistic society. We cannot be free, and at the same time be required to fit our lives into prescribed places on a racial grid—whether segregated or integrated, and whether by some mathematical formula or by automatic assignment. Neither can we be free, and at the same time be denied—because of race—the right to associate with our fellow citizens on a basis of human equality.

An open society does not have to be homogeneous, or even fully integrated. There is room within it for many communities. Especially in a nation like America, it is natural that people with a common heritage retain special ties; it is natural and right that we have Italian or Irish or Negro or Norwegian neighborhoods; it is natural and right that members of those communities feel a sense of group identity and group pride. In terms of an open society, what matters is mobility: the right and the ability of each person to decide for himself where and how he wants to live, whether as part of the ethnic enclave or as part of the larger society—or, as many do, share the life of both.

We are richer for our cultural diversity; mobility is what allows us to enjoy it.

Economic, educational, social mobil-

ity—all these, too, are essential elements of the open society. When we speak of equal opportunity we mean just that: that each person should have an equal chance at the starting line, and an equal chance to go just as high and as far as his talents and energies will take him.

This administration's programs for helping the poor, for equal opportunity, for expanded opportunity, all have taken a significantly changed direction from those of previous years—and those principles of a free and open society are the keys to the new direction.

Instead of making a man's decisions for him, we aim to give him both the *right* and and *ability* to choose for himself—and the mobility to move upward. Instead of creating a permanent welfare class catered to by a permanent welfare bureaucracy, for example, my welfare reform proposal provides job training and a job requirement for all those able to work—and also a regular family assistance payment instead of the demeaning welfare handout.

By pressing hard for the "Philadelphia Plan," we have sought to crack the color bar in the construction unions—and thus to give black and other minority Americans both the right and the ability to choose jobs in the construction trades, among the highest paid in the Nation.

We have inaugurated new minority business enterprise programs—not only to help minority members get started in business themselves, but also, by developing more black and brown entrepreneurs, to demonstrate to young blacks, Mexican-Americans, and others that they, too, can aspire to this same sort of upward economic mobility.

In our education programs, we have stressed the need for far greater diversity in offerings to match the diversity of individual needs—including more and better vocational and technical training, and a greater development of 2-year community colleges.

Such approaches have been based essentially on faith in the individual—knowing that he sometimes needs help, but believing that in the long run he usually knows what is best for himself. Through them also runs a belief that education is the key that opens the door to personal progress.

As we strive to make our schools places of equal educational opportunity, we should keep our eye fixed on this goal: to achieve a set of conditions in which neither the laws nor the institutions supported by law any longer draw an invidious distinction based on race; and going one step further, we must seek to repair the human damage wrought by past segregation. We must give the minority child that equal place at the starting line that his parents were denied—and the pride, the dignity, the self-respect, that are the birthright of a free American.

We can do no less and still be true to our conscience and our Constitution. I believe that most Americans today, whether North or South, accept this as their duty.

The issues involved in desegregating schools, reducing racial isolation, and providing equal educational opportunity are not simple. Many of the questions are profound, the factors complex, the legitimate considerations in conflict, and the answers elusive. Our continuing search, therefore, must be not for the perfect set of answers, but for the most nearly perfect and the most constructive.

I am aware that there are many sincere Americans who believe deeply in instant solutions and who will say that my ap-

proach does not go far enough fast enough. They feel that the only way to bring about social justice is to integrate all schools now, everywhere, no matter what the cost in the disruption of education.

I am aware, too, that there are many equally sincere citizens—North and South, black and white—who believe that racial separation is right, and wish the clock of progress would stop or be turned back to 1953. They will be disappointed, too.

But the call for equal educational opportunity today is in the American tradition. From the outset of the Nation, one of the great struggles in America has been to transform the system of education into one that truly provided equal opportunity for all. At first, the focus was on economic discrimination. The system of "fee schools" and "pauper schools" persisted well into the 19th century.

Heated debates preceded the establishment of universal free public education—and even in such States as New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the system is barely a century old.

Even today, inequities persist. Children in poor areas often are served by poor schools—and unlike the children of the wealthy, they cannot escape to private schools. But we have been narrowing the gap—providing more and better education in more of the public schools, and making higher education more widely available through free tuition, scholarships, and loans.

In other areas, too, there were long struggles to eliminate discrimination that had nothing to do with race. Property and even religious qualifications for voting persisted well into the 19th century—and not until 1920 were women finally guaranteed the right to vote.

Now the focus is on race—and on the dismantling of all racial bars to equality of opportunity in the schools. As with the lowering of economic barriers, the pull of conscience and the pull of national self-interest both are in the same direction. A system that leaves any segment of its people poorly educated serves the Nation badly; a system that educates all of its people well serves the Nation well.

We have overcome many problems in our 190 years as a Nation. We can overcome this problem. We have managed to extend opportunity in other areas. We can extend it in this area. Just as other rights have been secured, so too can these rights be secured—and once again the Nation will be better for having done so.

I am confident that we can preserve and improve our schools, carry out the mandate of our Constitution, and be true to our national conscience.

92 Proclamation 3973, Nineteenth Decennial Census of the United States. *March* 24, 1970

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation

The Founding Fathers set forth in Article I of our Constitution the requirement that an ". . . Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years in such Manner as they shall by Law direct." Accordingly, the first Census was taken in 1790. The Nineteenth Decennial Census will be taken beginning April 1, 1970.

As our population has grown from the

nearly four million counted in the first Census to over two hundred million, so the needs for the Census have expanded. Today, more than ever, we need reliable measures of the great changes which have occurred in the growth, location and characteristics of our people in their housing and activities.

Every American can be sure that there will be no improper use of the information given in the Census. Government officials and employees are forbidden by law to use information recorded on the Census form for the purposes of taxation, investigation, regulation, or for any other purpose whatsoever affecting the individual. Every employee of the Census Bureau is prohibited from disclosing information pertaining to any individual.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and make known that under the law it is the duty of every person over eighteen years of age to answer all questions in the Census schedules applying to him and the family to which he belongs, and to the home occupied by him or his family.

The prompt, complete and accurate answering of all official inquiries made by Census officials is of great importance to our country. I ask all Americans to extend full cooperation to the 1970 Decennial Census of Population and Housing.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On November 30, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the results of the 1970 census by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, and Dr. George Hay Brown, Director, and Conrad F Taeuber, Associate Director for Demographic Fields, Bureau of the Census.

93 Statement About Legislative Proposals Concerning Explosives. *March* 25, 1970

RECENT months have brought an alarming increase in the number of criminal bombings in the cities of our country. In recent weeks, the situation has become particularly acute, as telephoned threats and actual bombings have sent fear through many American communities.

Schools and public buildings have had to be evacuated; considerable property has been destroyed; lives have been lost. Clearly, many of these bombings have been the work of political fanatics, many of them young criminals posturing as romantic revolutionaries. They must be dealt with as the potential murderers they are.

Under existing law, the transport of explosives across State lines is, under some circumstances, a Federal crime. I am proposing an extensive strengthening and expansion of that law. In the proposals being sent to the Congress, it is asked that:

—Anyone involved in the transport or receipt in commerce of explosives, intending their unlawful use, be made subject to imprisonment for 10 years or a fine of $10,000 or both.

the current maximum penalty is a single year in prison or a $1,000 fine or both.

—The maximum penalty be doubled to 20 years in prison or a $20,000 fine or both if anyone is injured as the ultimate result of such transport of explosives.

—Penalties for bomb threats be raised from 1 year in prison to a maximum of 5 years of $5,000 fine or both.

—Incendiary devices be included in the category of "explosives," bringing such devices under the anti-bombing provisions.

—Use of explosives to damage or destroy any building, vehicle, or other property owned or leased to the Federal Government be made a Federal crime.

—Possession, without written authorization, of any explosive in such a building be made a Federal crime.

—Use of explosives to damage or destroy any building or property used for business purposes by any person or firm engaged in interstate commerce, or in any activity affecting such commerce, be made a Federal crime.

—Possession of explosives with the intent to damage either Federal property or property used in its business by a person engaged in interstate commerce also be made a Federal crime.

—The individual engaged in the transport or use of explosives in violation of these provisions be made subject to the death penalty if a fatality occurs.

Our purpose in bringing these crimes under Federal jurisdiction is not to displace State or local authority. Federal investigations and prosecutions would begin only after the Attorney General has determined that intervention by the National Government is necessary in the public interest. Our purpose is rather to assist State and local governments in their efforts to combat the multiplying number of acts of urban terror. I am also asking that Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds be specifically designated for special training programs for State and local law enforcement agencies to aid them in coping with this latest threat to the public safety and to the maintenance of a free and open society.

The anarchic and criminal elements who perpetrate such acts deserve no more patience or indulgence. It is time to deal with them for what they are.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Richard G. Kleindienst, Deputy Attorney General, on the President's statement.

The President's proposals were included in provisions of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-452, 84 Stat. 922).

94 Exchange of Letters With the Secretary of State on His African Policy Statement. *March* 26, 1970

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Your thoughtfully prepared policy statement on Africa is wholeheartedly approved.

You know of my keen personal interest in relations with the African countries. We have both felt the spirit and dynamism of this continent and its people. I be-

lieve we now have a special opportunity to maintain and to expand our present relationships and am pleased that you and your staff have made so complete and positive an examination of the paths that are available to us.

You may count on my full support in the fulfillment of this program. It establishes a good foundation upon which we can respond to African needs and build that relationship of cooperation and understanding which we desire.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable William P. Rogers, The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. 20520]

NOTE: The letters and Secretary Rogers' statement entitled "The United States and Africa in the 1970's" are printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 62, pp. 513, 514). The Secretary's letter, dated March 26, 1970, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

We have prepared and are submitting for your approval the attached statement on our policies in Africa. This is the first full statement of this kind by the United States Government in recent years. It represents, as you know, the results of numerous discussions with African leaders, a reflection of your own observations and interests regarding the continent, and conclusions arising from my own recent tour of Africa. It reflects with greater detail the principles of our African policy set forth in the Report on Foreign Policy in the 1970's.

The report emphasizes elements of our relationship to Africa both economic and political which will be of special importance in the coming months.

We believe the actions and objectives set forth in this paper represent a positive program within current budgetary and legislative guidelines. We have not suggested precise levels for the economic programs in view of the current studies of the worldwide foreign assistance policy. We feel it important, however, that our programs be certainly not less than the present level. We intend, within that level, to demonstrate herein how our current capabilities can respond more fully to Africa's stated needs.

In the ensuing weeks we shall be discussing aspects of the program with members of the Congress. We shall be developing other aspects in direct consultation with African governments, governments of other countries participating in African development and significant regional and international institutions.

As time goes on, we shall be building on this foundation, expanding where we can to increase the total effectiveness of our relationship with this significant continent. I believe you will find in our approach the basis for the positive expression of U.S. interest in Africa which you have so strongly encouraged.

Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS

[The President, The White House]

95 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts. *March* 31, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

For all of our arts institutions, these are times of increasing financial concern. The Fiscal Year 1969 Report of the National Endowment for the Arts, which I am transmitting herewith, notes that "the services offered by arts institutions, and the costs which they incurred, continued to expand at a faster rate than earned income and contributions. Therefore as

the year continued, these institutions were confronted by mounting financial pressures."

The sums appropriated by the Congress for the Endowment during this period were at the levels established in prior years. Its programs, though limited in size, were of benefit to all of the fifty States and the five special jurisdictions, and in some instances were the means by which fine institutions in the performing arts were enabled to survive.

It was in response to the growing financial problem that on December 10, 1969, I sent to the Congress a special message on the Arts and the Humanities. I noted then that "need and opportunity combine . . . to present the Federal government with an obligation to help broaden the base of our cultural legacy . . ." Accordingly, I asked the Congress to extend the legislation creating the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and to provide appropriations for the National Foundation in Fiscal 1971 in an amount "virtually double the current year's level."

In urging the Congress to approve a $20 million program for the National Endowment for the Arts, and an equal amount for the National Endowment for the Humanities, I maintained that few investments we could make would give us so great a return in terms of human satisfaction and spiritual fulfillment. More than ever now, I hold to that view.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
March 31, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts; Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1969" (73 pp.).

The President's proposals were included in the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1970 (Public Law 91-346, 84 Stat. 443).

96 Memorandum About Participation of Young People in Government. *March* 31, 1970

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

Our society's greatest resource is its youth. Young Americans today are more aware than ever before of the problems and the opportunities before us. They have in high degree the ideals, vision, sensitivity and energy that assure our future.

We who direct the affairs of government have a special obligation to provide for the constructive use of these qualities—to enlarge the participation and involvement of young people in government. How well we communicate with youth and seek the advantage of their abilities will influence our effectiveness in meeting our responsibilities.

I would like you to make a thorough and critical review of how your managers determine long-range staffing needs, attract talented young people to their staffs, utilize and develop them, and provide mechanisms through which ideas can be expressed and considered. Each department and agency must assure that:

—Manpower planning provides for an adequate and continuing intake of career trainees to meet future requirements in the administrative, professional and technical fields.

—Young people are placed in jobs that

challenge their full abilities and provide opportunities to grow, innovate and contribute in a real way to the work of the organization.

—Young professionals are exposed to the decision-making processes and to a broad view of their agencies' missions.

—Open channels for communication are established and freely used, and provide for listening, considering and responding, with fast means for ideas to reach officials who can act on them.

—All supervisors understand how much they influence young employees' job attitudes and career decisions through their receptivity, their interest and their flexibility.

In addition to what is done within government, we must build other links with American youth. Insulation from the operations of government generates misunderstanding and misconceptions. Efforts must be made to provide knowledge about activities being undertaken to solve complex problems and meet human needs. Among the steps which managers can take to bring this about are these:

—Enable Federal officials to appear on campuses as guest lecturers and speakers in their areas of primary interest.

—Encourage able professional employees to accept appointments as part-time faculty members.

—Provide opportunities for faculty members to be employed during breaks in their academic schedules where their expertise can be of benefit to government programs.

—Employ students in temporary jobs related to their careers, through the summer intern program and other plans designed to provide a practical exposure to government operations.

—Assure that staff members who recruit on campus are so well suited to their assignments that you would be pleased to have them regarded as your personal representatives.

—Inform academic institutions about government programs and the contributions made by their graduates and faculty.

I have asked the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to provide leadership in this vital area and to advise me of significant developments and progress.

The beginning of this decade is a fitting time for us to demonstrate our commitment to the full involvement of today's youth in the processes of government which will help shape their tomorrow and ours. Only with the help of this generation can we meet the challenges of the 1970s.

RICHARD NIXON

97 Annual Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia Budget. *March* 31, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting to the Congress the budget for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1970.

This budget represents the programs and policies of the government of the District of Columbia for providing the municipal services and for the local needs

of our Nation's Capital City. It also reflects the financial contributions of the Federal Government in providing resources to help finance the local budget.

Washington, D.C., is a great city of monumental beauty, national history, and governmental activity vital to the Nation's domestic and international affairs. Washington is also the center city of one of the Nation's fastest growing metropolitan areas and as such is the hub of business and commercial activity and the home of 828,000 residents. To protect and promote the interests of the residents, visitors, employees in both the public and private sectors, national and international leaders, requires critical attention to the needs of the Capital City and the urban problems it shares with the other cities of our country. It also requires that the best and most effective use be made of the local and Federal tax dollars which are used to finance the District's budget.

This budget, as approved by the Mayor and the City Council, proposes prudent and realistic programs and means of financing to move toward our goal to establish a quality environment for Washington and make it the kind of city we all look for and want as a Nation's Capital.

This budget recommends appropriations of $881 million for the fiscal year 1971 and includes $654 million for operating programs and debt service and $227 million for local public works projects. The estimates for operating expenses and debt service, which cover the basic ongoing programs and provide for the city's services, represent an increase of $86 million or 15% above the amount estimated for the current fiscal year.

SOURCES OF FINANCING

The proposed $881 million in budget authority for fiscal 1971 will require total local expenditures of $647 million for operating and debt service expenses and $227 million for capital outlays. The operating and debt service requirements are to be financed by $488 million of local taxes from existing sources; $21.5 million from a proposed increase in individual income tax rates as contained in Section 301 of H.R. 15151; $1.5 million from a proposed 1-cent increase in the gasoline tax; and $136 million in Federal funds which includes $4 million for water and sewer services provided for Federal agencies and $132 million for the annual Federal payment to defray the operating expenses of the City Government on the basis of a proposed formula which would set the Federal payment authorization at 30% of local District revenues.

The proposed 30% Federal payment authorization would provide for an equitable sharing by the Federal Government in meeting the needs of the District Government—including better law enforcement capability, strengthened crime prevention and control activities, health and welfare programs, and pay increases for District employees, including an increase for its teachers, policemen, and firemen which is now pending before the Congress.

These various local requirements make it imperative that the Congress promptly enact the proposed Federal payment and local income tax measures in order that they will become effective this fiscal year. If the Congress fails to take timely action

on these financing proposals the city will lose an estimated $15 million in resources for fiscal year 1970 which are needed to fund programs both in the current year and in fiscal 1971.

NEW DIRECTIONS

As part of this administration's effort to shift priorities, turn toward new directions, and take stock of past practices—this budget for the District of Columbia proposes several changes in Federal financing and includes significant local initiatives.

CHANGES IN FEDERAL FINANCING.—The budgets for the Federal and District Government are based on several new changes in Federal financing which are designed to strengthen the local government and reflect a proper balance between Federal and District responsibility. In addition to the proposed 30 percent Federal payment formula the budget proposals for fiscal year 1971 would—

- shift the direct responsibility for the city's public works loan financing from the U.S. Treasury to the private investment community by authorizing the city to issue its own local bonds. This will place the District's capital outlay program on a basis similar to that of other cities and will permit immediate savings to the U.S. taxpayer who must otherwise shoulder the immediate burden of direct Federal borrowing. Offsets accruing to the Federal budget are estimated at about $55 million for fiscal year 1971;
- provide direct Federal capital contributions, estimated at $20 million for 1971, for the permanent facilities for Federal City College and Washington Technical Institute;
- shift the responsibility from the District to the Federal Government for financing the operating expenses of the National Zoological Park which is a part of the Smithsonian Institution's national museum complex. This proposal reflects the Federal and metropolitan character of the National Zoo for which the District alone has been bearing the burden of its operating expenses. The $3 million estimated for fiscal year 1971 has been included in Federal budget totals thus providing equivalent relief to the city government;
- reallocate parkland between the Federal and District Governments. Those local parks serving primarily the local community which do not have national historical or monumental significance are to be transferred directly to the District. This will eliminate the need for the city to continue to make reimbursements to the National Park Service which will assume full financial responsibility for the parks remaining under its jurisdiction. This measure represents a shift of about $7 million from the District to the Federal budget;
- freeze the level of reimbursements by the city to Saint Elizabeth's Hospital pending a determination of future arrangements for an appropriate relationship between the Federal and District Governments concerning the financing and administration of the Hospital;

LOCAL INITIATIVES.—The most signifi-

cant local initiatives proposed in the District's budget are directed to establishing a Capital City with safe streets and a quality environment.

Safe streets.—This budget provides for strengthened law-enforcement capability, improved administration of justice, and augmented action measures to reverse the City's crime rate. The 1971 budget estimates include $130.5 million for operating expenses of police courts and corrections. This amount represents an increase of $46 million—or 55%—over the level for 1969 and would provide—

- increased street patrols by an actual police strength of 5,100 policemen on the force compared to an actual strength of 3,589 men as of June 30, 1969;
- increased police mobility and effectiveness through additional scout cars, patrol scooters, and communications equipment as well as more civilians to support police operations and relieve policemen from civilian duties;
- an augmented program of narcotics treatment and control, including centralized local responsibility under a new narcotics treatment agency;
- a roving leader corps of 282 to work with delinquent prone and other youth, compared to a staff of only 37 for fiscal 1969;
- a reserve of $4 million to provide for costs of additional judges and other expenses related to reorganization of the court system of the District of Columbia upon enactment of S. 2601;
- strengthened court support services through expansion of public defender services, the D.C. Bail Agency, and juvenile probation services;
- construction of police stations—to support consolidation of 14 police precincts into 6 police districts, and planning and construction of a new jail and a new courthouse; and
- an allowance for pending police pay raises which would increase starting salaries for new recruits from $8,000 to $8,500.

Quality environment.—New and increased efforts to improve the environment of the Nation's Capital include—

- $40 million for waste treatment facilities to reduce pollution in the Potomac River;
- development of additional facilities for recreation activity including a campsite in Scotland, Maryland, to provide about 3,000 inner city youth with summer camping opportunities, and construction of swimming pools and other recreation projects in Anacostia; and

Balanced transportation.—The budget continues the efforts to provide a balanced transportation system for the District. In particular, the long-awaited rail rapid transit system for the entire metropolitan region takes a major stride forward with the $34.2 million for the city's share of the rail rapid transit program. Contracts for over 16 miles of subway within the District will be let during the fiscal year, giving tangible evidence of a program which is truly designed to unify the central city with the surrounding suburban communities. Increased employment, reduced air pollution, and reduced congestion are some of the benefits residents and visitors in the area can look forward to as this dynamic project moves ahead. Other ele-

ments in the city's transportation program include $12 million for the District local matching share for previously authorized highway construction and funding of local street improvement projects.

Better education.—Improved education is not only a national goal, but one which must be carried out at the local levels. This budget takes important steps in improving educational opportunity for one of the city's most precious resources—its youth.

- For the first time in the District's history per pupil expenditures will be over $1,000.
- In order to encourage students to stay in school, a dramatic new system-wide career development program will be initiated. The resources of private industry, colleges, and government will be marshalled in a cooperative effort to insure that students remain in school and are able to realize their full potential in choosing and working toward their employment goals.
- Over 12,000 students will be able to continue their education at the District's institutions of higher learning.
- A new means of financing the permanent facilities of Washington Technical Institute and the Federal City College is anticipated as part of a master plan for higher education to be developed by the affected institutions. The plan will provide the basis for the coordinated long-range growth and development of higher education in the District.
- For the first time, the Board of Education is provided with appropriate staff assistance. The $100 thousand requested in the budget will help to increase the Board's ability to analyze the complex educational problems of a large city school system and increase the Board's ability to respond to community desires and interests.

This is only a summary, of course, of the most significant budget initiatives. A further indication of the directions for fiscal 1971 is contained in the Mayor's transmittal letter. These recommendations have been carefully sifted and weighed, first by the Mayor and his departments and agencies within the executive branch of the District Government, then by the public and community organizations, and finally by the City Council. The result of this thorough examination of programs and priorities is a sound and prudent budget based on a minimum of new revenue measures. I again urge the Congress to take early action on the pending local income tax and Federal payment authorization proposals.

None of our aspirations for our Capital City can be achieved, including augmented police protection, improved system of courts and offender rehabilitation, reduced pollution and congestion, and better education—unless the District is given the resources to do the job. At the same time, however, money alone can not achieve the objectives the city officials have set for themselves. I am proud, as is the Congress, of the dedicated and judicious manner in which the recently reorganized Government of the District of Columbia has proceeded forward with the tasks it faces. In fulfilling the expectations of the Reorganization Plan of 1967, the Mayor is continuing to further improve and streamline the internal organi-

zation of the City Government. Most noticeable among these efforts is the establishment of a new Department of Economic Development, an Office of Budget and Executive Management, a new Department of Human Resources, an Office of Community Services, and most recently—an Office of Youth Opportunity Services to strengthen the coordination of the city's various youth activities, including planning responsibility for juvenile delinquency prevention and control programs.

None of the tasks with which the City is faced can be completed tomorrow. Significant progress can be made with strong leadership, adequate resources, and sound programs to achieve a viable urban environment. I ask the Congress to continue its support for the Capital City through its budget and financing proposals. I recommend approval of the District of Columbia Budget for fiscal 1971.

RICHARD NIXON

March 31, 1970

NOTE: The appropriations were provided by the District of Columbia Appropriation Act, 1971, approved July 16, 1970 (Public Law 91-337, 84 Stat. 432).

98 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on National Housing Goals. *April* 1, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I submit herewith the Second Annual Report on National Housing Goals, as required by Section 1603 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

In the past year, this Administration has undertaken an extensive analysis of our housing goals and the prospects for meeting them. This analysis suggests that the construction and rehabilitation of 26 million housing units in a decade—including 6 million for families with low and moderate income—should meet the nation's needs, and is consistent with other urgent claims on our productive resources. This volume of housing can be produced if we follow appropriate policies.

In line with the statutory requirement, the attached Report presents a revised production plan to achieve the housing goals. Such planning is helpful in providing a guideline by which to measure our progress toward meeting the nation's increasingly urgent housing needs. It should be emphasized, however, that projections eight years into the future must be considered flexible, regardless of the apparent precision of the planning schedule.

The record of the past year makes clear that continuing efforts on many fronts are required to provide a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family. The Administration, the Congress, private industry and labor must cooperate closely in removing the obstacles and making the commitments necessary to meet our housing objective within the framework of sustainable economic growth.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 1, 1970

NOTE: The Second Annual Report on National Housing Goals, as transmitted to the Congress, consisted of 92 pages plus appendixes.

99 Exchange of Letters With Senator William B. Saxbe on the Nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. *April* 1, 1970

Dear Bill:

Your letter of March 30 provides me a welcome opportunity to reaffirm my confidence in Judge Carswell.

First, let me dispel any thought that I am less committed to Judge Carswell than to any prior nominee. He has my total support.

I have consistently stated my determination to appoint to the Supreme Court competent, experienced men who are sensitive to the role of the judiciary in interpreting the Constitution and the laws of the land. My first appointee, now the Chief Justice, had 13 years previous experience in the Federal judiciary. Judge Carswell has had longer and more complete judicial service than any Supreme Court appointee in decades other than Chief Justice Burger. Judge Carswell was for 5 years a U.S. Attorney and for 11 years a U.S. District Judge. Appointment to both positions required Senate confirmation. Just a year ago the Senate again confirmed him, without a single opposing vote, for membership on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which is subordinate only to the Supreme Court in the Federal Judicial System. The American Bar Association Committee on the Federal Judiciary found Judge Carswell qualified as to integrity, judicial temperament and professional competence. The Committee met a second time after attacks were mounted against the Judge and unanimously agreed to adhere to its earlier conclusion.

The charges against Judge Carswell are specious. He is accused, for example, of "lack of candor." The record shows that during his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Judge Carswell erred in attempting to recall an incident that had occurred 14 years earlier. During the same hearing, only minutes later and on his own initiative, he corrected his own statement. The Committee, in reporting the nomination, did not suggest that Judge Carswell had intended to deceive or mislead the Committee in any way.

It is also charged that Judge Carswell is a "racist." In the Committee record a letter appears from a shipmate of Judge Carswell, who served with him aboard the USS Baltimore for two years during World War II, a period when the military services were racially segregated. The shipmate describes Judge Carswell's attitude as "truly humanistic and liberal" and reports that he reacted to people without bias, regardless of race or color. Two men, together under the tension of combat, come to know one another as few others do.

In other testimony before the Committee, the eminent Professor [James William] Moore of Yale Law School describes Judge Carswell's key role in establishing an integrated, highly successful law school at Florida State University.

Those who charge that Judge Carswell is a racist should examine the entire record, not just those parts which taken out of context support the conclusion that they wish to reach. His own repudiation of his 1948 campaign statement was eloquent and unequivocal, and no decision

he has rendered can be fairly labeled "racist" in any respect.

What is centrally at issue in this nomination is the constitutional responsibility of the President to appoint members of the Court—and whether this responsibility can be frustrated by those who wish to substitute their own philosophy or their own subjective judgment for that of the one person entrusted by the Constitution with the power of appointment. The question arises whether I, as President of the United States, shall be accorded the same right of choice in naming Supreme Court Justices which has been freely accorded to my predecessors of both parties.

I respect the right of any Senator to differ with my selection. It would be extraordinary if the President and 100 Senators were to agree unanimously as to any nominee. The fact remains, under the Constitution it is the duty of the President to appoint and of the Senate to advise and consent. But if the Senate attempts to substitute its judgment as to who should be appointed, the traditional constitutional balance is in jeopardy and the duty of the President under the Constitution impaired.

For this reason, the current debate transcends the wisdom of this or any other appointment. If the charges against Judge Carswell were supportable, the issue would be wholly different. But if, as I believe, the charges are baseless, what is at stake is the preservation of the traditional constitutional relationships of the President and the Congress.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable William B. Saxbe, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: Biographical information on Judge Carswell is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 52).

The President's letter was dated March 31, 1970, and released along with Senator Saxbe's letter on April 1, 1970. Senator Saxbe's letter read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I have publicly stated during the Haynsworth consideration that I felt the President should have the right to his choice for the Supreme Court, with rejection by the Senate based solely on a proved and major character deficiency. I found such a deficiency in Judge Haynsworth and voted against his confirmation.

In my opinion Judge Carswell made an excellent appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee, but I am disturbed by recent charges against him.

The most recent of these incidents has to do with his candor, or rather his alleged lack of it, in connection with his testimony on his part in forming a racially segregated country club. I believe this question, as well as the charges that Judge Carswell is not only a racist but also a man of mediocre intelligence and attainment, are troubling many members of the Senate.

Finally, and I speak here only for myself, your public support of Judge Carswell, as compared to your support of Judge Haynsworth, appears on the surface to be less than wholehearted. I am very interested in knowing if this is indeed the case.

There are now suggestions that you withdraw this nomination and a move is on to recommit it. Everyone knows that such a move would be in effect rejection of the nomination.

I am reluctant to intrude on your time, but these are points that I feel need your personal attention. I will await your reply before reaching a final decision.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM SAXBE
United States Senator

[The President, The White House]

100 Statement About the Veterans Medical Care Program. *April* 2, 1970

FOR a number of years, the Veterans Administration hospital system has been experiencing increasing difficulties in providing a full range of services for the care of sick and disabled veterans. As a result of past decisions, the ability of the VA hospital system to meet future needs has been seriously impaired.

Action must be taken now to insure that eligible veterans will receive the medical care they require.

When I appointed Donald E. Johnson to be Administrator of Veterans Affairs last June, I directed him to make a thorough review of the veterans medical care program: to identify the problems, analyze the causes, take such immediate corrective steps as appropriate, and recommend a total medical care program appropriate for future needs. He has completed that review, and today he reported his findings.

I am pleased that the Administrator and his new management team have taken a number of immediate administrative steps to improve the quality of the veterans medical care program. However, his review shows that additional funds are required immediately if the VA is to meet its obligations to veterans requiring medical attention. *Therefore, I have approved an increase of $50 million in the VA's medical care budget request for fiscal year 1971—which makes it $210 million more than the approved appropriation for fiscal year 1970—and have authorized the VA to seek from Congress an additional appropriation of $15 million for the remainder of this fiscal year.* These requests will enable the VA to improve medical care for all eligible veterans, particularly for those suffering from battle injuries.

This administration is committed to providing quality medical care for every eligible veteran.

Background of the Problem

A 1968 law required the Veterans Administration to reduce its staff to the mid-1966 level. This deprived the VA's medical care program of several thousand workers in all categories of the health services professions at a time when the VA requirements for such personnel were growing steadily.

Last September, to meet this problem, I raised VA's personnel ceiling by 1,500, even though employment authorizations for other Federal agencies were then being reduced by 51,000. I also approved the VA's fiscal 1971 appropriations request for an additional 2,100 medical care employees.

Even more health services personnel will be required in the immediate future to meet the special problems presented by an increasing number of Vietnam era dischargees and the increasing scope and complexity of health care delivery systems.

The Vietnam Era Veteran

Men and women with service in the Armed Forces since the onset of the Vietnam conflict are being discharged in steadily increasing numbers. The annual rate of separations grew gradually from 531,000 in calendar 1965 to 958,000 in 1969. In 1970 and 1971, the annual rate

will climb well above one million.

Many of those now leaving the service suffer from wounds received in combat and are discharged directly into VA hospitals. Currently 7 percent of the patients in VA hospitals and 9 percent of VA outpatient treatment cases are Vietnam era veterans. These percentages are expected to rise during the next few years. Also, all Vietnam era veterans are entitled to VA dental care in the year following separation from service. Due to the increasing discharge rate, the demands for such treatment have led to an abnormally high backlog. Additional funds are required to correct this situation.

Better battlefield care and faster evacuation of the war wounded have resulted in a high incidence of patients with multiple amputations and spinal cord injuries in VA hospitals. Special hospital centers, with more staff than usual, are required for the care and rehabilitation of these patients.

These new developments combine to impose greater than normal demands upon the professional staffs of VA hospitals and clinics and require both more personnel and an increased range of specialized skills.

Specialized Medical Programs

As medical knowledge expands, the techniques for saving lives become more complex, more specialized, and more expensive. For several years, the VA has identified for separate funding and control a group of 23 specialized medical programs, including: coronary/intensive care units, hemodialysis centers, organ replacement centers, and pulmonary emphysema units. These innovations in VA hospitals and clinics pioneer the latest advances in diagnosis and treatment.

The VA's efforts to make these programs available throughout its hospital system have been constrained by lack of funds. For example, there is presently an insufficient number of coronary/intensive care units in the VA hospital system. Such units reduce mortality in heart attack cases by 15 to 30 percent; every eligible veteran should have access to these life-saving facilities.

Administrator Johnson also has found that the VA has not had the funds to open and operate a sufficient number of prosthetics treatment centers and spinal cord injury centers for severely wounded veterans from Vietnam.

These specialized medical programs are not only important to the veterans who benefit directly from them, they are also important to America because the veterans medical care program consistently has been a leader in the development of innovations of great importance to our total health delivery system.

Concern for the Nation's older veterans is an integral part of the VA's specialized medical care mission. These patients will require a greater number of chronic care and nursing care beds as the veteran population continues to age.

Other Problems

Administrator Johnson has identified a number of other problems affecting the veterans medical care program. Most of these have been brought on by a combination of inflationary pressures and budgetary restrictions. These include a reduction in supporting services available in VA hospitals as compared to many nongovernmental hospitals, deferrals in the purchase of replacement equipment,

stretchouts of maintenance and rehabilitation projects, and curtailment of the construction program to modernize or replace outdated VA hospitals.

The VA's potential as a clinical training resource has been neglected. Fuller reliance on the VA's system of 166 hospitals for medical education purposes would not only improve the VA's position, as a consumer of health services personnel, but would also help the entire Nation meet its requirements in the health manpower area.

The Steps We Are Taking

Solution of many problems related to the veterans medical care program will take time—even if we had all the necessary funds immediately.

We must, however, find early solutions to the more pressing problems which directly involve patient care. These include:

—the need for increased staffs to serve existing specialized medical programs, especially those concerned with care of wounded Vietnam veterans;

—the need to open and adequately staff and equip more centers under these programs;

—the need to bring the backlog of Vietnam veteran dental care cases within normal operating levels;

—the need to provide additional nursing care beds for older veterans.

The $15 million supplemental appropriation which I have authorized would be expended in April, May, and June to clear up the excessive backlog in Vietnam veterans dental claims; improve the staffing of existing specialized medical programs, especially the spinal cord injury centers and the coronary/intensive care units; carry out plans for taking hemodialysis units into the homes of veterans suffering from serious kidney ailments; and help meet increased costs of needed drugs and medicines.

The VA's budget request already submitted to Congress for the fiscal year to commence in July would provide extra staff to activate 121 additional bed units for specialized medical programs and to open an additional 1,155 nursing care beds, a 28-percent increase in this program.

The new request for $50 million would be used to increase the staffs of VA hospitals and clinics; to improve further the staffing of the spinal cord injury centers and other important specialized medical programs; to purchase seriously needed operating equipment; and to absorb rising drug and medical costs.

Other Steps To Improve Medical Care

Beyond these requirements for additional funds, a number of steps have been taken to improve the veterans medical care program.

New management team—An entirely new top management team for the VA's Department of Medicine and Surgery, headed by Dr. Marc J. Musser, has been appointed. This group has the talent, the initiative, and the outlook to develop and carry out needed improvements in veterans medical care.

Improved management controls—Streamlined management controls over the widespread operations of the VA, including its system of 166 hospitals, have been established. By merging the fiscal audit, internal audit and investigation

services, more frequent audits and faster investigations into complaints will be possible.

Improved management of hospitals—The management at each VA hospital is being evaluated, and a number of replacements in hospital directors, assistant directors, and chiefs of staff have already been made. Other personnel changes will be made as the need is demonstrated. A new program to upgrade the managerial skills of those in charge of the hospitals will make possible greater decentralization of appropriate authority to hospital directors. An executive recruitment and development program to provide for future hospital leaders will be undertaken, and a program for simplification of paperwork procedures and other hospital administrative practices is underway.

Study of future needs—A comprehensive study of the future needs of the veterans medical care is continuing to insure that developing problems will be identified early and analyzed as to their significance to the program.

Closing health manpower gap—The VA, in coordination with other interested agencies, will explore new approaches to the problem of closing the gap in the Nation's critical health manpower situation. This will include studies to improve techniques of training health services personnel, improvements in health delivery systems, increased sharing of expensive and short-supply medical equipment by hospitals in the same community, and the potential for the establishment of new medical schools in conjunction with VA hospitals.

Commitments to Fulfill

To those who have been injured in the service of the United States, we owe a special obligation. I am determined that no American serviceman returning with injuries from Vietnam will fail to receive the immediate and total medical care he requires. This commitment will require more than dollars to redeem; it will require sound management of existing VA facilities, wise use of existing personnel and equipment, and, most importantly, a sensitivity to the needs of our veterans, personal as well as medical. Administrator Johnson and his staff have a keen appreciation of these requirements. We, as a people, have commitments to our veterans, and we shall fulfill them.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing about the President's statement by Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and Dr. Marc J. Musser, Chief Medical Director, Veterans Administration.

101 Remarks About the Settlement of the Postal Dispute. *April* 2, 1970

I THOUGHT since this was the first briefing in the new room that I would introduce the briefing team.

We have completed a meeting in the Cabinet Room, as you know, with the representatives of the postal unions and with representatives of Government, the Postmaster General and the Secretary of Labor representing the Government-wide unions, and also with George Meany

[President, AFL–CIO], whose intercession was very helpful in working out the settlement.

This is different, as you all know, from the usual labor-management settlement, because in the usual labor-management settlement, when labor and management make the deal, then the contract is signed, and that is it. Here there is a third party. The third party is the Congress. As I informed the participants in the meeting today, it was now necessary for us to join together in a program to get congressional support for the various proposals that were agreed to by the parties earlier today.

I will be sending a message to the Congress tomorrow on this subject, and John Ehrlichman will brief you on what the general outlines of that message will be, not on the specifics. The message, I think, should be ready by about 10:00 tomorrow.

So, Mr. Ehrlichman now can brief you on any of the meeting that you would like, and also the principles that I laid out at the meeting as to the responsibilities of Government, where Government employees do come back to work—the responsibility of Government to negotiate a fair settlement.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:32 p.m. in the Briefing Room in the new press quarters at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing about the meeting by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President.

On April 7, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Senator Hugh Scott, Senate Minority Leader, and Representative Gerald R. Ford, House Minority Leader, about the postal settlement following a meeting of the Republican congressional leadership with the President.

102 Remarks to Reporters About the New Press Quarters. *April* 2, 1970

GARNETT D. HORNER [Washington Star]. Mr. President, if you are leaving now, I think we should thank you for your interest in seeing that we get these new press facilities, and we do thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. You are in the deep end of the pool right there.

I do want you to know that I conceived this idea much to the distress of Ehrlichman, who will now do the briefing. He is the only swimmer on the White House Staff, and he says he has gained 10 pounds since we closed the pool, so therefore, he is one of the casualties.

But I found that in the first 8 months that I was here, I used the pool only four times, and I just didn't think that was enough use.

But you remember there were some beautiful murals which were presented to the White House by Mr. Joseph Kennedy. Those have been preserved, and all the pool equipment is preserved and in storage if a future President wants to put the press outside again.

And where you are now covers, if you've been in this place before, the pool area, right in here, and beyond there were two massage rooms. There was a massage room for men and one for women, and a women's dressing room and a men's dressing room.

I don't know where the AP [Associated Press] is.

RONALD L. ZIEGLER. It is in the men's room.

56-087—71——25

THE PRESIDENT. They are in the men's room, I see.

Interestingly enough, the networks are all in the ladies' room, and the snack bar is the flower shop.

Incidentally, you should know—I understand you refer to where the radio broadcasters were before as the doghouse. Well, the doghouse is back here, too. Some of you are still in the doghouse, right back in the back where the snack bar is. Isn't that right?

MR. ZIEGLER. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. But by giving up the doghouse, and the flower shop, and the massage rooms and the pool, we have these beautiful quarters. But we also dug a little hole in the ground for some of you on the second floor.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:34 p.m. in the new press quarters in the West Wing of the White House.

103 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Federal Pay and Revenue Increases and Urging Reform of the Postal Service. *April* 3, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Yesterday, the government negotiated a settlement with its postal employees.

This settlement could not properly be made in isolation from the needs of all Federal employees. In dealing with the special needs of the postal workers, the government representatives took into account the context of the Federal government's relations with its entire work force.

It should be noted that this negotiation took place only after the postal work stoppages had ceased.

One who works as a government employee agrees not to strike. But, concomitantly, the government has an obligation to insure each of its employees fair treatment so long as each lives up to his or her obligations.

The government is committed by law to a pay policy of comparability; that is, pay levels should correspond to those in business and industry. The agreed-upon government-wide pay increase complies with this standard.

This Administration is committed to a policy of pay-as-you-go. I believe that we have an obligation to provide revenues to meet the increased expenditures involved in this settlement. This is only good business and it is insurance against inflation.

1. *I propose that the Congress enact a pay increase of 6% for all Federal employees, paid under statutory salary systems, including members of the armed forces, retroactive to the last pay period at the end of calendar 1969.*

2. At the same time, *I urge the Congress to take action to reform the postal service.* Had this action been taken earlier, the postal work stoppage would have been averted.

The Congress must recognize the need to modernize the postal system, to improve working conditions and to give employees and management an effective medium for bargaining.

The proposed postal reform will be worked out in an agreement between the postal unions and Department representatives. The settlement provides that this work will be completed by April 10. I feel

confident that a reorganization can be agreed upon which will meet our mutual goals.

3. Immediately upon enactment of postal reform, the process of collective bargaining will begin. In recognition of improvements in postal operations, *the results of such bargaining will include an increase in wages of at least 8%* in addition to the government-wide increase.

4. It has also been agreed in negotiations this week that the inequities created by the need to wait 21 years to move from the entry to the top rate in a job classification should be removed by reducing this to an 8-year period.

Postal revenues: To pay as we go for the postal salary increase and to eliminate the current postal deficit of about $600 million, *I urge that the Congress raise first class postal rates to 10¢ for regular first class mail as soon as possible.* This increase will produce added revenues of approximately $2.3 billion.

We are going to move to bring all rates except those for the blind and non-profit organizations to levels where they will cover at least their demonstrably related costs. As a first step under this policy we are proposing measures which will increase second and third class postal revenues $120 million in FY 71.

An adjustment in the schedule of parcel post rates will also be sought to produce $125 million in revenues. Government mail reimbursements will be increased by $89 million.

In all, I am proposing added postal revenues by Congressional and administrative action of $2.6 billion. These revenues are essential to meet the salary needs of postal workers, to wipe out the postal deficit, and to contribute to the efficiency of the postal system.

General revenues: To pay for the 6% increase to all government workers, which will cost $1.2 billion in fiscal 1970 and $1.3 billion additional over the $1.2 billion already included in the fiscal 1971 budget, *I propose that the Congress consider further actions which will result in some modification of our 1971 budgetary program.* The 1970 additional outlays can be met from budgeted and surplus funds.

At the beginning of my Administration I made the basic decision that the Federal government must start to live within its means. The long inflation that began after 1965 had its roots in a string of unbalanced budgets capped by the $25 billion deficit in FY 1968. To restore order in the economy the Federal government's first responsibility was to restore order in its own finances.

The tax program which I put before the Congress a year ago called for a balanced set of reforms, at the same time making provision for total revenues that would match the prospective outlays.

Prospective revenues for FY 1971 in the tax bill that finally reached my desk last December were more than $3 billion below what my own recommendations a year ago would have provided. I expressed my grave misgivings about that revenue shortfall. I finally decided that, time having run out for the last session of the Congress, there was no alternative but to sign the bill and put before the Congress in my Budget Message a program of expenditures consistent with these reduced revenues.

That was done. It was an austere program. Important programs were sharply curtailed or entirely eliminated. A major omission was the overdue pay increases to Federal workers.

This tax bill has forced on the Federal

government a level of wage outlays that is inconsistent with any reasonable estimate of wage level decisions in this session of the Congress.

Yet I cannot and will not participate in an excursion into fiscal irresponsibility. That would re-awaken skepticism about our determination to quell inflation, just when clear evidence of progress is in sight. And savings diverted into financing a deficit mean reduced funds and resources for housing, for State and local government projects, and for the capital formation essential to our on-going productivity and economic progress.

Therefore, I call upon the Congress and the Nation to face in future years the realities of our Federal budget. We must pay the bills for the wages that we vote. We must pay just wages in government. These involve more outlays than the revenues that last year's tax bill would produce.

I firmly believe that, given the facts, the American people will support the Congressmen with the courage to do what is right.

Putting the public interest first, it is right to build confidence in the integrity of the dollar, which we will do by redeeming our pledge of an anti-inflationary budget.

Putting the public interest first, it is right to insist on a course of economic stability that will lead to price stability, job stability, and a balanced use of our resources.

I propose the following additional revenue which will neither require extending the surtax nor raising income tax rates: The 1971 budget forecasts the collection of $3.6 billion of estate and gift taxes in the coming fiscal year. *I propose to accelerate collection of these taxes, which would add an estimated $1.5 billion in receipts in fiscal 1971.* As a result of the pay increases recommended in this message, I estimate that $180 million per year will return to the government in personal income taxes.

The total of these added revenues to the fiscal 1971 budget would be about $1.7 billion.

It will be recognized that this estate and gift tax acceleration will only provide additional revenue for one year. It will be necessary for the Congress to consider and adopt permanent revenue measures for FY 72 and following years to meet these additional wage outlays.

Within the next 10 days, legislation will be prepared to achieve the recommended wage increases, the reorganization of the Post Office Department, the postal rate changes and the 1971 gift and estate tax revenue measures described.

I cannot stress too strongly my support of early adoption of all of these interdependent and necessary actions. Each will relate to and depend upon the others. I request the Congress to act upon all, at once, to afford deserving employees an equitable pay adjustment, to provide badly needed reorganization to our postal service and to adopt the proposed pay-as-you-go revenue program to support these needed changes.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 3, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the proposed pay increases together with the transcript of a news briefing on the message by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs; Roger W. Jones, Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget; and James W. Hargrove, Assistant Postmaster General.

On April 15, 1970, the President signed the

Federal Employees Salary Act of 1970 (Public Law 91–231, 84 Stat. 195), providing for increases in Federal civilian and military pay, and Executive Orders 11524 and 11525 adjusting rates of Federal civilian and military pay, respectively.

104 Statement Announcing Appointment of Five Members to the Commission on Government Procurement. *April* 3, 1970

ABOUT one-fourth of the U.S. Government's total budget, more than $50 billion a year, is spent through procurement. The magnitude of this figure is an indication of how important this function can be to effective and efficient operation of government. Despite this importance, and despite the enormous effects of technology on what the Government buys, the procurement process still operates under two basic statutes enacted nearly a quarter of a century ago.

With this in mind, I am today appointing five men to complete the membership of the Commission on Government Procurement. This Commission faces a unique challenge: to review the policies, procedures, and practices affecting the procurement activities of all Government agencies and to recommend changes so we can do a more effective job.

In the extensive hearings conducted by the Committees on Government Operations in both the House and Senate, there was virtually universal agreement on the need for such a Commission. The bill passed in both Houses with substantial majorities, clearly indicating a wide bipartisan resolve to seek the best ways for this Government to conduct its procurement affairs. In making these appointments today, I affirm this administration's cooperation in the Commission's endeavors toward that end.

Representative Chester Holifield is truly the guiding light of this Commission, having been the principal sponsor of the bill and having personally chaired 33 days of hearings last year which established beyond question the need for the Commission. I am therefore suggesting that he call all 12 members together later this month so the Commission can organize itself and start to work on its important task.

NOTE: A White House release, dated April 3, 1970, listing the entire membership of the Commission is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 474).

105 Remarks to Members of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. *April* 8, 1970

I VERY MUCH appreciate this opportunity to welcome the Institute of Municipal Law Officers to the White House.

As you know, you are going to have a tour, and I have just decided that if we can work it into the schedule, that we are going to give you a little added dividend today. If you would like, after my very brief greetings, I am going to go back in the Oval Office, which most tourists don't get to see because I am usually working there; if you would like to come

through, you might have an opportunity to do that. I do that, because as fellow lawyers, I want you to see how the lawyer in the White House works.

Just a couple of personal words: We, of course, have a number of opportunities to meet various groups that come to Washington. I think on the list today are 15 different groups, and we selected this one.

I personally selected it for two reasons. One, because Charlie Rhyne,[1] as you probably know, and I were in law school together. He has been an intimate friend of mine. He was in my campaign in 1960 and 1968. He took a leave of absence from this organization, as well as from some of his other clients, in order to participate in those campaigns. We lost one and won one. That is pretty good, I would say and when I saw that Charlie was going to be here, I wanted the opportunity to meet his clients.

The second point is that I have something very much in common with you, other than the fact that we are of the same profession. Many, many years ago, before I ever thought of running for office—in fact, immediately after I finished law school in 1937—for a period of 5 years I was in Whittier, California, and I was the deputy city attorney of Whittier, California.

Now for those that hold the positions that you hold, deputy city attorney appears like a very low form of life—and it was, I can assure you. On the other hand, when people ask me about the difference in the lawyer in the White House and the deputy city attorney of Whittier, I can tell you that being deputy city attorney of Whittier posed problems which, while they don't make the headlines, were just as difficult.

I just finished, for example, a very important meeting of the National Security Council, in which we discussed the upcoming talks that are going to take place in Vienna between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic weapons. And we considered all of the various problems involved in our security and theirs, which would come up over these next months. And then I have to make a decision as to the guidance that will be given to our negotiators for those negotiations.

I am sure that some of you would naturally conclude, what an enormous responsibility and how difficult it must be to sit in that Oval Office and attempt to make the decision that is going to affect the lives of 200 million Americans for perhaps a generation, and also of billions of people on this earth, both in the free world and Communist world. Well, putting it in melodramatic terms, it is true, it is an enormously important decision.

But let me tell you about a decision, not nearly as important from the standpoint of all these hundreds of millions of people, but from the standpoint of an individual. As deputy city attorney, I can recall the kind of matters that came before us. They were matters that affected individuals. When you are there in the city attorney's office the individuals can get to you. You are right there where you cannot isolate yourself, as you can in this oval room.

[1] Charles S. Rhyne, General Counsel of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers.

I will never forget the terrible decision that I had to make on one occasion involving two neighbors in Whittier. I knew both of them and they came in for the interpretation of an ordinance with regard to whether or not an individual would be allowed to keep wild animals or any kind of animals on his property. And that was a time in Southern California when it was a fad—you know, we always have fads at various times in Southern California—but that was the time when there was the fad of homegrown minks. People grew minks in their backyards for commercial purposes. It didn't prove to be too profitable and I don't think anybody does it anymore. But I will never forget the complainant coming into the city attorney's office and she said, "You just can't even believe how terrible it is to live next to somebody who grows minks in the backyard." Because a mink looks very nice, if you can afford it, on a lady's back, but on the other hand, the mink as an animal is not a very attractive animal. They eat their young. They also, in the course of the night, will be squealing and, of course, there is a certain fragrance that evolves from any kind of animals grown in that way.

Well, finally, I had to make the decision that as far as the Whittier ordinance was concerned, minks were allowed at that time. The city council then passed another ordinance to be sure they were not allowed.

Now, I would not want to indicate by these rather facetious remarks that the problems you deal with involve simply the differences between neighbors. I know they are much more serious than that. I know that you have enormous responsibility, not only for civil problems, but for criminal problems in your cities. And I know, too, insofar as this great overriding problem of respect for law and law enforcement, while we will make decisions here that will provide leadership, that where the action is, is down in the cities and towns of America all over the Nation.

That is where the action is and that is why you have such an enormous responsibility. We want to back you up, back you up in your actions to restore a respect for law and also to have laws that deserve respect and law enforcement that deserves respect.

That is one of the reasons why I appreciated the opportunity to say this to you personally, the leaders of this Institute.

Now, with all that, I think it would be well if we discontinued the talking so that I could have the opportunity of meeting each of you in this office and you can see where we make decisions.

I don't decide about minks now, at least as far as whether they are going to be grown in the backyards of Washington. But we make other decisions. Just to put it in context, I realize that your decisions in their way can be just as trying, just as difficult—because they involve the contest between individuals as well as those of your neighbors and friends at home—they can be just as difficult as those that are made by the lawyer in the White House.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

106 Statement on Establishing the National Industrial Pollution Control Council. *April* 9, 1970

IT IS widely acknowledged that our productive economy and our advancing technology have helped to create many of our environmental problems. Now the same energy and skills which have produced quantitative gains in our economy must be used to improve the environment and to enhance the quality of life.

I have today signed an Executive order [11523] creating the National Industrial Pollution Control Council and have called on a number of industrial leaders to serve as its members. I am pleased that Mr. Bert S. Cross and Mr. Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., have agreed to serve, respectively, as its Chairman and Vice Chairman.

The effort to restore and renew our environment cannot be successful unless the public and the private sector are both intensively involved in this work—with their efforts closely coordinated. The new Industrial Council will provide an important mechanism for achieving this coordination. It will provide a means by which the business community can help chart the route which our cooperative ventures will follow.

The new Council will allow businessmen to communicate regularly with the President, the Council on Environmental Quality, and other Government officials and private organizations which are working to improve the quality of the environment. It will also provide a direct opportunity for business and industry to actively and visibly support the drive to abate pollution from industrial sources. Both Government and industrial leaders can use this mechanism to stimulate efforts toward the achievement of our environmental goals.

As we give more and more attention to the causes of industrial pollution, we must also recognize that many American industries have begun to face this problem squarely and to undertake significant pollution abatement activities. It would be unrealistic, of course, to think that private enterprise can meet this problem alone. The problem of the environment is one area where private enterprise can do the job only if Government plays its proper role. For unless there are fair standards which are vigorously enforced, the responsible firms which take on the extra expense of pollution control will be at a competitive disadvantage with those who are less responsible.

At an early date, the new Industrial Council will submit to me and to the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, through the Secretary of Commerce, a series of specific recommendations for further action. As a part of its report, the Council will consider the role it can play in helping to implement the Nation's environmental protection program.

The challenge which faces this new Industrial Council and the entire business community is complex and demanding. But I have no doubt that it can and will be met.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the establishment of the Council by Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce; Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Evironmental Quality; and Bert S. Cross, Chairman, and Willard F. Rockwell, Jr., Vice Chairman, Na-

tional Industrial Pollution Control Council.

A White House release announcing the membership of the National Industrial Pollution Control Council is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 503).

107 Remarks to Reporters About Nominations to the Supreme Court. *April* 9, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, I have just met with the Attorney General today and also last evening with regard to the appointment to the Supreme Court.

After the Senate's action yesterday in rejecting Judge Carswell, I have reluctantly concluded that it is not possible to get confirmation for a judge on the Supreme Court of any man who believes in the strict construction of the Constitution, as I do, if he happens to come from the South.

Judge Carswell, and before him, Judge Haynsworth, have been submitted to vicious assaults on their intelligence, on their honesty, and on their character. They have been falsely charged with being racists. But when you strip away all the hypocrisy, the real reason for their rejection was their legal philosophy, a philosophy that I share, of strict construction of the Constitution, and also the accident of their birth, the fact that they were born in the South.

Four of the present judges of the Supreme Court are from the East. One is from the Midwest and two are from the West. One is from the South. Over 25 percent of the people live in the South. The South is entitled to proper representation on the Court.

But as I have often said to members of this White House press corps, more important than geographical or other kind of balance in the Court is philosophical balance.

And I have concluded, therefore, that the next nominee must come from outside the South, since this Senate, as it is presently constituted, will not approve a man from the South who shares my views of strict construction of the Constitution.

I, therefore, asked the Attorney General to submit names to me from outside the South of judges from the State courts, appeals courts, as well as the Federal courts, who are qualified to be on the Supreme Court and who do share my view, and the views of Judge Haynsworth and Judge Carswell, with regard to strict construction of the Constitution.

I believe that a judge from the North who has such views will be confirmed by the United States Senate.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

108 Statement About Nominations to the Supreme Court. *April* 9, 1970

I HAVE reluctantly concluded—with the Senate as presently constituted—I cannot successfully nominate to the Supreme Court any Federal appellate judge from the South who believes as I do in the strict construction of the Constitution.

56-087—71——26

Judges Carswell and Haynsworth have endured with admirable dignity vicious assaults on their intelligence, their honesty, and their character. They have been falsely charged with being racist. But when all the hypocrisy is stripped away, the real issue was their philosophy of strict construction of the Constitution, a philosophy that I share, and the fact that they had the misfortune of being born in the South. After the rejection of Judge Carswell and Judge Haynsworth, this conclusion is inescapable.

Both are distinguished jurists; both are among the finest judges in the Fourth and Fifth Circuits; both had previously been approved by the Senate for the second highest Federal court; yet, both were rejected. In my opinion, neither would have been rejected had he not been born in a Southern State.

In selecting both men, I had several criteria in mind. First and foremost, they had to be men who shared my legal philosophy of strict construction of the Constitution, men who would help to restore to the United States Supreme Court the balance that it genuinely needs—that balance I pledged to the American people that I would help to restore.

Secondly, I set the criteria that both have experience on the highest Federal appeals court—next to the United States Supreme Court itself.

Third, I chose them because they were both men of the South.

I do not believe that any segment of our people or any section of the country can lay claim to one or more seats on the High Court as its own preserve. But controversial and far-reaching decisions of past and coming years are far better received when each section of the country and every major segment of our people can look to the Court and see there its legal philosophy articulately represented.

Four of the present members of the Court are from the East, one from the Midwest, two from the West, and one from the South. More than one-fourth of the people of this Nation live in the South; they deserve representation on the Court.

But more important than geographical balance is philosophical balance—the need to have represented on the Court those who believe in strict construction of the Constitution as well as others who believe in the liberal construction which has constituted the majority on the Court for the past 15 years.

With yesterday's action, the Senate has said that no southern Federal appellate judge who believes in a strict interpretation of the Constitution can be elevated to the Supreme Court.

As long as the Senate is constituted the way it is today, I will not nominate another southerner and let him be subjected to the kind of malicious character assassination accorded both Judges Haynsworth and Carswell. However, my next nomination will be made in the very near future; a President should not leave that vacancy on the Court when it can be filled. My next nominee will be from outside the South and he will fulfill the criteria of a strict constructionist with judicial experience either from a Federal bench or on a State appeals court.

I understand the bitter feeling of millions of Americans who live in the South about the act of regional discrimination that took place in the Senate yesterday. They have my assurance that the day will come when men like Judges Carswell and Haynsworth can and will sit on the High Court.

NOTE: An announcement on April 14, 1970, by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler of the President's intention to nominate Judge Harry A. Blackmun as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and biographical information on Judge Blackmun are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 522).

The Senate confirmed the nomination and Judge Blackmun was sworn in on June 9, 1970.

109 Remarks of Welcome to Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. *April* 10, 1970

Mr. Chancellor:

We are honored to welcome you and the members of your party to this house and to this Nation's Capital on this magnificent spring day.

Just 17 years ago this week, when I was Vice President of the United States, I welcomed another Chancellor of your country to the United States, Chancellor Adenauer—he was of a different party. And now I welcome you today.

But while your parties were different, there are certain great principles that you both stand for, and that we stand for, that are bigger than party.

We have heard your national anthem just a few minutes ago. The title of that anthem has in it the words, "unity, justice, freedom," and those principles transcend party differences and national differences. They belong to men and women who love freedom all over the world.

Mr. Chancellor, you have been to our country many times, but most Americans welcome you and remember you, as I do, because you were the Mayor of Berlin—and we think of Berlin, that great and free city, as we welcome you today. And I hope that the talks that we have, and I am confident this will be the case, will contribute to the kind of freedom without which peace is meaningless and to that kind of peace which we need if we are to enjoy freedom.

We believe deeply in these values, and we are honored to receive you so that we can work together, your people and our people, toward achieving those great common goals.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Chancellor Brandt was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

Chancellor Brandt responded as follows:

Mr. President:

Thank you very much for your cordial words of welcome. This is a moving moment. I have often come to the United States in past years—as member of the German Bundestag, as Governing Mayor of Berlin, as Foreign Minister. This time I am coming as Chancellor.

To us in Germany a trip of the Chancellor to Washington is more than an ordinary official visit. It gives evidence of one of the important realities of the international situation—the close partnership between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time it is an expression of the close cooperation between America and Europe. Both are factors of stability in a world in which there are still so many unresolved problems and so much insecurity.

Last year we celebrated here the 20th anniversary of NATO. In the Atlantic Defense Alliance we stand together because our security requirements demand it. At the same time the Alliance is the solid basis on which we try to reduce tensions and to achieve an enduring structure of peace. This is the aim of my Government's policy—and I know that it is the aim of your policy, Mr. President.

What I have just been saying indicates the essential subjects of our talks to which I am looking forward:

I think we must maintain the efficiency of the

Atlantic Alliance as an instrument for safeguarding peace.

We must give positive substance to the relations between the enlarging European Community and the United States.

We must bring into good harmony our efforts, which are serious but without illusion, to improve East-West relations.

It is no exaggeration, I feel, when I say that hardly any bilateral issues exist between our two countries. We should make sure that this remains so. The people of the Federal Republic of Germany endorse and want this partnership. I take this wish to be a mandate.

This is also true of the population of West Berlin. There is no other place where the ties between the United States and Germany are so manifest. This too must remain so.

I bring to you, Mr. President, and to the American people the greetings and good will of those for whom I speak. Our cooperation is embedded in the experience of a bitter past. It is directed to the many new challenges with which the seventies confront us.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

110 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany. *April* 10, 1970

Mr. Chancellor, Mrs. Brandt, all of our distinguished guests:

In this historic State Dining Room over the past 20 years four Chancellors of the Federal Republic of Germany have been honored—Chancellor Adenauer, Chancellor Erhard, Chancellor Kiesinger, Chancellor Brandt. Four American Presidents have presided over dinners in their honor—President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson, and the President at the present time.

What is significant to note is that in the case both of the Federal Republic and that of the United States both major parties are represented in their heads of government, and what is particularly significant to note also is that despite the differences in ages and the differences in time and the differences in parties, that one thing remains the same and that is that the friendship, the alliance, between the Republic of Germany and the United States of America is something that we all believe in, that we all work for, and that this visit will help to perpetuate.

Mr. Chancellor, beyond that we welcome you in a private capacity because you have often, as I pointed out when you arrived earlier today, you have been here on several occasions and you know our country well. We know you well. We think of you in many ways.

I was thinking, for example, of the fact that your political career and mine were somewhat similar in one respect. As you may remember at the dinner that was held in 1967 when I was a private citizen and later in 1969 when I returned as President, I pointed out that I had suffered two defeats and then after two defeats for the highest office, finally had won. And many at that dinner in 1969 turned to you and wondered if history would repeat itself in the Federal Republic of Germany, and it did.

Also, as we welcome you, we think of the links between our two countries in other very personal ways. I mentioned the White House Staff and I am surrounded by Germans, not by your CIA—well, maybe they are your CIA [*laughter*]—Mr. Haldeman, my chief of staff, is German; Mr. Ehrlichman, the head of my Domestic Council, is German; Dr. Kissinger, the head of my National Security

Council, is German. To indicate how deep this insidious infiltration into this administration runs, I find that not only was my wife's mother born in Germany, which makes her half German, but that Vice President Agnew's wife's father is half German.

So, within the two First Families, the Vice President and the President of the United States, we find one full German and that is more than we have of any other country in the world.

We are delighted that on this visit you have had a chance to enjoy Camp David, the special place where Presidents have usually stayed and receive only very special guests. And we are particularly happy that tomorrow you will go to see the takeoff of Apollo 13. We are very honored that tonight among our many guests is Wernher Von Braun,[1] which reminds us of the debt we owe to those who have helped our space project who are of German background.

I think all of our guests would be interested to know that just before this dinner, at 7:45 tonight, I called Captain Lovell[2] and his colleagues—they were having their last dinner together before the takeoff tomorrow—wished them well, told them that the Chancellor would be there to see the takeoff and they promised much better weather than when I saw it last year.

Incidentally, Mr. Chancellor, I want you to know that I had that call to them placed by the White House operator. The last time I dialed a call myself, the night of the German elections, I dialed the wrong number.[3] [*Laughter*]

On this occasion, I want to close on one very serious note. When we think of the future of our civilization, western civilization, we know that what happens to Western Europe will have an enormous influence on that future and we know that in the heart of Western Europe is the Federal Republic of Germany. We know that it is essential that that heart be strong and vigorous and free if Western Europe and the European Community and the European-American alliance are to be strong and vigorous and free.

Mr. Chancellor, we therefore are deeply grateful for the leadership you have provided as the leader of your country, in maintaining the strength that is necessary to preserve freedom, but yet also pursuing, as you have, a policy of negotiation which we hope will eventually take the place of confrontation in the very heart of Europe.

And so tonight we welcome you as we have welcomed your distinguished predecessors, because you have a great country and a truly great people with whom we have so many bonds. And we also welcome you very warmly and very deeply in a very personal sense as an old, personal friend and as one that we look forward to working with for the cause of freedom which you so deeply believe in and the cause of peace which is essential if we are to be able to enjoy freedom at all.

I know you will all want to rise and join me in a toast to the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Chancellor Brandt.

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[1] Dr. Von Braun was Deputy Associate Administrator for Planning, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

[2] James A. Lovell, Jr., Commander of Apollo 13.

[3] On the night of September 28, 1969, the President called Chancellor Kiesinger and, on the basis of incomplete election returns, congratulated him for winning the German elections; Chancellor Brandt proved to be the eventual winner.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Chancellor Brandt responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of the German delegation and, of course, also on behalf of Mrs. Brandt and myself, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, very cordially for your impressive words. This gratitude goes also for the friendliness with which you received us and the kindness you have shown to me by inviting me to spend a few restful days at beautiful Camp David.

My words of grateful response, Mr. President, are not only meant for the present occasion. They also include appreciation of the fact that you have always favored closer relations between the United States and Europe; that in doing so you have always shown understanding for the affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, and that last, not least, the vital interests of West Berlin have been and are close to your heart.

When I mention Berlin, let me add without hesitation that the cradle of German-American friendship stood there after World War II. I think we met first in 1954, Mr. President, when I was a member of the Bundestag visiting this great country. When we met again, also that was 12 years ago, February of 1958, you as Vice President, I as Governing Mayor, you presented me with a gavel carved from the old White House wood. With that gavel I have for many years conducted meetings which dealt, in Berlin, with the inspiring work of reconstruction, but also meetings at which grim decisions had to be taken which derived from the ever-deepening division of the city, my city.

Mr. President, your visit to Bonn and West Berlin lives on in our memories. Right at the beginning of your term of office you were given proof of the strength of the confidence which my fellow-countrymen place in you and in the United States. This confidence is part of the capital you cannot weigh or measure which nations invest in history. It bears interest—and it is in the duty of political leaders not to spend such interest frivolously, but to add it as an increment to the capital.

I have come to Washington at a time when it is natural to look back, but necessary to look ahead. Twenty-five years have passed since the end of World War II. The ruins have gone. Hopelessness and despondency have disappeared long ago. This is—and we shall not forget it—largely a result of the American people's willingness to help and of political foresight which are so characteristic of this great country.

I say that, Mr. President, in full awareness of our debt to the men who have paved the way for us, and I am grateful that a number of these men, the fathers of the new relationship between our countries, are together with us here tonight, and whose counsel we must still heed today.

But now it is incumbent upon us to seek an ever clearer definition of our concept for the 1970's and to assist, if possible, the young generation in finding an outlook on life in conformity with their aspirations and carrying conviction.

Both in the United States and in Europe there is now—25 years after the end of the war—a new generation; yet, it is a restless one. Although it grew up in relative peace it is highly sensitive to the upheavals of our time. It is searching for convincing answers that hold the promise of the future. We are called upon to meet this challenge, and I believe we can meet it.

If we take the emerging new generations seriously, it would be a disservice to them if we only told them what they want to hear. I think we must tell them that there is no alternative to the long march to achieve reforms and the equally long march to secure peace.

I have said, Mr. President, it is necessary to form an idea of the future, not as wishful thinking but in terms of a world where existing division does not necessarily imply hostile confrontation but could be accepted as a point of departure for the search for patterns of cooperation.

It is certainly no accident that your formula, Mr. President, has met with such response and that there are clear indications in various places of the readiness to set out along that path. If we did not perceive such readiness also outside the Western sphere or thought it at least possible, then some of our efforts would indeed be meaningless.

This is the concept on which my Government's policy is based. We in Germany know

that the painful partition of our country can only be cured if the split dividing Europe is healed. We are striving for a structure of peace in Europe under which the countries on either side of the line, which today divides our continent as well as the world powers, will be able to achieve a higher degree of security through a higher degree of cooperation.

In our efforts we must start out from the existing situation, that is to say from realities, in order to arrive at a more normal relationship with our eastern neighbors. We pursue this task free from illusion but with perseverance.

There have been voices that accused the Germans of being willing to plunge into a course of *realpolitik* in a questionable sense. They implied that we tried to follow a policy of self-interest in disregard of the moral values which, of course, must also guide international policy.

I am certainly not thinking in terms of that kind of *realpolitik* when I speak of the necessity to accept realities. Freedom, democracy, and self-determination are values which we would never renounce. Not only has their significance been borne out by our experience, they also define our moral position in world politics. Because we believe in them we made the Atlantic Alliance a cornerstone of our policy and consider the cultivation of German-American relations an overriding interest of ours.

Mr. President, I have studied with close attention your Report on a New Strategy for Peace which you submitted to Congress on February 18. It contains the statement that the United States can no more disengage from Europe than from Alaska. Let me make it quite clear: This statement works the other way around as well. Today in the second half of the 20th century, Europe can no more disengage from the United States than from herself.

This awareness must inevitably determine our future action and it will again and again make it essential for us to seek common answers to solve the problems—they will sometimes certainly not be easy ones—which are related to the continued and adequate military presence of the United States in Europe without which there can be no security for all of us; to solve the problems with regard to the economic relations between America and Europe which arise from the development and the envisaged enlargement of the Common Market, and to ensure continued close cooperation in our endeavor to relax tensions and to venture peaceful co-existence.

In your report, Mr. President, you enumerated three principles essential in building up a structure of peace: partnership, strength, and willingness to negotiate. My Government wholeheartedly endorses these principles. It will use its best endeavors to bear its due share to the full extent.

As between our two nations, partnership holds paramount rank for us. It is founded not only on common interests, but even more so on common beliefs.

It is in the spirit of this partnership that I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to raise your glasses to join me in proposing a toast to the happiness of the American people, to the friendship between our two nations, to your health, Mrs. Nixon, and to the health of the President of the United States.

111 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. *April* 13, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The fact that the United States is first in space is well known; it is less well known that we are also first in oceanic science and technology. And while most of our citizens recognize the opportunities which lie before us in space, fewer understand the enormous benefits which can flow from our national marine activities.

During 1969, the National Council on

Marine Resources and Engineering Development, chaired by the Vice President, identified a number of policies and programs concerning the sea which, in their judgment, deserve Federal support. I am today transmitting to the Congress the Council's annual report, "Marine Science Affairs—Selecting Priority Programs." The marine science programs which I have approved for Fiscal Year 1971 are based in part on the Council's recommendations.

My budget request for Fiscal Year 1971 provides $533.1 million for marine science and technology activities. These funds would help us to improve the management of our coastal zone, expand Arctic research, develop a program for restoring damaged lakes, expand the collection of data concerning ocean and weather conditions, reduce merchant ship operating costs, and undertake other important projects. The funds would also support U.S. participation in the International Decade of Ocean Exploration, a program which can contribute much to the quality of the marine environment and to the pursuit of world peace.

In November of 1969, this Administration sent to the Congress a comprehensive proposal for protecting and developing the land and water resources of the nation's estuarine and coastal zone. I hope that the Congress will give this program early and careful attention.

The Federal government will continue to provide leadership in the nation's marine science program. But it is also important that private industry, State and local governments, academic, scientific and other institutions increase their own involvement in this important field. The public and private sectors of our society must work closely together if we are to meet the great challenges which are presented to us by the oceans of our planet.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 13, 1970

NOTE: The message is printed in the report entitled "Marine Science Affairs—Selecting Priority Programs" (Government Printing Office, 284 pp.).

112 Statement on Signing Bill Extending Assistance Programs for Elementary and Secondary Education. *April* 13, 1970

I AM today signing into law the bill which is designated as H.R. 514, the elementary and secondary education amendments of 1969. This legislation authorizes Federal spending for important education programs in fiscal year 1971; and I sign it for this reason. But I do so with considerable reluctance, for this legislation also authorizes spending which is both excessive and misdirected.

UNREALISTIC AUTHORIZATION LEVELS

In the first place, H.R. 514 authorizes educational spending at a far higher level than that which can be accommodated in any fiscally responsible budget. In fact, this bill authorizes more than three times as much money for education in fiscal year 1971 as was appropriated in fiscal year 1970. The fact that I am signing H.R. 514 should not be interpreted as a

commitment to seek or approve this unrealistic level of appropriations.

Unwise Extension of Aid to Impacted Areas

In my recent veto message concerning the HEW [Health, Education, and Welfare] appropriations bill, I described serious defects in the program of aid to federally impacted areas, including its tendency to give too much money to wealthy areas while poor areas get too little. I have submitted legislation which would correct these problems. Unfortunately, H.R. 514 does not reform the impacted aid program; in fact, it actually compounds that program's inequities by adding a new category of aid for children who live in public housing. This added program would cost approximately an additional half billion dollars a year, yet it is not consistent with any known index of fiscal or educational need.

Unwise Extension of Loan Cancellations

H.R. 514 also extends the cancellation features of the national defense student loan program—under which a student can presently have his Federal education loan cancelled if he enters the teaching profession. H.R. 514 would also cancel loans for students who enter military service after June 30, 1970. There is no evidence, however, that more students have actually gone into teaching during the last 12 years as a result of this legislation and no clear reason to think that its extension will increase military enlistments. This administration therefore prefers that the money which would be spent in cancelling the loans of some students be used instead to make more loans available for all.

I am signing H.R. 514 only to assure continuation of appropriations in fiscal 1971 for important programs whose authorizations expire on June 30, 1970. Later, when the education appropriations bill comes to my desk, I will evaluate it by the criteria which I have mentioned in this statement and in my message to Congress concerning education. Is the level of funding realistic and responsible? Does it concentrate funds where they can do the most good? Does it expand our efforts to discover what works and what does not work in education? Does it satisfactorily reform programs such as aid to impacted areas and the other outmoded programs?

It is my hope that the Congress will provide affirmative answers to all of these questions.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 514 is Public Law 91-230 (84 Stat. 121).

113 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Hilmar Baunsgaard of Denmark. *April* 14, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister:

I have the very great honor to welcome you to Washington on this day. We regret that our weather is such that the formal ceremonies that we had scheduled for the South Grounds could not be carried out, but the welcome, I can assure you, is one that is just as deep and one that means just as much in this historic East Room of the White House.

As we think of your visit, I recognize the fact that you are the first head of government from a Scandinavian country to visit this country on an official visit since this administration. And we are very happy that that is the case for reasons both official and personal.

Official because Denmark and the United States have had such close and friendly relations over a long period of time. We have been allies and friends over 160 years. We work together in the United Nations and NATO. Our commercial relations and bilateral relations are among the very best in the world.

And personal because my wife and I remember in 1962, July 4, when we visited your country, the only nation in the world in which an official celebration of the American Fourth of July is held by the people of that country, the people of Denmark—and I shall never forget 50,000 Danes at Rebild celebrating the American Fourth of July. That touched me very deeply then, as it touches all Americans that have had the opportunity to visit that famous occasion, and we realize then how close the bonds are between our two countries.

As we came in, we saw your flag and our flag together. And I was reminded of the fact that your flag, the Dannebrog, is 750 years old. That is the oldest flag in continuous use without alteration in the whole history of the present world. And that flag indicates the history, the tradition of your country, but your visit here indicates the future. You represent the business community. You represent the Government. You represent the progressive characteristics of Denmark and the great contribution that it has made not only to Europe but to the world.

I know that our talks that we will have here will contribute to a relationship that is already strong and friendly, and we welcome you most warmly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Because of rain, the ceremony was moved from the South Lawn to the North Portico where Prime Minister Baunsgaard was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The President and Prime Minister then proceeded to the East Room for their exchange of remarks.

Prime Minister Baunsgaard responded as follows:

Mr. President:

My wife and I, and the members of my delegation, are sincerely thankful for your cordial words of welcome.

I believe in the value of personal contact. It is therefore only natural that I should be delighted to have come to Washington, D.C., and I am deeply grateful to be here as the guest of you, Mr. President, and the United States.

I am sure, Mr. President, that our meetings will prove to be very useful. It will offer opportunity for free talks on world issues and on problems of direct concern to our two countries. I am convinced that we shall both find that there are no fundamental problems dividing us.

In Denmark, we have always attached great importance to our cooperation with the United States. We recollect with special gratitude the great achievements of the United States which paved the way for our country's liberation in 1945. It is my earnest hope that our meeting will confirm and, if possible, even further strengthen the longstanding cooperation and friendship between our two countries.

May I, Mr. President, say that we in the Danish delegation were deeply concerned last night about the news of the difficulties which the Apollo 13 flight has run into. What the U.S. has accomplished in space is so remarkable and outstanding, and we know how very qualified the people in NASA are. Our confidence and prayers will follow the brave and able astronauts for their safe return to the earth.

114 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Baunsgaard of Denmark. *April* 14, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister:

Earlier today we had the very great honor of welcoming you in the East Room due to the weather problem on the outside. And despite that problem, we want you to know that this welcome now in the State Dining Room is one that comes very much from our hearts.

This group gathered here knows your country, and anyone who knows your country from the United States has a great affection and a great admiration and a great respect for your country.

I could put that in a number of ways. I could refer to the rather official ways that I mentioned this morning, the fact that we have had friendly relations for 160 years, that we have worked together in the United Nations for the cause of peace and understanding among nations, and that we have been strong, firm allies in NATO.

I could also put it in terms that are personal, as I mentioned this morning, the fact that anyone who has known the hospitality of your country, in Copenhagen, or as my wife and I saw at Rebild on the Fourth of July, will never forget it and will always carry a special place in his heart for the Danish people.

But tonight I would like to speak of another heritage we have from Denmark in America. We are a nation of many peoples and we are very fortunate that is the case. And one of our good fortunes is that we have within America so many people who came from Denmark, who are proud of that national heritage, but who are also very fine Americans.

I could mention so many who are personal friends, one who is not here, but without whom I might not have ever been elected to the Congress 23 years ago. Another is Lauritz Melchior, who is a very good friend of the man who is not here, and who has inspired us all with his magnificent music through the years.

I speak of the Danes in America who have contributed personally to this country, and then, of course, we think of those things that are more material. We all think of Danish pastry, and Danish chocolate, and Tivoli Gardens, which Walt Disney told me and told the Prime Minister was the inspiration for Disneyland.

We think of so many other things that Denmark and the Danish tradition have contributed to America and to the culture and better living in the world.

Tonight I think it is particularly appropriate that I mention something else more important than these personal ties, more important even than these governmental ties, because it is the quality of the spirit that we owe to you and to your country.

When I think of Denmark, and I think this is true of most Americans, we think of Vikings. We think of those who had the courage and the spirit of adventure to travel to new worlds over uncharted seas. Because of that courage and the spirit of adventure, they contributed enormously to discovering the world.

I think tonight of three men, three men in outer space coming around the moon. I cannot say that they are men of Danish backgrounds. I do not know what their backgrounds are. That is not material and not relevant. But I do know that they have the spirit of the Vikings. They are men of adventure. They are men of courage.

Back home—and I talked tonight to their wives—the wives of two and to the mother of the one who is not married—they have women, who like the wives and the mothers of the Vikings of old waited at home with faith that their men would come back.

So tonight, while this in a way has been a day we would not have wished for on this special day that you came to visit us, it is perhaps just as well that this was the case, because we are reminded that we owe to Denmark and to the great tradition of your people and those in that area in which you live, that spirit of adventure which some way inspires us today, our young people.

May that always be the case, because when the time comes when the young in your land or our land lose their spirit of adventure, when they want to play everything safe, when they don't want to take the risks, when they don't want to take a chance, when they consult their fears rather than their hopes and their desires and their dreams, then your country and my country will not have the capability of greatness which you have in your country and which we hope we have in ours.

And it is in that spirit, therefore, that I ask all of you to rise—to rise and raise your glasses to not only the Prime Minister and his wife, but particularly to this spirit that we both share together among our peoples and to the head of state, His Majesty, King Frederik. To the King.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Prime Minister Baunsgaard responded as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of my wife, myself, and the members of the delegation, I extend to you, Mr. President, and to Mrs. Nixon, our most sincere thanks for the warm welcome given to us on our arrival today and for the very kind words you have just addressed to the Danes and to Denmark. We Danes who are here today have been looking forward to this visit with great expectations.

I have noticed that an airline, in an advertising campaign, has used a distorted map of the Western Hemisphere, in which the Atlantic Ocean is represented as a river between North America and Europe. "So close have we brought the two continents to each other," it says.

The ocean on which, nearly a thousand years ago, the Vikings fought their way westward to what was later to become known as the Vineland, and which even our great grandfathers regarded as a dangerous ocean separating two worlds, seems to us, and still more to our children, to be merely a small stream between neighboring lands.

The dwindling importance of distances was brought home to me again when three of the men whom we all think about today, visited me, and I was thinking of it because of what came on later. But, Mr. President, we know how much of the scientific field and what you say about the spirit of Vikings, and what we all owe America on this feat.

When I received the representatives of your astronauts in Copenhagen, as personal representatives for you, Mr. President, I was indeed thankful, and I really feel that they have today all our hopes and prayers that also the last three will have a happy ending.

Many Danes have over the years been attracted by this country, and through them many personal ties have been established between Denmark and the United States. These relations have provided a stable foundation for the solidarity and friendship between our two nations.

Denmark is the country which for the longest period has had uninterrupted diplomatic representation in the United States. These links, established nearly 170 years ago, have never been strained by any major problem; on the contrary, they have been increasingly fortified.

The solidarity between Denmark and the United States was never, I think, more strongly felt than in the early days of May, 25 years ago

when Denmark regained her freedom. Then, and every 4th of May evening since, the Danes have lit candles in their windows as a visible expression that the torch of freedom had again been lit in our country and in Europe, thanks not least to your country's sacrifices in men and resources.

Today, as before, we cannot do without the active interest and engagement of the United States in European developments, and I think it fair enough to say that the United States cannot do without Europe. This interdependence finds its expression in the facts that we in Europe trust that the United States presence in Europe will continue and, consequently, that the United States will recognize its responsibilities for peace and security of the free world.

Especially during recent years cooperative efforts have been made in Europe to make it an equal partner to the United States. Denmark feels an ever increasing urge and demand for closer European cooperation, primarily among the countries with which we are already related in many different fields, the Nordic countries and several countries of Western Europe.

The Danish interest in membership of the European Communities is based not only on economic considerations but also on the political recognition that Denmark must necessarily hold a place in a united Europe.

However, there is also another Europe, Eastern Europe, which forms a natural part of our continent. We, therefore, welcome the relaxation of tensions and the rapprochement towards the countries of Eastern Europe which have been initiated during the last few years, and to which Denmark, like other countries, has tried to contribute.

I cannot stress enough how great importance we in Denmark attach to the efforts towards contact and dialogue which you, Mr. President, so strongly advocate. Only through reducing distances, removing distrust, and creating understanding we can have any hope of relieving tensions in the world and securing peace for our peoples.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I extend a toast to the prosperity of the American people and to the President of the United States. To the President.

115 Special Message to the Congress About Waste Disposal. *April* 15, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The first of the Great Lakes to be discovered by the seventeenth century French explorers was Lake Huron. So amazed were these brave men by the extent and beauty of that lake, they named it "The Sweet Sea".

Today there are enormous sections of the Great Lakes (including almost all of Lake Erie) that make such a title ironic. The by-products of modern technology and large population increases have polluted the lakes to a degree inconceivable to the world of the seventeenth century explorers.

In order to contribute to the restoration of these magnificent waters, this Administration will transmit legislation to the Congress which would stop the dumping of polluted dredged spoil into the Great Lakes. This bill would:

—Discontinue disposal of polluted dredged materials into the Great Lakes by the Corps of Engineers and private interests as soon as land disposal sites are available.

—Require the disposal of polluted dredged spoil in containment areas located at sites established by the Corps of Engineers and approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

—Require States and other non-Federal interests to provide one-half the cost of constructing containment areas and also provide needed lands and other rights.

—Require the Secretary of the Army, after one year, to suspend dredging if local interests were not making reasonable progress in attaining disposal sites.

I am directing the Secretary of the Army to make periodic reports of progress under this program to the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

This bill represents a major step forward in cleaning up the Great Lakes. On the other hand, it underlines the need to begin the task of dealing with the broader problem of dumping in the oceans.

About 48 million tons of dredgings, sludge and other materials are annually dumped off the coastlands of the United States. In the New York area alone, the amount of annual dumping would cover all of Manhattan Island to a depth of one foot in two years. Disposal problems of municipalities are becoming worse with increased population, higher per capita wastes, and limited disposal sites.

We are only beginning to find out the ecological effects of ocean dumping and current disposal technology is not adequate to handle wastes of the volume now being produced. Comprehensive new approaches are necessary if we are to manage this problem expeditiously and wisely.

I have therefore directed the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality to work with the Departments of the Interior, the Army, other Federal agencies, and State and local governments on a comprehensive study of ocean dumping to be submitted to me by September 1, 1970. That study will recommend further research needs and appropriate legislation and administrative actions.

Specifically, it will study the following areas:

—Effects of ocean dumping on the environment, including rates of spread and decomposition of the waste materials, effects on animal and plant life, and long-term ecological impacts.

—Adequacy of all existing legislative authorities to control ocean dumping, with recommendations for changes where needed.

—Amounts and areas of dumping of toxic wastes and their effects on the marine environment.

—Availability of suitable sites for disposal on land.

—Alternative methods of disposal such as incineration and re-use.

—Ideas such as creation of artificial islands, incineration at sea, transporting material to fill in strip mines or to create artificial mountains, and baling wastes for possible safe disposal in the oceans.

—The institutional problems in controlling ocean dumping.

Once this study is completed, we will be able to take action on the problem of ocean dumping.

The legislation being transmitted today would control dumping in the Great Lakes. We must now direct our attention to ocean dumping or we may court the same ecological damages that we have inflicted on our lands and inland waters.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 15, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet and the transcript of a news

briefing on the message by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality; Robert E. Jordan III, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army for Civil Functions; Gen. F. P. Koisch, Director, Civil Works Office, Corps of Engineers; and Dr. Leslie L. Glasgow, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife, Parks and Marine Resources, Department of the Interior.

116 Message to Ambassador Gerard C. Smith, Chief of the United States Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Vienna. *April* 16, 1970

AS YOU and your colleagues resume the effort begun at Helsinki to achieve the limitation of strategic armaments, I reaffirm the statements in my message to you last November. I expressed then—and I express now—the hope that an agreement can be reached on the limitation and eventual reduction of strategic arsenals with proper recognition of the legitimate security interests of the United States and the Soviet Union and of third countries. Your current instructions will enable you to move from general explorations to a discussion of more specific proposals toward these ends.

In proceeding with this momentous task, you will have as your guide the detailed and comprehensive studies conducted within our Government since the first day this administration took office. You know of my firm commitment to the search for an early, equitable, verifiable agreement. You have authority to approach the issues in the most comprehensive manner.

The effort to limit strategic armaments remains an integral part of our work for a lasting peace, a peace from which all peoples will benefit.

It is my hope and expectation that your Soviet colleagues will carry into the Vienna meetings the same determination to bring about a mutually acceptable agreement.

It is appropriate that your opening session is taking place in a building in which the negotiations for the Austrian State Treaty were successfully completed 15 years ago. The United States is grateful to Austria for the arrangements which have been made for this conference.

117 Special Message to the Congress Recommending Postal Reorganization and Pay Legislation. *April* 16, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

My message of April 3 outlined the preliminary agreement that the Government reached with its postal employees after the end of the recent postal work stoppage.

In that agreement, the Post Office Department and the postal employee organizations affiliated with the AFL–CIO undertook to negotiate and jointly sponsor a postal reorganization and pay bill to be recommended to the Congress as a measure that could ultimately lead to a cure

of the problems that have been festering for years in the postal system.

The negotiations went forward in an atmosphere of good will and good faith on both sides, and they have now culminated in agreement on a legislative proposal that would:

—Convert the Post Office Department into an independent establishment in the Executive Branch of the Government, freed from direct political pressures and endowed with the means of building a truly superior mail service.

—Provide a framework within which postal employees in all parts of the country can bargain collectively with postal management over pay and working conditions.

—Increase the pay of postal employees by 8%, over and above the Government-wide increase of 6%, and shorten the time required to reach the top pay step for most postal jobs.

I support the proposed legislation that has been agreed to in the negotiations between the Post Office Department and the postal unions, and in transmitting it to the Congress I urge that it be given prompt and favorable consideration.

The Secretary of Treasury is sending to the Congress shortly the detailed legislative proposals necessary to accelerate the collection of estate and gift taxes which will pay for the 6% governmentwide pay raise.

I. *The United States Postal Service*

The negotiators quickly agreed that the structure of the nation's postal establishment should be one that would permit the postal system to operate on an independent, self-contained basis. This means that for the first time in generations, the Post Office would be run by people whose authority would be commensurate with their responsibilities; it means that the Post Office would carry its own burden and not be a burden to the taxpayer; and it means that the Post Office would serve the public interest of all Americans and not the political interest of any individual or group of individuals.

Fourteen months ago, I pledged that this Administration would do its best to end the system of political patronage that has plagued the Post Office for the better part of the past two centuries. We have kept that promise. Looking to the future, however, I believe that only basic changes in the system can provide permanent insurance against a rebirth of partisan politics in the Post Office.

The proposed legislation that the postal negotiators have agreed upon, and that I now endorse, would build a permanent firewall between postal affairs and political patronage.

I propose that the Post Office Department be reorganized as an independent establishment known as "The United States Postal Service." The new establishment would be organized in a way designed to make it at least as free from partisan political pressure as are such presently existing independent establishments as the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The Postmaster General would no longer be a member of the Cabinet, under this proposal, and the Postal Service would be insulated from direct control by the President, the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.

Instead of being appointed directly by the President, the Postmaster General

would be selected by nine public members of a bipartisan Commission on Postal Costs and Revenues. These nine Commissioners—not more than five of whom could be from the same political party—would serve nine-year statutory terms, under appointment by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Postmaster General, who would hold office at the pleasure of the Commissioners, would be vested with full authority to manage the day-to-day operations of the Postal Service.

The legislation would provide the new Postal Service with the means of achieving:

—Continuity of top management, with the tenure of the Postmaster General based on performance and not on politics.

—Appropriate control over postal rates, with a Postal Rate Board holding full and fair hearings on rate changes proposed by the Postmaster General, and with either House of Congress being empowered to veto proposed rate changes by a two-thirds vote.

—A self-supporting postal system.

—A workable method of raising necessary funds by borrowing from the Treasury Department or from the general public.

—Collective bargaining over wages, hours and, in general, all working conditions that are subject to collective bargaining in the private sector.

A proposal for massive reorganization of a Government organization as important as the Post Office Department should, obviously, receive careful study before it is adopted. Fortunately, the question of postal reform has been receiving intensive scrutiny, both in Congress and in the country at large, ever since my basic postal reform proposal was sent to the Congress last May. During that time the need for fundamental reform of the postal system has come to be almost universally recognized, and I suggest that further delay in starting on the road toward postal excellence would be indefensible.

II. *Postal Employee-Management Relations*

The negotiators have agreed that there should be a statutory framework for collective bargaining in the postal establishment resembling that of private industry.

The people of this nation cannot and will not submit to the coercion of strikes by employees of the Federal Government. Since strikes by employees of the new Postal Service must be prohibited, a workable alternative to strikes must be provided—an absolutely impartial means of resolving differences between postal management and postal employees without the public being subjected to interruptions in the postal service. That is what the proposed legislation agreed upon by the postal negotiators provides.

I propose that the new United States Postal Service be empowered to engage in collective bargaining with recognized employee organizations over wages, hours, and working conditions generally, with negotiating impasses being finally resolved, if necessary, by binding arbitration.

Determination of national collective bargaining units, recognition of collective bargaining representatives and adjudication of unfair labor practice charges would be handled by the National Labor Relations Board under procedures similar to those that have long been followed in the private sector.

In addition to wages and hours, mat-

ters that are subject to collective bargaining would include such things as grievance procedures, final and binding arbitration of disputes, seniority rights, holidays and vacations, life insurance, medical insurance, training and promotion procedures. Employee benefits enjoyed today would be carried forward, and, in the case of rank and file postal employees, any change in such benefits would be subject to the collective bargaining process.

Negotiations over new labor agreements would be expected to begin ninety days before the expiration of existing agreements. There would be a statutory guarantee of final and binding third party arbitration to resolve negotiating impasses after a ninety day cooling-off period, during which time an outside fact-finding panel would try to assist the parties in reaching agreement. Opportunities for mediation and conciliation would also be provided.

All postal employees would retain their full benefits under the Civil Service retirement system and under the existing Federal workmen's compensation laws. The provisions of the Veterans Preference Act would apply, as would the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The labor standards provisions to which Government contracts generally are made subject would be applicable to contracts entered into by the new Postal Service to the same extent as elsewhere in the Government.

Finally, the right of every postal employee to petition Congress would be expressly preserved by statute.

III. *Postal Pay*

In many parts of the country—particularly in our great urban areas—the pay of postal employees has lagged seriously behind the pay received for comparable work by employees in private industry. The general 6% increase has alleviated that problem for most employees of the Federal Government, but it fails to take into account two important considerations that are unique to the Postal Service:

—The need to offset the limited opportunities for job advancement that most postal workers have traditionally faced.

—The need to allow postal workers to share the benefits of the increases in efficiency and productivity that should be attainable under a properly reorganized postal system.

These factors played an important part in the thinking of the postal negotiators during their discussions on the pay question.

I propose an additional pay increase of 8% for postal employees, effective immediately upon enactment of the reorganization law, with prompt collective bargaining over pay schedules under which the time required for rank and file postal employees to reach the top pay step in their respective labor grades would be compressed to not more than eight years.

IV. *Postal Rates*

As the new Postal Service will be self-contained, so should it be self-supporting; as it will be non-profit, so should it be non-loss.

If the pay increases that the postal negotiators have agreed to recommend are put into effect promptly, and if postal rates were to remain where they are today, postal expenditures would exceed postal income in 1971 by approximately two and one-half billion dollars.

A postal deficit of this magnitude would be indefensible at any time; during a

period when inflation is threatening the economic well-being of every American family, such a deficit would be totally irresponsible.

Less than two weeks ago I proposed a plan for raising first, second and third class postage rates to a level that would bring postal income fully into balance with anticipated postal expenditures. This plan included a proposal for increasing the price of the first class stamp to ten cents. Understandably, the proposed increase met with limited enthusiasm, and I am not insensitive to the widespread concern that this proposal evoked. Nevertheless, the need for the additional revenue exists, and the proposal highlighted the true cost to the user of our mail service.

In the course of negotiations, the parties considered an alternative proposal that would provide a transitional rate policy designed to cushion the immediate effect of the application of the principle of pay-as-you-go on the users of the mail. The alternative approach, to be incorporated in the reorganization bill, would require the general taxpayer to pay 10% of the total cost of the new postal service in the first year. The precentage of taxpayer support would decline each year until the end of 1977, when the mails would be completely self-supporting except for continuing appropriations to reimburse the Postal Service for revenue lost on mail carried for non-profit organizations and other groups entitled by law to use the mail free or at specially reduced rates.

Though the goal would be delayed, acceptance of the principle of a true pay-as-you-go postal service—even in stages—is a fundamental breakthrough.

I would prefer an immediate end to general subsidization by the taxpayer; but since the principles of pay-as-you-go and postal reform are of basic importance, I am ready to accept this gradual but steady approach to that goal.

I would also prefer the method of raising most of the needed new revenues from the business organizations that are the principal users of first class mail. Again, however, I consider the principles of pay-as-you-go and postal reform to be overriding, and I am willing to make adjustments in my original proposals so as to raise more revenues from other classes of mail.

In the interest of making realistic progress toward the objective of bringing postal expenditures into balance with postal revenues, I now propose to

—*Increase the price of the first class stamp by one third, from six cents to eight cents.*

—*Keep the price of the air mail stamp at ten cents.*

—*Increase the average second class postage rate by one half.*

—*Increase third class bulk and single piece rates by one third (the same percentage increase as first-class).*

These rate increases would generate additional revenues of more than $1.5 billion—enough, with the temporary 10% contribution by the Federal taxpayer, to put the new, independent United States Postal Service on the road to a sound, pay-as-you-go operation.

V. *Toward Postal Excellence*

Mail users, postal employees and the nation as a whole have gone through a long ordeal in reaching the threshold of basic postal reform—but we have come a long way.

The Congress is now presented with an

opportunity to pass legislation that will bring a new measure of fairness to postal employees, a new efficiency to the system itself, and long overdue equity to the taxpayer.

Neither better pay nor better organization will, in and of itself, guarantee better mail service.

Laws do not move the mail, nor do dollars. What moves the mail is people—people who have the will to excel, the will to do their work to the very best of their ability.

The United States is fortunate to have such people in its postal system today. As the Postmaster General has urged, these people must be retained; in the years ahead, more like them must be recruited. This legislation would represent an important step toward that end.

Enactment of the legislation that I now propose would give our postal employees the means to attain a goal they have never before had the means of attaining—the goal of building, in America, the best postal system in the world.

That is a goal worth striving for. With this postal reform legislation, it is a goal that can be achieved. I hope the Congress will lose no time in enacting the laws that are needed to let our postal people get on with the job.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 16, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the proposed postal reorganization and salary adjustment act of 1970; a fact sheet on the proposed postal revenue act of 1970; and the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount and George Meany, President of AFL–CIO.

118 Statement About House Approval of the Family Assistance Act of 1970. *April* 16, 1970

WE HAVE PASSED another milestone on the road to reforming the welfare system. I want to commend the House for the responsible, forward-looking action it took today in approving the family assistance plan which I proposed last summer. This is a battle won in a crusade for reform that we cannot afford to lose.

Years from now, when historians look back on our times, I believe they will say that this welfare reform is the most important piece of social legislation in almost four decades. There is no proposal I have sent to the Congress more central to my own philosophy of fairness and progress for all the American people.

We all know how the present welfare system breaks up families, demeans human dignity, and condemns poor people to a lifetime on the dole. We cannot let that continue. The family assistance plan offers new hope to the helpless by providing help equally to every dependent family in every State. It offers new fairness to the working poor, by helping them to lift themselves out of poverty. And it offers the taxpayer light at the end of the tunnel, by providing new incentives and job training to get people off welfare rolls and onto payrolls. It combines realism with idealism.

The House has done its duty. Now the Senate has the opportunity to act with the same responsiveness and the same responsibility. The poor and the helpless—

and the taxpayer—need welfare reform now. I am confident, with the action the House has taken today, that the present welfare program, which has been so destructive to millions of American families, is on the way out and that family assistance will take its place.

NOTE: The proposed family assistance act of 1970 was H.R. 16311.

119 Statement Following the Safe Return of the Apollo 13 Astronauts. *April* 17, 1970

FOR MUCH of mankind the reaches of space had never seemed so infinitely remote as they did when Apollo 13 was crippled nearly a quarter of a million miles from earth, headed toward the moon.

With Astronauts Lovell, Haise, and Swigert safely back on earth, a surpassing human drama that gripped the world for 3½ days at last has a happy ending. Their safe return is a tribute to their own courage and also to the ingenuity and resourcefulness of those on the ground who helped transform potential tragedy into a heart-stopping rescue.

From the beginning, man's ventures into space have been accompanied by danger. Apollo 13 reminds us how real those dangers are. It reminds us of the special qualities of the men who dare to brave the perils of space. It testifies, also, to the extraordinary concert of skills, in space and on the ground, that goes into a moon mission.

To the astronauts, a relieved Nation says "Welcome home."

To them and to those on the ground who did so magnificent a job of guiding Apollo 13 safely back from the edge of eternity, a grateful Nation says "Well done."

NOTE: Toward the end of Apollo 13's 3-day trip to the moon on April 13, 1970, an explosion in the service module destroyed most of the command module's oxygen and power supplies. The moon landing had to be abandoned and the crew was forced to rely on the lunar excursion module during their safe return to earth.

On the same day, the President issued Proclamation 3979 designating Sunday, April 19, 1970, as a National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the safe return of the astronauts and the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings by Michael Collins, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, and William Anders, Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, on the President's activities before and after splashdown.

120 Remarks Announcing Plans To Award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Apollo 13 Astronauts and Mission Operations Team. *April* 17, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have just talked on the phone with the three astronauts on the ship. And I have told them that I would like to present the Medal of Freedom to them in Hawaii tomorrow.

We will leave here in the morning, going first to Houston, where we will pick up the two wives, and then go on to Hawaii where the Medal of Freedom will

be presented in a ceremony tomorrow at approximately 5:00.

I also want to say at this time that reactions, of course, to what has happened have been pouring into the White House. I have talked to the leaders of both the House and the Senate, Republican and Democrat, and to several other leaders in the country who have been calling in.

There are no adjectives that can be added at this time. I will only put it in quite personal terms. I thought that the most exciting day of my life was the day I was elected President of the United States. And then I thought perhaps next to that was the day that Apollo 11 completed its flight and I met it when it came down in the sea in the Pacific. But there is no question in my mind that for me, personally, this is the most exciting, the most meaningful day that I have ever experienced.

I feel that what these men have done has been a great inspiration to all of us. I think also what the men on the ground have done is an inspiration to us. How men react in adversity determines their true greatness, and these men have demonstrated that the American character is sound and strong and capable of taking a very difficult situation and turning it into really a very successful venture.

Finally, in recognition, also, of the men on the ground, I am going to present the Medal of Freedom tomorrow in Houston when we stop there, to the Apollo 13 crew on the ground who have made these very difficult decisions on the spot, decisions that had to be right. They couldn't miss even a little bit without risking the lives of these men.

This is a superb achievement. It is one the whole Nation is proud of, and I am very proud to represent the American people in presenting the Medal of Freedom to those who participated, the hundreds, the thousands, in making this possible, and also to the three men who have now returned safely to earth.

NOTE: The President spoke to reporters at 3:25 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

121 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Apollo 13 Mission Operations Team in Houston. *April* 18, 1970

Dr. Paine, Mrs. Lovell, Mrs. Haise, Mr. and Mrs. Swigert, all of the members of the NASA team who are here, and members of your families who are here in such great numbers today:

I have a very special honor, first as President of the United States to speak for all of the American people in expressing appreciation to the men and women on the ground who made it possible for the men to return to earth. We express our appreciation to you.

But I also am authorized to do something that even in this office I cannot usually do, and that is to speak not just for Americans but to speak for people all over the world.

There has poured into the White House in these past 24 hours, an unprecedented number of wires and letters and cables. There has poured in the kind of messages that have told me over and over again that it is vitally important to convey to the wives, to the astronauts, and to the men and women on the ground at NASA [National Aeronautics and Space

Administration] the fact that not just Americans but people all over the world, not just people in the free world but people in the Communist world, people of all religions, of all faiths, of all political beliefs, that they also were on that trip with these men.

I could read many, many wires today that express those sentiments. I have one that I think perhaps summarizes them as well as any. I read it to you:

"To the President of the United States:

"For the safe return of three astronauts, we express profound gratitude to God, to men of science and to all those who contributed to make this possible.

"To Your Excellency and to the people of the United States, we give assurance of deep admiration for the great skill employed and courage shown in the carrying out of this extraordinary undertaking which has held the attention and the hope of the world.

"To the heroes of the day and to their families go our joyful best wishes."

That message expresses the sentiment that runs through all of them. It happens to be from Pope Paul.

I would also mention something else: that in these last few days never have so many people on this earth, in all nations, thought together so much, shared an experience together so much, and never have they prayed so much for the success of this mission.

I had a man last night at the White House at a dinner who came up to me—I know he hasn't been in church for years—and he said, "I never prayed so hard in my life as I prayed these last 3 or 4 days."

I know that whatever our religious faith may be, whatever our differences in this respect are, that we know that through our prayers we helped to participate in this successful recovery.

But let me say one other thing. I think it is important that out of this mission we recognize that it was not a failure. I remember when I called Captain Lovell, he said he was sorry that they were unable to complete their mission of landing on the moon. I would reply in this way: The three astronauts did not reach the moon but they reached the hearts of millions of people in America and in the world. They reminded us in these days when we have this magnificent technocracy, that men do count, the individual does count. They reminded us that in these days machines can go wrong and that when machines go wrong, then the man or the woman, as the case may be, really counts. They reminded us, for example, of a truth that every astronaut has said when he has returned from a successful space flight, but that we have not paid too much attention to.

I know that when I have welcomed each group at the White House, their first statement is that, "We could not have done it without the help of hundreds, thousands of people on the ground." They point out that there are 6,000 major components in an astronaut operation and if something goes wrong with any one of those 6,000 major components the whole thing may prove to be a failure. They say that and we usually think in terms of "That is just the man carrying the ball giving the credit to the blockers when really we know he did it."

But now we know. We are reminded of the fact that the men and women on the ground do count, that those hours that they spent were worth spending. And I use this one example to indicate it.

There were a number of contingency

plans that had to go into effect when this accident occurred and they took care of most of the difficulties. But there were some things that occurred that nobody could have planned for. We just didn't expect it to happen that way.

President Eisenhower often used to say around the Security Council table that it had been his experience in a really great crisis that plans were useless but that planning was indispensable. And so it was in this case.

When the problem was how to bring into the LEM [Lunar Excursion Module] from the command module the carbon dioxide absorbent, there was no plan, no contingency. Nobody ever thought that could happen. But then here in this great organization, men came into play. They are men whose names simply represent the whole team: [Robert E.] Smiley, [James V.] Correale. And they had a jerry-built operation which worked, and had that not occurred these men would not have gotten back. That is only one example to prove the magnificent teamwork of the whole group, how the years of preparation paid off.

So, as President of the United States, I wanted the opportunity to thank everybody who had helped to make this flight a success, the success that it was, and all the others a success. I called Dr. Paine immediately after splashdown and said, "I would like to do that." He said, "How many days or weeks or years do you have? There are about 300,000 that we would like to thank." I said, "Well, then I will come down to Houston and present the Medal of Freedom to you, Dr. Paine, for the whole NASA organization." And now we see the greatness of a really superb executive. His response was, "No, not to me." He said, "Let me think a moment, and I will tell you who it ought to be to." He said, "Let's give it to the Apollo mission operations team." And he suggested that we have on this platform today the members of that team: Sig Sjoberg, Glynn Lunney, Milt Windler, Gerald Griffin, Gene Kranz. They are here and I wonder if they would all stand, please.

Mr. Sjoberg, I am sure that when I see the three astronauts in Hawaii a few hours from now, they will say from their hearts, "Never have so few owed so much to so many."

It is now my proud honor to present to the Apollo 13 mission operations team the highest civilian award in the United States, the Medal of Freedom.

I read the citation:

> We often speak of scientific "miracles"—forgetting that these are not miraculous happenings at all, but rather the product of hard work, long hours and disciplined intelligence.
>
> The men and women of the Apollo 13 mission operations team performed such a miracle, transforming potential tragedy into one of the most dramatic rescues of all time. Years of intense preparation made this rescue possible. The skill, coordination and performance under pressure of the mission operations team made it happen. Three brave astronauts are alive and on Earth because of their dedication, and because at the critical moments the people of that team were wise enough and self-possessed enough to make the right decisions. Their extraordinary feat is a tribute to man's ingenuity, to his resourcefulness and to his courage.

SIGURD A. SJOBERG [Director of Flight Operations]. Mr. President, all of us here at the Manned Spacecraft Center and indeed people throughout the country and world who had the opportunity to participate in Apollo 13, are extremely grateful for this award.

Thank God for the return of the astronauts.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. You know, a President learns a great deal on a trip like this. I had to learn how to pronounce Sjoberg.

Now we leave you to go to Hawaii where we will present the Medal of Freedom to the three astronauts. Their wives and Mr. and Mrs. Swigert will accompany us.

I know that you will want us to take from you the best wishes and congratulations from the men and women on the ground to the men who came back from space.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. at the Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, Tex.

In his opening words the President referred to the wives of astronauts James A. Lovell, Jr., and Fred W. Haise, Jr., and the parents of John L. Swigert, Jr.

122 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Apollo 13 Astronauts in Honolulu. *April* 18, 1970

CAPTAIN LOVELL, it is my proud honor on behalf of a grateful and proud nation to welcome you and your colleagues back to the United States of America.

On this occasion I am very proud to speak not just for 200 million Americans, but for people around this world. We have received over 100 messages from foreign governments—from the Soviet Union, from Poland, other countries behind the Iron Curtain, from countries in the free world. This is truly a welcome from all the people of the world to three very brave men.

I recall, Captain, that when I spoke to you on the phone, you said that you regretted that you were unable to complete your mission. I hereby declare that this was a successful mission, a great mission on behalf of your country.

Your mission served the cause of the space program because of what you did. It means that future manned flights to space which will be made by our space program will be safer. Your mission served the cause of international understanding and good will.

I think I can truthfully say that never before in the history of man have more people watched together, prayed together, and rejoiced together at your safe return, than on this occasion.

You did not reach the moon but you reached the hearts of millions of people on earth by what you did.

Finally, your mission served your country. It served to remind us all of our proud heritage as a nation; to remind us that in this age of technicians and scientific marvels, that the individual still counts; that in a crisis, the character of a man or of men will make the difference.

As we look at what you have done, we realize that greatness comes not simply in triumph but in adversity. It has been said that adversity introduces a man to himself. Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you three men who have been introduced to themselves as much as anybody in the whole history of men.

Now I have the proud honor to present the highest civilian award that can be presented in the United States of America, the Medal of Freedom.

I will now read the citation:

To James Arthur Lovell, Jr., to Fred Wallace Haise, Jr., to John Leonard Swigert, Jr.:

The citation on each of your medals will

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read as follows:

Adversity brings out the character of a man. Confronted suddenly and unexpectedly with grave peril in the far reaches of space, he demonstrated a calm courage and quiet heroism that stand as an example to men everywhere. His safe return is a triumph of the human spirit—of those special qualities of man himself we rely on when machines fail, and that we rely on also for those things that machines cannot do.

From the start, the exploration of space has been hazardous adventure. The voyage of Apollo 13 dramatized its risks. The men of Apollo 13, by their poise and skill under the most intense kind of pressure, epitomized the character that accepts danger and surmounts it. Theirs is the spirit that built America. With gratitude and admiration, America salutes their spirit and their achievement.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I think we would also want to pay our respects to three very brave women, two wives, one mother, and a very brave father. Would they please stand?

Before I ask Captain Lovell to respond on behalf of this great crew, I have one personal matter that I want to mention to Mr. Swigert. I noticed that he had a little problem about filing his income tax return.[1] Don't worry about it. I happen to know the collector. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:41 p.m. at the Honolulu International Airport, Hawaii. Captain Lovell responded as follows:

Mr. President, distinguished ladies and gentlemen:

Needless to say, it is a very proud day for the three of us to be back here, to be back on earth again. We are very happy to be here. We had some very trying moments in the last week.

I can recall about a year and a half ago when we were coming home on Apollo 8, and we looked back on earth, and we had mentioned then that the earth was really the only place we had to go to. It was the only place that had color. It was the only place we could see in the universe that had life, that had warmth and was home to us.

But I was safely tucked in a nice, warm spacecraft with all systems functioning, and I really wasn't too worried. In Apollo 13 on the way home the situation was a little different. I recall the same words I had said a year and a half ago, and I wondered just when and how we would get back.

But I think the secret was the fact that we have in America something which has always been part of us and that is teamwork. Just as Fred and Jack and I tried to work as a team up there, we had hundreds of people on the ground that really saw to it that we got back home safely. It was these people who gave us instructions, who tracked us, who watched our systems, that we owe a debt of gratitude to. So, on behalf of the three of us, we are glad to be home and we are glad to be part of America.

[1] On April 12, 1970, while enroute to the moon, command module pilot Swigert told Mission Control at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston that he had forgotten to file his income tax return, due April 15.

123 Remarks at a Special Church Service in Honolulu. *April* 19, 1970

Reverend Akaka and all of those present at this thanksgiving and worship service today:

It is indeed a very great honor for me to be here for two reasons: one, because, as you know, when we learned of the safe return of our astronauts, I asked that the Nation observe a National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving today. We had scheduled in the White House today one of our White House worship services, and I had to postpone that because I could not quite

get back to Washington for that service.

I wanted to attend a service, and it seemed to me that the most appropriate service to attend in Hawaii was in this great church, with all of its history that is here, and also knowing from my wife, who has been here with our two daughters, what a truly fine place of worship it is, and also having in mind the fact that today, at the next service, your regular service, you will be commemorating the 150th anniversary of Christianity in this State, what was then these islands.

And so, I am privileged to be here, first, as President of the United States, in my official capacity, and, second, as one who recognizes the enormous historical event that you will be commemorating in just an hour.

I would like to say just one further word with regard to the event that we have all been watching over this past week. We think of it in terms of the technological problems. We think of it in terms of the fact that brave men returned to earth, not only because of their own bravery, but because of the great courage and skill and ability of the men on the ground.

I think also this event reminded us of other things we sometimes forget. It reminded us that machines, no matter how very perfect they may be developed, sometimes can develop troubles, and then people count.

It reminded us also of the fact that in this Nation we have men and women of great character and strength—character and strength that comes through when they are in trouble. We think of these very great troubles that our astronauts faced with such courage.

Let us also remember that there are people all over this land who, in their daily lives, face troubles that in their own way perhaps may be as great. But that what really counts is not how well a person does when things go well, but how he reacts when he faces tragedy or the possibility of tragedy. And here we all shared it.

We are also reminded of something else, of the true brotherhood of man. There are great political differences that divide the world today. There are very deep ideological differences that divide the world today, but when it has learned that these men were in danger, there poured into the White House from all over the world messages from the Communist countries and the non-Communist countries, from people of various religions, saying that they wished their best, offering their assistance; and when they learned that they were back, there was an outpouring of relief and rejoicing from people, regardless of their political or religious differences.

What does this mean? It means that wherever people live in this world, wherever they are, that they value human life and they thought of these three men not as Americans, but as human beings, courageous men, and they wanted them to be saved.

If only we could think in that way about every individual on this earth, we could truly have a world of peace.

Finally, I would say to Reverend Akaka, on this occasion that you celebrated the 150th anniversary of Christianity, that this event reminded us that in these days of growing materialism, deep down there is still a great religious faith in this Nation.

I think more people prayed last week than perhaps have prayed in many years in this country, and the very fact that they did indicates that the religious strength of this country, something we often take for

granted, and something that sometimes, particularly now, seems to be weakening in some areas, that it is there in times of trouble. Let us remember that if we turn to spiritual help, if we pray for the assistance of God when we were faced with this very great potential tragedy and this great trouble, let us remember we have come a long way in this country because we have had faith in God.

Let us not forget it again. Let us remember that the future will be better if we continue that faith, develop it in great churches like this, Sunday after Sunday, day after day.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in Kawaiahao Church at a service observing the National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the safe return of the Apollo 13 astronauts.

124 Remarks on Departure from Honolulu. *April* 19, 1970

IT WAS worth coming all the way to Hawaii just to hear this service. I have heard many services in my life, but I have never heard a sermon that was more eloquent, more appropriate, and timely for not only this event, this day, but for this period in the history of this world.

I wish it could be heard all over the world. I wish he could bring this message the way that he speaks it, and its content, the delivery, and particularly the spirit of it, not only here, but other places. I told him that I don't know whether we can arrange this, but I invited him to speak at the White House and to bring the choir with him. We are going to try to find some angel, I mean an angel on earth, who will take care of that, because I think it would be a very fine service at the White House.

It was really one of the most moving and meaningful religious services I have attended, and I have attended a great number of very fine services.

The briefing was on the whole Pacific area.

I am going to put some of the finishing touches on my Vietnam speech this afternoon on the plane, and tomorrow.

The briefing this morning was very helpful. It was about an hour and a half, from 7:30 to 9:00.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:45 a.m. at Hickam Air Force Base.

The sermon to which the President referred, delivered by Reverend Dr. Abraham K. Akaka at the Kawaiahao Church in Honolulu, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 551).

Earlier the same day, the President met with Adm. John D. McCain, Jr., Commander in Chief, U.S. Forces in the Pacific, and other top military advisers for a briefing on the military situation in Southeast Asia.

125 Remarks on Arrival in California. *April* 19, 1970

WE WANT to thank all of you for coming out and giving us such a wonderful welcome here at home in California.

As we went down the bench here to meet a few of you—and I only wish time permitted meeting everybody who is

here—the question that was asked most often was, "How are the astronauts?"

I can only tell you that going from Washington first to Houston and then to Hawaii and meeting the astronauts when they returned to the United States was one of the most memorable events of our lives, as well as, I am sure, of all of you who had the opportunity to witness it.

When you ask how they are, I can tell you that physically they look as if they had just been on—well, I was going to say on the way from San Clemente to Los Angeles, but that is a pretty hard ride—but when they came off the plane it was obvious that their spirit was high.

It was also quite clear that these men who had suffered such a great ordeal and confronted such a tremendous problem had come through with the great American ability to surmount a difficulty—to surmount it and come out stronger as a result of it.

I just want to say this: That as I met them I felt enormously proud of this country, proud that this Nation produces men like that, men who despite the mechanical backing that they had, and all the scientific genius that made their flight possible, who, when that mechanical material no longer came through for them, that they responded with the individual capacity that they had within them.

I also would like to point out as I did when I was in Houston yesterday, and as they themselves said, as Captain Lovell said when I presented the Medal of Freedom to him, that it would not have been possible for them to return to earth had it not been for the fact that there in Houston and at tracking stations around the world, there were hundreds, yes, thousands of people on the ground who did the planning and who helped make the decisions that brought them back.

This was truly a great team effort. It was a great triumph for the spirit of America. It made you realize why this is a really great country. I am very proud to have been there to give your greetings to them, and I can tell you that they send their very best to you, as I return to California.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:31 p.m. at El Toro Marine Corps Air Station.

126 Address to the Nation on Progress Toward Peace in Vietnam. *April* 20, 1970

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

I have requested this television and radio time tonight to give you a progress report on our plan to bring a just peace to Vietnam.

When I first outlined our program last June, I stated that the rate of American withdrawals from Vietnam would depend on three criteria: progress in the training of the South Vietnamese, progress in the Paris negotiations, and the level of enemy activity.

Tonight I am pleased to report that progress in training and equipping South Vietnamese forces has substantially exceeded our original expectations last June.

Very significant advances have also been made in pacification.

Although we recognize that problems remain, these are encouraging trends.

However, I must report with regret that no progress has taken place on the negotiating front. The enemy still demands that we unilaterally and uncondi-

tionally withdraw all American forces, that in the process we overthrow the elected Government of South Vietnam, and that the United States accept a political settlement that would have the practical consequence of the forcible imposition of a Communist government upon the people of South Vietnam.

That would mean humiliation and defeat for the United States. This we cannot and will not accept.

Let me now turn to the third criteria for troop withdrawals—the level of enemy activity. In several areas since December, that level has substantially increased.

In recent months Hanoi has sent thousands more of their soldiers to launch new offensives in neutral Laos in violation of the Geneva Accords of 1962 to which they were signatories.

South of Laos, almost 40,000 Communist troops are now conducting overt aggression against Cambodia, a small neutralist country that the Communists have used for years as a base for attack upon South Vietnam in violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954 to which they were also signatories.

This follows the consistent pattern of North Vietnamese aggression in Indochina. During the past 8 years they have sent tens of thousands of troops into all three countries of the peninsula and across every single common border.

Men and supplies continue to pour down the Ho Chi Minh Trail; and in the past 2 weeks, the Communists have stepped up their attacks upon allied forces in South Vietnam.

However, despite this new enemy activity, there has been an overall decline in enemy force levels in South Vietnam since December.

As the enemy force levels have declined and as the South Vietnamese have assumed more of the burden of battle, American casualties have declined.

I am glad to be able to report tonight that in the first 3 months of 1970, the number of Americans killed in action dropped to the lowest first quarter level in 5 years.

In June, a year ago, when we began troop withdrawals, we did so on a "cut and try" basis—with no certainty that the program would be successful. In June we announced withdrawal of 25,000 American troops; in September another 35,000 and then in December 50,000 more. These withdrawals have now been completed and as of April 15, a total of 115,500 men have returned home from Vietnam.

We have now reached a point where we can confidently move from a period of "cut and try" to a longer-range program for the replacement of Americans by South Vietnamese troops.

I am, therefore, tonight announcing plans for the withdrawal of an additional 150,000 American troops to be completed during the spring of next year. This will bring a total reduction of 265,500 men in our Armed Forces in Vietnam below the level that existed when we took office 15 months ago.

The timing and pace of these new withdrawals within the overall schedule will be determined by our best judgment of the current military and diplomatic situation.

This far-reaching decision was made after consultation with our commanders in the field, and it has the approval of the Government of South Vietnam.

Now, viewed against the enemy's escalation in Laos and Cambodia, and in view of the stepped-up attacks this month in South Vietnam, this decision clearly in-

volves risks.

But I again remind the leaders of North Vietnam that while we are taking these risks for peace, they will be taking grave risks should they attempt to use the occasion to jeopardize the security of our remaining forces in Vietnam by increased military action in Vietnam, in Cambodia, or in Laos.

I repeat what I said November 3d and December 15th. If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

My responsibility as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces is for the safety of our men, and I shall meet that responsibility. The decision I have announced tonight to withdraw 150,000 more men over the next year is based entirely on the progress of our Vietnamization program.

There is a better, shorter path to peace—through negotiations. We shall withdraw more than 150,000 over the next year if we make progress at the negotiating front.

Had the other side responded positively at Paris to our offer of May 14 last year, most American and foreign troops would have left South Vietnam by now.

A political settlement is the heart of the matter. That is what the fighting in Indochina has been about over the past 30 years.

Now, we have noted with interest the recent statement by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Malik concerning a possible new Geneva conference on Indochina.

We do not yet know the full implications of this statement. It is in the spirit of the letters I wrote on April 7, to signatories of the 1962 Geneva Accords urging consultations and observance of the Accords. We have consistently said we were willing to explore any reasonable path to peace. We are in the process of exploring this one.

But whatever the fate of this particular move we are ready for a settlement fair to everyone.

Let me briefly review for you the principles that govern our view of a just political settlement.

First, our overriding objective is a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people and allows them to determine their future without outside interference.

I again reaffirm this Government's acceptance of eventual, total withdrawal of American troops. In turn, we must see the permanent withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops and be given reasonable assurances that they will not return.

Second, a fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces within South Vietnam. We recognize the complexity of shaping machinery that would fairly apportion political power in South Vietnam. We are flexible; we have offered nothing on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

And third, we will abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon. President Thieu and I have repeatedly stated our willingness to accept the free decision of the South Vietnamese people. But we will not agree to the arrogant demand that the elected leaders of the Government of Vietnam be overthrown before real negotiations begin.

Let me briefly review the record of our efforts to end the war in Vietnam through negotiations.

We were told repeatedly in the past that our adversaries would negotiate seriously —if only we stopped the bombing of

North Vietnam;

—if only we began withdrawing our forces from South Vietnam;

—if only we dealt with the National Liberation Front as one of the parties to the negotiations;

—if only we would agree in principle to removal of all of our forces from Vietnam.

We have taken all these steps.

The United States, over a year and a half ago, stopped all bombing of North Vietnam. Long ago we agreed to negotiate with the National Liberation Front as one of the parties. We have already withdrawn 115,500 American troops. Tonight I have announced a decision to reduce American force levels by a quarter of a million men from what they were 15 months ago. We have offered repeatedly to withdraw all of our troops if the North Vietnamese would withdraw theirs. We have taken risks for peace that every fair and objective man can readily recognize.

And still there is no progress at the negotiating table.

It is Hanoi and Hanoi alone that stands today blocking the path to a just peace for all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

When our astronauts returned safely to earth last Friday, the whole world rejoiced with us. We could have had no more eloquent demonstration of a profound truth—that the greatest force working for peace in the world today is the fact that men and women everywhere, regardless of differences in race, religion, nationality, or political philosophy, value the life of a human being. We were as one as we thought of those brave men, their wives, their children, their parents.

The death of a single man in war, whether he is an American, a South Vietnamese, a Vietcong, or a North Vietnamese, is a human tragedy. That is why we want to end this war and achieve a just peace. We call upon our adversaries to join us in working at the conference table toward that goal.

No Presidential statement on Vietnam would be complete without an expression of our concern for the fate of the American prisoners of war.

The callous exploitation of the anxieties and anguish of the parents, the wives, the children of these brave men, as negotiating pawns, is an unforgivable breach of the elementary rules of conduct between civilized peoples. We shall continue to make every possible effort to get Hanoi to provide information on the whereabouts of all prisoners, to allow them to communicate with their families, to permit inspection of prisoners-of-war camps, and to provide for the early release of at least the sick and the wounded.

My fellow Americans, 5 years ago American combat troops were first sent to Vietnam. The war since that time has been the longest and one of the most costly and difficult conflicts in our history.

The decision I have announced tonight means that we finally have in sight the just peace we are seeking. We can now say with confidence that pacification is succeeding. We can now say with confidence that the South Vietnamese can develop the capability for their own defense. And we can say with confidence that all American combat forces can and will be withdrawn.

I could not make these statements tonight had it not been for the dedication, the bravery, the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of young men who have served in Vietnam. Nor could I have made it had it not been for the perseverance of mil-

lions of Americans at home.

When men write the history of this Nation, they will record that no people in the annals of time made greater sacrifices in a more selfless cause than the American people sacrificed for the right of 18 million people in a faraway land to avoid the imposition of Communist rule against their will and for the right of those people to determine their own future free of outside interference.

The enemy has failed to win the war in Vietnam because of three basic errors in their strategy.

They thought they could win a military victory. They have failed to do so.

They thought they could win politically in South Vietnam. They have failed to do so.

They thought they could win politically in the United States. This proved to be their most fatal miscalculation.

In this great free country of ours, we debate—we disagree, sometimes violently, but the mistake the totalitarians make over and over again is to conclude that debate in a free country is proof of weakness. We are not a weak people. We are a strong people. America has never been defeated in the proud 190-year history of this country, and we shall not be defeated in Vietnam.

Tonight I want to thank the American people for the support you have given so generously to the cause of a just peace in Vietnam.

It is your steadiness and your stamina that the leaders of North Vietnam are watching tonight. It is these qualities, as much as any proposals, that will bring them to negotiate.

It is America's resolve, as well as America's reasonableness, that will achieve our goal of a just peace in Vietnam and strengthen the foundations of a just and lasting peace in the Pacific and throughout the world.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6 p.m. in his office at the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the White House Press Office released an advance text of the address.

127 Statement on Establishing the President's Panel on Non-Public Education. *April* 21, 1970

THE NON-PUBLIC elementary and secondary schools in the United States have long been an integral part of the Nation's educational establishment. They supplement in an important way the main task of our public school system. They provide a diversity which our educational system would otherwise lack. They give a spur of competition to the public schools—through which educational innovations come; both systems benefit, and progress results.

Should any single school system—public or private—ever acquire a complete monopoly over the education of our children, the result would neither be good for that school system nor good for the country.

The non-public schools also give parents the opportunity to send children to a school of their own choice, and of their own religious denomination. They offer a wider range of possibilities for educational experimentation and special opportunities, especially for Spanish-speaking Americans and black Americans.

Up to now we have failed to consider the consequences of declining enrollments in private elementary and secondary schools, most of them church-supported, which educate 11 percent of all pupils—close to 6 million school children.

If most or all private schools were to close or turn public, the added burden on public funds by the end of the 1970's would exceed $4 billion per year in operations and with an estimated $5 billion more needed for facilities.

There is an equally important consideration: these schools—nonsectarian, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and other—often add a dimension of spiritual value to education affirming in children a moral code by which to live. No government can be indifferent to the potential collapse of such schools.

In my recent message on education I stated that the specific problem of parochial schools was to be a particular assignment of the Commission on School Finance.

Today, within that Commission, I am establishing the President's Panel on Non-Public Education to be chaired by Dr. Clarence Walton, the president of Catholic University; and with William G. Saltonstall, the former principal of Phillips Exeter Academy; Ivan Zylstra, the administrator of government-school relations for the National Union of Christian Schools; and Bishop William E. McManus, the director of education for the Archdiocese of Chicago, as initial panel members.

In their deliberations I urge the panel members to keep two considerations in mind. First, our purpose here is not to aid religion in particular, but to promote diversity in education within the Constitution. Second, that while the panel deliberates, non-public schools in the United States are closing at the rate of one a day.

The panel is charged with studying and evaluating the problems that confront the non-public elementary and secondary schools, of reporting on the nature of the crisis they confront, and of making positive recommendations to me for action which will be in the interest of our entire national educational system.

NOTE: Biographical information on the members of the panel is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 558).

128 Remarks at the Swearing In of Members of the Commission on Government Procurement. *April* 22, 1970

THIS IS the first time that we have used the new press facility for the purpose of swearing in a commission or, for that matter, any individual.

I think that it is significant to make three general remarks about this Commission on Government Procurement.

First, it was time that this Commission, which will report in 2 years, be appointed. This is the first time since the Hoover Commission 20 years ago that this kind of an extensive study of Government procurement has been made.

Second, the amount is significant. It involves between $55 and $60 billion worth of Government expenditures, every-

thing from pencils to nuclear submarines, including perhaps the facilities for the new press room.

Consequently, the procedures for procurement, the costs that might be avoided or saved, as well as the efficiency, are among the matters that will be taken up by this group in this very extensive study.

Most important, however, in a broader sense, is how this came about. This is truly a bipartisan effort. My old friend and neighbor—I say friend and neighbor because he represented the district right next to mine when I was in the Congress; he was from Montebello; I was from Whittier—Congressman Chet Holifield was the man who conceived the idea of the Commission, who pushed the legislation through with, of course, some Republican support, and I am delighted that he is the Vice Chairman of the Commission, and that Perkins McGuire, one of the outside members, is the Chairman.

Now, Judge, if you will swear them in, we will see in 2 years whether it was worth doing. [*Laughter*]

[At this point, Judge W. Byron Sorrell of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions administered the oath of office. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now, Mr. Bull,[1] incidentally, will give you your compensation. This is, of course, a nonpaid commission, and I would not want to compensate you out of anything that I received in my official capacity, but I have a friend who sells me presidential signing pens at a very good rate. I wish he would sell them to the Government at the same rate. Each of you will get one and that is your compensation for the next 2 years.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:22 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Members of the Commission appointed by the President are: Robert L. Kunzig, Administrator of General Services; Frank Sanders, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Paul W. Beamer of Massachusetts; Peter Dierks Joers of Arkansas; and E. Perkins McGuire of the District of Columbia. Members appointed by the President of the Senate are Senator Edward J. Gurney of Florida, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, and Richard E. Horner of California. Members appointed by the Speaker of the House are Representative Chet Holifield of California, Representative Frank Horton of New York, and Joseph W. Barr of Maryland. The Comptroller General of the United States, Elmer B. Staats, is a member by law.

Senator Jackson and Mr. Barr were unable to be present at the ceremony.

[1] Stephen B. Bull, a White House Staff Assistant.

129 Special Message to the Congress on Federal Disaster Assistance. *April* 22, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The spirit of neighborliness, the readiness to extend a helping hand in time of trouble, is one of the great traditions of this country. In the early years of our history, good neighbors were essential in coping with the hardships of pioneer life. They are equally essential in meeting the challenges of life today.

The spirit of the good neighbor was particularly evident in 1969 when natural disasters struck this country in unprecedented numbers and with unprecedented force. Twenty-nine major disasters and an untold number of smaller disasters were responsible for over 300 deaths and

an estimated $2 billion in property damage in the last calendar year. Events such as the California floods and Hurricane Camille with the Virginia floods were exceptionally destructive.

Private voluntary agencies have traditionally played a crucial role during times of disaster. State and local governments are key factors in any successful disaster relief effort. Thus the Federal role is only one part of the overall response of the Nation. But it is a very important part of that response. Under the Federal Disaster Acts of 1950, 1966, and 1969 and their amendments and under provisions in many other statutes, the Federal government works to help individuals through relief and rehabilitation efforts and to assist State and local governments by restoring public facilities essential to community life. In 1969 the Federal government allocated $150 million for assistance from the President's Disaster Relief Fund—the largest sum for any one year in history. Significant additional funds were spent on disaster assistance under other Federal programs. A report on our 1969 experience is being provided to the Congress.

We are confident that the general framework of our present program provides an effective mechanism for channeling Federal disaster assistance to individuals and communities. Rather than depending on a specialized disaster assistance agency, the present system makes maximum use of existing agencies, centrally coordinated by the Office of Emergency Preparedness, to perform tasks in time of emergency which are similar to those which they perform in normal circumstances. Our present arrangements also encourage constructive and cooperative efforts among individuals, local communities, the States and the Federal government.

At the same time, however, we have learned that a number of improvements are in order within the existing framework. The last Presidential special message on the subject of disaster assistance was written 18 years ago. Since that time, this program has grown in a piecemeal and often haphazard manner, involving over 50 separate Congressional enactments and executive actions. This slow development process has created a complex program, one which has a number of gaps and overlaps and needs increased coordination. It is time for new legislation and executive action to make our Federal disaster assistance program more effective and efficient.

Legislative Proposals

To extend and to improve the assistance which the Federal Government can provide in time of major disasters, I am asking the Congress to enact the Disaster Assistance Act of 1970. This legislation contains a number of specific proposals, the most important of which are the following:

Revenue Maintenance

When a community experiences a major disaster, the physical impact is obvious. What the television camera does not capture, however, is the loss of property tax revenue which occurs when a substantial portion of a community's property tax base is destroyed and its essential services are disrupted.

To ease this difficulty, *I recommend that the Congress enact a property tax revenue maintenance plan.* Under this

plan, the Federal government would be authorized to lend money at favorable interest rates to local governments to make up their loss of property tax revenues following a major disaster.

Permanent Repair

I am asking the Congress for expanded Federal authority to permanently repair or fully replace essential public facilities damaged by disasters. This authorization would provide a more effective and practical approach to the replacement of damaged public facilities which are vital to community life. This Administration would give preference to local employees and contractors in repair and rebuilding work.

Economic Development Assistance

I am also asking the Congress to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, so that the Economic Development Administration would provide staff support, technical advice and financial assistance to those communities affected by major disasters. Such assistance is vital in recovery efforts, particularly when the community is attempting to begin long-range rebuilding or redevelopment efforts.

Disaster Loans

I am proposing legislation to improve the disaster loan programs of the Small Business Administration and of the Farmers Home Administration. These loans are among our principal sources of assistance to stricken individuals. The recommended changes would provide for improved refinancing, payment deferral, and forgiveness arrangements and would assure disaster loans to older citizens. My proposed amendment would allow the FHA and SBA to provide faster service and would therefore promote speedier recovery following disasters.

Unemployment Compensation

I am also recommending that the Congress extend for two years the expanded unemployment compensation provisions of the Disaster Relief Act of 1969. These provisions make temporary income available as promptly as possible to help individuals who are unemployed as the result of a major disaster. Such assistance to individuals was a new feature in the 1969 Act. Before last year, only those unemployed persons who could qualify for compensation under the normal unemployment insurance programs could receive income protection following a disaster. The two-year extension which I recommend would provide time to fully evaluate the new provisions and to consider appropriate legislation.

Housing

Hurricane Camille provided the greatest test of the Federal government's ability to provide temporary housing to victims of a major disaster. We believe we met that test; at the direction of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the Department of Housing and Urban Development was able to place more than 5,000 mobile homes in the disaster area. We also believe, however, that the language of the law which authorizes such activities is confusing.

Two separate provisions in two different laws are now directed to temporary emergency housing. In order to simplify the legislative provisions that apply to this problem, *I propose that the provisions*

for temporary housing in PL 81–875 be amended so that they incorporate many of the broad principles of PL 91–79, without sacrificing flexibility. A clarified version of this law would allow the government to provide temporary housing or other emergency shelter—including leased mobile homes or other readily fabricated dwellings.

Debris Removal

One of the serious problems encountered in Hurricane Camille related to the removal of debris from private property. Current legislation in this area is confusing and difficult to administer. *I am therefore proposing corrective legislation that would simplify and speed debris removal from private property when it is in the public interest.* Again, preference would be given to local employees and contractors.

Disaster Prevention

In March and April 1969 this Administration conducted a massive flood prevention program in the upper Midwest and New England. This program—Operation Foresight—was immensely successful; it prevented widespread human suffering and an estimated $200 million in damages, at a cost of $20 million. The success of this disaster prevention effort suggests that we can do a great deal to avoid or limit the effects of expected disasters. *Accordingly, I am proposing legislation which would extend the Federal government's authority to assist State and local governments in disaster prevention and damage reduction activities.*

Planning Assistance

The Disaster Relief Act of 1969 authorized one-time matching grants to help States formulate better plans for coping with disasters. Almost half of the States have already indicated that they will join us in this effort and we expect that others will soon follow their lead. *I now recommend that the Congress expand this provision of the 1969 law in order to help States review and update these plans on a continuing basis.*

In addition to the major initiatives outlined above, the legislation prepared by the Administration includes a number of other changes designed to extend the scope and improve the effectiveness of Federal assistance.

Administrative Actions

Legislative changes are not the only improvements which are presently required. Our experience indicates that changes in administrative procedures can be equally important in providing a more effective assistance program.

Coordination

To improve coordination of Federal Disaster Assistance efforts, both among Federal agencies and among Federal, State, and local officials, I am establishing a National Council on Federal Disaster Assistance.[1] The Council will be composed of senior officials from Federal agencies concerned with disaster assistance and will be chaired by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

To further improve coordination of disaster assistance activities in the field, I have also directed that the Regional Directors of the Office of Emergency Preparedness be included as ad hoc members

[1] The Council was established by Executive Order 11526 of April 22, 1970.

of the newly formed Federal Regional Councils. This improvement will be supplemented by other actions to improve coordination among all levels of government, including the Office of Emergency Preparedness regional planning conferences with State officials with the first such conference this month on the West Coast.

In addition to improving coordination and developing more comprehensive plans, we need better procedures for continuous communication with State and local government on such matters as disaster legislation. The Council of State Governments and such organizations as the International City Management Association, the National Association of Counties, the National League of Cities, and the United States Conference of Mayors are assisting us in this effort.

Improvements in disaster assistance also require an improved program of research and evaluation, the results of which are readily available to all who can benefit from them. I have therefore directed the Office of Emergency Preparedness to act as a central clearing house for all Federal research which is related to disasters.

Assistance to Individuals

An important objective, particularly in large-scale disasters, is that of informing individuals of the assistance which is available and of the places where it can be obtained. To meet this problem, we are expanding our information efforts and keying those efforts to the needs of the individual citizens of the community, particularly those who are poor.

Whenever a disaster occurs, those who live in the area desperately want to be in touch with their friends and relatives who live elsewhere. Rescue workers also need better communication facilities within such areas. I have therefore asked the Office of Emergency Preparedness to provide better emergency communication services to stricken regions during times of disaster.

Just as we make it easier for individuals to get information, so we should make it easier for them to get assistance. It should not be necessary for individuals to travel from one place to another and then to still another location in order to obtain the help which various agencies of the Federal government are providing. *Accordingly, we are developing plans to provide "one-stop" service to individuals in disaster areas.* Representatives of the principal Federal agencies and of the Red Cross, as well as caseworkers and legal advisors, will all be available at a single assistance center.

Disaster Assistance Teams

Disaster stricken communities frequently lack trained personnel who can help them make the best possible use of the assistance which is available to them from many sources. To meet this need, I have directed the Office of Emergency Preparedness to form *Federal disaster assistance teams to help local communities coordinate the overall assistance effort.* These teams will be supervised by a Federal Disaster Assistance Coordinator who will act as an on-the-spot representative of the President in any particular disaster area.

Disaster Insurance

Our experience with disasters in 1969 clearly demonstrated the need for expanded insurance coverage for property owners. The national flood insurance sections of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 presently permit Fed-

eral insurance assistance in flood-prone areas and we are now implementing that program on an accelerated basis. *I am also directing that a comprehensive study of property insurance coverage for disaster situations be undertaken and that specific recommendations be provided me by the end of this year.* This study should take into account the views of the State insurance authorities, the insurance industry, lending institutions, and the general public.

Civil Defense

The disaster assistance activities of State and local governments often are closely related to their civil defense responsibilities. The relationship between the Federal government's disaster assistance and civil defense activities should now be carefully reviewed. Accordingly, I have asked that such a study be carried out and that its recommendations be given to me by December 31, 1970. It is important that any changes in this sensitive area be made only after a careful review, one which gives special attention to the impact of any suggested change upon national security.

As we move into a new decade, one of the nation's major goals is to restore a ravaged environment. But we must also be ready to respond effectively when nature gets out of control and victimizes our citizens.

With the improvements I have recommended to the Congress and those which I am instituting by Executive action, the disaster assistance program of the Federal government will continue to provide outstanding public service in times of crisis. This program manifests the extraordinary humanitarian spirit of our nation. The changes I have proposed would enable it to reflect that spirit even more effectively.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 22, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the proposed disaster assistance legislation and the transcript of a news briefing by George A. Lincoln, Director, Office of Emergency Preparedness, on the President's message.

130 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report on Federal Disaster Assistance During 1969. *April* 22, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Natural disasters—in unprecedented numbers and scope—presented a grim challenge to this nation in 1969. The exceptional response to this challenge by the United States government is something in which all Americans can take pride. The story of that response is detailed in the report which I am today transmitting to the Congress.

This report of Federal activities in 1969 under authority of the Federal Disaster Act (Public Law 875, 81st Congress, as amended) is required by Section 8 of that law and has been provided by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness. The report also describes activities carried out under authority of the Federal Disaster Act of 1969 (Public Law 79, 91st Congress). The funds which supported these activities are specifically appropriated to the President for the purpose of relieving suffering and repairing damage when disasters strike.

There were 29 major disasters during 1969—the largest number since the program began in 1950. Two of these—the California floods and Hurricane Camille—were exceptionally destructive. The number and extent of major disasters in 1969 required a massive Federal effort; a total of $148,970,000 was allocated from the President's Disaster Fund, the largest amount since the enactment of Public Law 81-875. Despite these increased demands, the Federal response was most prompt and effective and those who participated in it deserve our commendation.

Under the leadership of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the Administration is developing a stronger and more comprehensive disaster assistance program. An important part of this strengthened program is outlined in my disaster assistance message to the Congress. That message discusses both the legislation which will be submitted—the Disaster Assistance Act of 1970—and the improvements which are being made by executive action. I am confident that our strengthened program will improve cooperation with State and local governments and with private and voluntary organizations. More important, these steps would enable the Federal government to continue to meet its responsibilities to individuals who are victimized by these unhappy events.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 22, 1970

NOTE: The 15-page report is entitled "Report on Federal Disaster Assistance in 1969."

131 Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Eight Journalists. *April* 22, 1970

WE ARE here tonight for a very special occasion, the award of the Medal of Freedom to eight very distinguished people who are known to everybody in this room and to millions of Americans.

I know that many wonder how these names were selected. I do not want to indicate anything with regard to the age factor, except simply to say this: That tonight you will see, as these medals are presented, a total of almost half a millennium in the reporting on the American political scene; 447 years of reporting are represented in the eight people who are here tonight. All the Nation is covered—the West Coast, the East Coast—and all of the news media in terms of the writing press, we believe, are covered.

I realize that there have been occasions in this administration when the situation seems to be reversed. Usually it is expected during any administration that the press is to be the critic of the Government. In this administration sometimes it seems to be the other way around. Now, some would say that is man biting dog. But I don't want to suggest that the press are dogs, so I will not say that. [*Laughter*]

I will simply say tonight that we thought the most effective way to honor these distinguished recipients is to tell the story in song, which we have been trying to do at the "Evenings at the White House" that we have had during this year. And the Army Chorus, on special request, has gone back over 50 years and they will start in the period beginning about 1910 and bring us up to 1970, all in song.

It, of course, will not be, Mr. Steele,[1] up to the standard of the Gridiron, but they will try.

Thank you.

[At this point, the Army Chorus presented a program of songs popular in various periods since World War I.]

We now come to the part of the evening which we have been looking forward to for some time. Before making these awards—they will be made in alphabetical order, incidentally, to be sure that there is no indication of one having precedence over the other—as I was sitting in this room and recalling the fact that many of you who think of the history of this room, of this house, will, of course, remember that the only President who did not live in this house was President Washington and Martha Washington, whose pictures are in the room. John Adams was the first President who lived here in this house and Thomas Jefferson was the second.

It was Jefferson, I think, who perhaps made the most cogent comment about the relationship between press and the Government. Those comments have been made through the years by various people. I understand I made one at one time. But whatever the case might be, Jefferson once said, as I recall, that if he had to make a choice between Government without newspapers and newspapers without Government, he would take the latter.

As we make these awards tonight, as we see these—and I use this term quite advisedly—these giants of the profession of which so many in this room are proud members, of the newspaper reporting profession, those who have told millions of Americans who will never be in this room or in this house, never have the opportunity that we have, but who tell the picture of what goes on here and throughout this Nation—as we think of those, we do realize that America has been very fortunate to have people of varying views writing all over the country, of very great capability, telling the story of America—oh, the story in many areas, in music and sports and the rest. But tonight particularly we honor those who tell the story of politics.

It happens, because the alphabetical order comes that way, that the first award goes to a Californian. Before having him step up here I would like to say something briefly about him.

I, of course, knew Squire Behrens when I was in California, although I was from Southern California. I met him when I ran for the Senate in 1950 when I visited San Francisco. I did not realize until I came to Washington as a Senator, and began to know then the National Press Corps, what enormous national influence he had and national respect he had.

When, for example, the national reporters in 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1960 would travel with me as I traveled around the country in various political chores, and whenever they got to California and tried to find out what was going on, they would go out and say, "What does Squire think?" And what Squire thought, they usually wrote and usually he was right—at least in his predictions.

But, in any event, I think perhaps the best way that I could describe Squire Behrens is by something I was reading a few nights ago about Theodore Roosevelt—Squire does not go back quite that far. But, nevertheless, the comment about

[1] Jack Steele, Managing Editor, Washington Bureau, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, and President of the Gridiron Club, an organization of 50 Washington newspapermen that presents an evening of satire in song each year.

Theodore Roosevelt was made by a distinguished British journalist and one who observed the American scene very closely in that exciting period between 1900 and 1908. At the conclusion of Theodore Roosevelt's term, he said, "You know, Roosevelt is not an American, he is America."

I think of those of us who know California and the national press who know California would say that Squire Behrens is not a Californian, he is California.

We honor him tonight. He is here from San Francisco.

Squire, would you please step up?

I said a moment ago something that Squire, I am sure, will reprimand me for, because he speaks very candidly to me because we are old friends. I made mention of age, the fact that 447 years of reporting was represented among these eight recipients. I think you should know that in the California Legislature, a short time ago, a resolution was introduced by one of the legislators to honor Squire Behrens for 40 years of reporting events in the California Legislature. Squire got the bill killed.

When someone asked me tonight why we did not honor Walter Trohan,[2] I said he was not old enough. I don't want to indicate that Squire is older than Walter Trohan, but I do say that anybody in California is ageless.

I read now the citation:

EARL CHARLES BEHRENS

"Through almost fifty years as a reporter, he has shown that a great newspaperman is one who combines inexhaustible energy with insatiable curiosity and impeccable judgment. He has become a legend among political reporters not only for his great skill but also for fairness, unfailing good humor and consistent good sense. It has been written of him that his 'mind and heart have been close to politics and political people.' His sources and his readers have long recognized that his mind and his heart have also been devoted to truth, to integrity, and professionalism of the highest order."

MR. BEHRENS. Mr. President, I am very grateful to you for this honor.

You may have forgotten that in your younger days I followed you when you were running for Congress. Of course, I was a little bit younger then, too. We have traveled many, many miles together over campaign trails. I have tried always to have no malice in my heart when it came to politics, but a lot of charity for candidates.

THE PRESIDENT. Candidates need charity, and not just from the heart.

For the next recipient, we come over to the East Coast and to a native Washingtonian, one of the few who live in the city who was born in this city.

In checking on Eddie Folliard, I tried to do background as they do background on me—the reporters do—and I found that one of the first scoops that he had when he was writing was during prohibition when he found that a local bootlegger was storing his whiskey in the bushes on the South Lawn of the White House. I have been looking in those bushes ever since; there is nothing there.

However, on a more recent note, I knew that many were wondering how it came about that President Truman and I, who were known to be political opponents, had a reconciliation. And I will tell you the story, how it began and how it finally

[2] Retired Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Chicago Tribune.

finished, very briefly, in introducing our next recipient.

It was a Gridiron Dinner, as I recall, Eddie, and on that occasion President Truman was in the distinguished guests' area, the speakers' room where people gather before going into the ballroom. I was there. I was to be the speaker for the Republicans in that year. They could not get anybody else.

But, anyway, I noticed that President Truman was standing a bit over in the corner and the room was crowded and he did not have a drink. So I was standing close to Eddie Folliard and I said, "What would the President like, do you think?" He said, "He likes bourbon." So I went over to the bar and I got a glass of bourbon on the rocks, and I carried it over to President Truman, Eddie walking with me. I handed it to President Truman and he looked at me with a rather skeptical eye. He looked at Eddie and he said, "Do you think it is all right?" Eddie said, "Yes, Mr. President." And President Truman said to me, "Sir, you are a gentleman." And he took the drink.

In any event, we then flew out to Independence last year to present the piano which was in the White House, that he had played on, and Margaret had played on, and Eddie was there for that occasion.

Tonight we honor Eddie Folliard.

If he would step forward, I will read the citation:

EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

"Born in Washington, D.C., the nation's capital has been his working base throughout a long and distinguished professional career. His keen insights into the life and politics of the nation's capital have been matched by a perceptive understanding of the broader American scene, and of international affairs. Combining a determined curiosity with energy, integrity and skill, he has won the admiration of his colleagues and contributed greatly to the enlightenment of three generations of readers."

MR. FOLLIARD. Mr. President, at a recent christening party for my sister Mary's great-granddaughter, a niece of mine said, "Uncle Eddie, what is this medal President Nixon is going to give you?" I said, "Why, it is a medal President Nixon gives to young astronauts and old journalists." Then, later in the party, she looked hurt. So I tried again and I turned to my niece and I said, "Rosemary, this is a medal President Nixon gives to young astronauts and mature journalists."

It seems to me tonight, Mr. President, this ceremony is a triumph for maturity. I thank you, sir, for this great honor, for my part and for the newspaper for which I had the honor to work so many years. And I thank you and Mrs. Nixon for inviting my family here tonight for what has been a grand evening.

THE PRESIDENT. Only one of our recipients tonight cannot be with us. The award was made before his death and he was told about it. I talked to him by phone and the letter in which the award was made was read to him. He designated his grandson to receive it.

Before I ask Mr. Robert McHargue to come up here to receive the award, and before I read the citation, I would like to say a word about Mr. Bill Henry; a word that will date me, to an extent, but will bring memories to all of you.

In California, if you were born there as I was in Southern California and lived there, when anybody referred to the Times, you thought of the Los Angeles

Times. Through the years that we grew up, until I came to Washington with Mrs. Nixon in 1947 as a freshman Congressman, I remembered the Times and I remembered the men who wrote for it, the reporters, the columnists, and the rest.

Of course, Bill Henry was known to all who read the Times. He was also known in other fields. He started as a sports reporter. And many here in this room, only the Californians will probably recall this, and the sports enthusiasts, that the 1932 Olympics which came to Los Angeles was for the then very young Bill Henry one of his major achievements. He was with the Times, but he worked on the Olympics. He was then the sports editor of the Times, and he, at the time of the Olympics, did some of the announcing at the Coliseum when the games took place. I was 19 years old in 1932. That was the only one of the days of the Olympics that I was able to attend.

I recall driving in from Whittier to Los Angeles and going to the Coliseum, and I picked the day myself because of a particular race. In 1932, that year in Los Angeles, the big race was the 400 meters.

There were two very great runners. Billy Carr of the University of Pennsylvania, and big Ben Eastman of Stanford. Both had run the 440 in 47.6, which at that time was very good—not today, but very good on the paths of that time. They were matched for the first time in the 400 meters.

So, the Coliseum was filled that day. It was filled almost every day, even though that was the third year of the depression. But that day it was filled to overflowing, to see this great race.

I remember that race very well. Bill Carr, a rather small runner, but with magnificent timing and smoothness; big Ben Eastman, more the loping type.

Carr led all the way around. As they came into the home stretch, Ben Eastman started to pump up around Carr on the right side; and Carr floated away from him and won by a couple of yards in 46.6 seconds, which was a world record by over a half a second, better than anything else that ever happened before.

Incidentally, Billy Carr, if my memory serves me correctly, 2 years later was crippled in an automobile accident, and never ran again.

But the story about Bill Henry is something else, and this long introduction will show the point. Some of the crowd started to drift away because the next event and the last event of the day was the 5,000 meters. There, it was expected that the Finns would run away with it. They had one very great runner, Lauri Lehtinen, who had broken the record while he had been in Finland and was expected to break the Olympic record.

The United States had no one they thought could keep up with him, except a big gangling fellow from the University of Oregon, Ralph Hill. They thought he might stay with him for perhaps the first three-fourths of the race, but then that he could not last.

The 5,000 meter began and it was a classic duel for that long race, Lehtinen leading all the way and big Ralph Hill pounding along behind him, to the surprise of everybody in the stadium. The tension rose and rose and rose. As they came into the last lap, Hill was still only a step or two behind. As they turned into the home stretch, Hill started to pass Lehtinen on the right and Lehtinen swerved out. Hill broke his stride and started to turn in and Lehtinen swerved in.

I am not suggesting, and sports writers

did not, that it was done deliberately. It was a close, tense race. But as a result of the swerving out and the swerving in, Lehtinen won the race by only perhaps a foot.

Then came that great time when in front of the Olympic flame the medals were presented, when Lauri Lehtinen stepped up to receive the first place medal. A ripple of boos swept through the Coliseum for the first time in the Olympics.

Then a voice came over the public address system and the voice said, "Ladies and gentlemen, remember, these men are our guests." The boos stopped. Lehtinen received the medal, Ralph Hill received the second place medal.

That voice was Bill Henry. I did not meet Bill Henry. I only read his column and heard about him, until 1947 when I came to the Congress. After that he was a friend and adviser, traveling with me around the world on one trip, and to Africa on another, as an unofficial press adviser.

Tonight, although he is not here, his grandson is, and I know that Bill would be perhaps the proudest person in this room to have Robert McHargue, his grandson, receive the Medal of Freedom for Bill Henry:

WILLIAM M. HENRY

"He proudly claimed but one title: Reporter. The many thousands who read his column, and listened to his broadcasts knew that he was one of the best of reporters, and more. A newspaperman since 1911, and a pioneer of broadcast journalism nearly half a century ago, he covered sports, politics and all the rich variety of human activity that is the news. His column 'By the Way' became an institution among Californians. He brought to his work a unique talent, a warm love of humanity, an unfailing fairness, and a devoted professional's respect for his craft."

Having referred to the Los Angeles Times, we now come to the New York Times. In reading many of the anecdotes about Arthur Krock, I think perhaps the favorite one as far as I am concerned, and whether it is apocryphal or not is immaterial, but at least it does describe Arthur Krock very, very well.

It is one where one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's associates was trying to calm President Roosevelt down, because the President was apparently objecting to something that appeared in one of Arthur Krock's columns.

He said, "You know Arthur Krock is with you 95 percent of the time." Franklin Roosevelt responded, "But, oh, that other 5 percent."

Those of us who have known Arthur Krock have respected him. I knew him, incidentally, in a very interesting capacity at the time that I made—and this is an evening when you can reveal some of those matters that have not been printed before—the ruling on Rule 22 with regard to debate in the Senate.

I talked to Arthur Krock on several occasions. He wrote such perceptive articles about it, I asked him when we were having lunch up in my small office in the Capitol whether he had studied law.

He said, "Never, of course, in a law school." But not having studied it, he knew more about it than most lawyers. He did not say that, but I did.

Mr. Krock, would you step up here please?

ARTHUR KROCK

"From the police beat in Louisville"—and incidentally he was once a deputy police chief in Jefferson County, Kentucky—"to a position of the highest eminence among the world's journalists, he built a reputation that made his name synonymous with excellence and integrity. His incisive reporting, perceptive analysis, sound judgment and subtle humor have made a unique contribution to the understanding of the American process both at home and abroad. In the all-time roster of great Washington correspondents—and in the history of political reporting—his colleagues, his competitors, his readers, and those whose deeds he has chronicled, all would place him in the very first rank."

MR. KROCK. Sir, the honor is a very great one, and, of course, I realize it. To receive it from you is particularly gratifying because of old associations.

When I came into the receiving line, I said to the President, "For what I am about to receive——" and he said, "Wait a minute." I assumed from that there was a danger that Mr. Ziegler was going to issue a clarification, but it turned out all right.

I am especially pleased with this because I belong to the silenced majority, and it has been a very long time since I have inflicted anything upon the reading public. But I regard that perhaps as fairly merciful on my part, and, sir, for this resurrection, I thank you, however temporary it may prove to be.

THE PRESIDENT. I will bet he was quite a police chief.

When I think of the men that I have known in Washington over these past 23 years, one that I know the best, one with whom I perhaps have had as many long discussions in depth about great issues is David Lawrence.

He is a man who, of course, is known for not only his columns in the newspapers, but for the magazine which he founded, U.S. News, and he is, however, not known for the fact that he is a very clever man despite his appearance of being always direct in asking a question.

My favorite story about David Lawrence occurred during the Wilson administration, when William Jennings Bryan was appointed by Wilson to be Secretary of State, and did not turn out quite as Wilson expected him to, and there were rumors that Bryan might resign.

David Lawrence, then a very young reporter, was trying to find out what the fact would be, whether Bryan would resign, was going to resign, or whether it was simply gossip. So David Lawrence talked to the Secretary of War, and instead of asking the Secretary of War, "Is it true that Bryan is going to resign?" he said, "What comment do you have on Bryan's resignation?" He got a scoop and from that he has come to the high eminence he holds today on the Washington scene.

We are proud to present the Medal of Freedom to David Lawrence:

DAVID LAWRENCE

"Writer of the first Washington dispatch to be syndicated nationally by wire, he has served his profession, his nation and his audiences for more than 60 years as reporter, correspondent, news commentator, columnist, editor and author. Since the days of Woodrow Wilson's Presidency, he has been recognized as a distinguished interpreter of the American political scene. He has won and held the respect of millions for his perception, his

judgment, his fairness, and his devotion to the principles on which America was founded."

MR. LAWRENCE. Thank you very much for this medal.

May I say that I have a sentimental interest in the White House. I started writing about White House activities when I graduated from Princeton in 1910 when Mr. Taft was President and through the years. It so happened that in the early years I was sitting in the White House lobby when a beautiful girl went through that lobby to call on a member of the secretarial staff. Two and a half years later she became my wife. We were married for almost 51 years. The Lord sent me one of the most wonderful companions in the world, and He took her away last year. I know if she could have been here she would have appreciated this hour very, very much, and I do, too.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure she is here right now.

MR. LAWRENCE. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. We come again to Washington on this next award to Gould Lincoln. In checking his background, I found that in the field of sports he did not cover sports as far as the record shows—he may have—but he was a track star, a runner. He demonstrated that very capably, I understand, on one occasion in the early days of the period that I was Vice President of the United States.

The day was the day that former Chief Justice Warren was confirmed by the United States Senate for Chief Justice of the United States. Gould Lincoln was in the Senate Gallery covering that event. That was a rather easy assignment. Those were the good old days when the President advised and the Senate consented. But word flashed over from the House of Representatives that a radical group of Puerto Rican nationalists were shooting up the House.

Mr. Gould Lincoln, who was then 73 years old, beat all the reporters in the Senate Gallery over to the House Gallery in record time and held the fort until reinforcements arrived.

Mr. Lincoln.

GEORGE GOULD LINCOLN

"A journalist since 1902,"—which makes him the dean of all political reporters in the United States—"he has been a perceptive professional witness to the events of the Twentieth Century almost from the day of its beginning. He has reported those events with great integrity, unfailing skill and uncompromising professionalism. His consistently excellent reporting of history-in-the-making from his native Washington, D.C. has been, through these years of sweeping change, one of the most admired achievements in all of American journalism."

MR. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I am deeply grateful. I am honored, I am proud, and somewhat amazed. But thank you very much for this honor.

I have been waiting for a long time to say what I am about to say. I have reached an age in which I should seldom be seen and never heard.

Now I have gotten that out of the way, Mr. President, I would merely like to say that it was a great man, a great American who, like you, was President of the United States. He once said, "You can't fool all the people all the time." Well, a reporter, and I have had the good fortune to be a reporter for nearly 70 years, should have but one rule, or at least that

rule, and that is not to fool any of the people any of the time.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. As you have noted, all of our recipients tonight have been ones who not only have covered activities in which I happened to have participated in the political scene but who have, from time to time, given me advice. Sometimes I have taken it and sometimes I have not.

One who has been a very close personal friend and very valued counselor has been the next recipient, Mr. Raymond Moley. Going back to 1947 when I was a Congressman and through these years, he has often not only written of my activities, sometimes, I would say more often than not, in an affirmative way, sometimes in critical ways, but he has always been willing, when I have asked, to give advice. Usually I have taken it. The only significant time that I did not take it was in 1962. I asked Raymond Moley before I left Washington whether I should run for Governor of California. He went through all the historical precedents and he said it would be a very great mistake. He said, "First, you would not win." I said, "Well, don't go on to the second reason; that is enough."

But now having credited him with that good advice which I did not take, I should point out the irony of history. Had I taken Mr. Moley's advice and not run for Governor of California, I probably would have been nominated for President in 1964 and I would be sitting now out on the beach in San Clemente instead of here in the White House. So history has a way of perhaps making all of the pundits sometimes have humility with regard to their counsel. It may be good in the short range and who knows what can happen in the long range.

Mr. Moley, would you please step up for the award:

RAYMOND MOLEY

"It has been said of him that he is 'a master of scientific analysis applied to politics.' His exceptional ability as a political analyst is matched by a deep love of his country, and of the principles of democratic government. His long career as a government official, scholar, lecturer, historian and political commentator has been as rich in distinction as it has in variety. A man of thought and a man of action, he has not only studied and analyzed the history of our times, but also helped to make it."

MR. MOLEY. Mr. President, are you really sure that this does not have to go to the Senate? Because I am sure that if it did, I don't know that any of us would pass the test.

This happens to be Earth Day. I don't know whether there is any connection between this occasion and the grants that are being made. Surely this has nothing to do with pollution. But I am not sure that I am older than anybody here, but at any rate I am new in journalism compared with some of my colleagues here, because they had an opportunity to criticize me in public office. In fact, there was a moment when I was almost as mad at Arthur Krock as was Franklin Roosevelt. But we became friends.

And as I got into this profession, which I entered at the age of 47, I found that it was much better to be on that side than on the other of the wall.

Mr. President, it is a lonely life writing for the public. You don't see the people, you don't get the reactions except through the mail, and through the mail you only

get what is bad. You don't know what you are doing, you don't know what you are influencing and sometimes you wonder whether it is all worthwhile.

But, Mr. President, you have made it worthwhile tonight to me and to all my friends, and I thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. The last award today, and only last because it is alphabetically so, is to a very distinguished lady. My anecdotal reference to her happens to fit in quite well with what we just said about Mr. Moley.

After the elections of 1962 and I had determined to leave political life, I talked to Adela Rogers St. Johns, who had been a devoted and close friend of Mrs. Nixon and mine and our family for many years. Adela, who never gives up, told me what Jack Dempsey had once told her about a champion. She said that what makes a champion is the ability to get up off the floor when you have been knocked down and think you never want to get up again. Certainly Jack Dempsey proved that he had those qualities. I don't suggest who else may have them, but I know Adela Rogers St. Johns has those qualities.

ADELA ROGERS ST. JOHNS

"Reporter, feature writer, author,"—and incidentally while it is not here in the citation, she also was once a sports reporter, the first woman sports reporter—"she has enhanced every field she has entered. Beginning her career when women reporters were few, she has brought entertainment and information to millions with the energy, vigor and grace characteristic of both her style and her personality. Demonstrating an exceptional ability to reveal the human story behind the news, she has brought to her writing an excitement and warmth that for many years have earned her the high esteem of her profession and of her public."

MRS. ST. JOHNS. Out in St. Louis the other day, one of your good friends, Mr. Red Schoendienst [3] said the only thing in the world that you can give a pitcher is confidence.

Mr. Nixon has given to me tonight, and I think to the press all over the United States, great confidence. It has been a wonderful thing to think that we who have worked in it so long have earned such a reward. I think it is going to make all the press and the women of the press feel that they are going to survive.

I thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:11 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Before the ceremony, the award winners and others from the field of journalism were guests of the President at a dinner in the State Dining Room.

On the same day, the White House issued eight releases containing biographical information on the journalists.

[3] Albert Fred (Red) Schoendienst, Manager of the St. Louis Cardinals Baseball Club.

132 Special Message to the Congress on Draft Reform. *April* 23, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The draft has been with us now for many years. It was started as a temporary, emergency measure just before World War II. We have lived with the draft so long, and relied on it through

such serious crises, that too many of us now accept it as a normal part of American life.

It is now time to embrace a new approach to meeting our military manpower requirements. I have two basic proposals.

—The first deals with the fundamental way this nation should raise the armed force necessary to defend the lives and the rights of its people, and to fulfill its existing commitments abroad.

—The second deals with reforming the present recruitment system—part volunteer, part drafted—which, in the immediate future, will be needed to maintain our armed strength.

To End the Draft

On February 21, I received the report of the Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, headed by former Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates. The Commission members concluded unanimously that the interests of the nation will be better served by an all volunteer force than by a mixed force of volunteers and draftees, and that steps should be taken in this direction.

I have carefully reviewed the report of the Commission and have discussed the subject with many others knowledgeable in this field. The preeminent consideration in any decision I make involving the American Armed Forces must be the security of the United States. I have had to weigh carefully how our responsibilities in Vietnam and our overall foreign policy would be affected by ending the draft. I also had to consider the budgetary impact, and the possible effect on our economy.

On the other hand, we have all seen the effect of the draft on our young people, whose lives have been disrupted first by years of uncertainty, and then by the draft itself. We all know the unfairness of the present system, no matter how just we try to make it.

After careful consideration of the factors involved, I support the basic conclusion of the Commission. I agree that we should move now toward ending the draft.

From now on, the objective of this Administration is to reduce draft calls to zero, subject to the overriding considerations of national security.

In proposing that we move toward ending the draft, I must enter three cautions: First, the draft cannot be ended all at once. It must be phased out, so that we can be certain of maintaining our defense strength at every step. Second, existing induction authority expires on July 1, 1971, and I expect that it will be necessary for the next Congress to extend this authority. And third, as we move away from reliance on the draft, we must make provisions to establish a standby draft system that can be used in case of emergency.

To move toward reducing draft calls to zero, we are proceeding with a wide array of actions and proposals:

—This Administration proposed, and the Congress has approved, a six percent across-the-board pay increase for Federal employees, retroactive to the first of this year. This raises the pay of members of the Armed Forces by $1.2 billion a year.

—I shall propose an additional 20 percent pay increase for enlisted men with less than two years of service, to be effective January 1, 1971. This action, if approved by the Congress, will raise the annual pay of enlisted men with less than two years of service by

$500 million a year, and is a first step in removing the present inequity in pay of men serving their first two years in the Armed Forces. The cost for Fiscal Year 1971 will be $250 million.

—In January 1971 I shall recommend to the Congress, in the Fiscal Year 1972 budget, an additional $2.0 billion for added pay and other benefits—especially for those serving their first two years—to help attract and retain the personnel we need for our Armed Forces.

—I have today directed the Secretary of Defense to give high priority to the expansion of programs designed to increase enlistments and retentions in the services. Further, I have directed that he give me a report every quarter on the progress of this program. Other agencies have been directed to assist in the effort.

—I am also directing the Secretary of Defense to review the policies and practices of the military services to give new emphasis to recognition of the individual needs, aspirations and capabilities of all military personnel.

No one can predict with precision whether or not, or precisely when, we can end conscription. It depends, in part, on the necessity of maintaining required military force levels to meet our commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere. It also depends on the degree to which the combination of military pay increases and enhanced benefits will attract and hold enough volunteers to maintain the forces we need, the attitude of young people toward military service, and the availability of jobs in the labor market.

However, I am confident that, barring any unforeseen developments, this proposed program will achieve our objective.

The starting pay of an enlisted man in our Armed Forces is—taking the latest raise into account—less than $1,500 a year. This is less than half of the minimum wage in the private sector. Of course, we should add to this the value of the food, uniforms and housing that is provided free. But it is hardly comparable to what most young men can earn as civilians. Even with special allowances, some married enlisted men have been forced to go on welfare to support their families.

The low pay illustrates another inequity of the draft. These men, in effect, pay a large hidden tax—the difference between their military pay and what they could earn as civilians. Therefore, on the grounds of equity alone, there is good reason to substantially increase pay.

While we focus on removing inequities in the pay of men serving their first few years in the military, we must not neglect the career servicemen. They are the indispensable core of our Armed Forces. The increasing technological complexity of modern defense, and the constantly changing international situation, make their assignments ever more difficult—and critical. We shall continue to make every effort to ensure that they are fairly treated and justly compensated.

There is another essential element—beyond pay and benefits, beyond the best in training and equipment—that is vital to the high morale of any armed force in a free society. It is the backing, support and confidence of the people and the society the military serves. While government can provide the economic justice our men in arms deserve—moral support and backing can come only from the American people. At few times in our history has it been more needed than today.

The consideration of national security contains no argument against these historic actions; the considerations of freedom and justice argue eloquently in their behalf.

To Reform the Draft

As we move toward our goal of ending the draft in the United States, we must deal with the draft as it now exists. This nation has a right to expect that the responsibility for national defense will be shared equitably and consistently by all segments of our society. Given this basic principle, I believe that there are important reforms that we must make in our present draft system.

It is my judgment, and that of the National Security Council, that future occupational, agricultural and student deferments are no longer dictated by the national interest. I am issuing today an Executive Order [11527] to direct that no future deferments shall be granted on the basis of employment. Very few young men at age 19 are in such critical positions that they cannot be replaced. All those who held occupational deferments before today, as well as any who may be granted such deferments from pending applications filed before today, will be deferred as they were previously.

This same Executive Order will also eliminate all future paternity deferments—except in those cases where a local draft board determines that extreme hardship would result. All those who held paternity deferments before today, as well as any who may be granted deferments from pending applications filed before today, will be deferred as long as they are living with and supporting child dependents.

I am also asking the Congress today to make some changes in the Military Selective Service Act of 1967.

The first would restore to the President discretionary authority on the deferment of students seeking baccalaureate degrees. If the Congress restores this authority, I shall promptly issue a second Executive Order that would bar all undergraduate deferments, except for young men who are undergraduate students prior to today. These young men would continue to be eligible for deferment under present regulations during their undergraduate years. This Executive Order would also end deferments for young men in junior college, and in apprentice and technical training programs, except for those who entered before today. Men participating in such programs before today would continue to be deferred until they complete them.

Should Congress pass the legislation I have requested, those young men who start college or enter apprentice or other technical training today or hereafter, and subsequently receive a notice of induction, will have their entry into service postponed until the end of the academic semester, or for apprentices and trainees, until some appropriate breaking point in their program.

Even if college deferments are phased out, college men who through ROTC or other military programs have chosen to obligate themselves to enter military service at a later date would be permitted to postpone their active duty until completion of their study program.

In each instance, I have spoken of the phasing out—not the elimination—of existing deferments. The sudden elimination of existing deferments would disrupt plans made in good faith by

individuals, companies, colleges and local school systems on the basis of those deferments.

My second legislative proposal would establish a direct national call, by lottery sequence numbers each month, to improve the operation of the random selection system. We need to ensure that men throughout the country with the same lottery number have equal liability to induction.

Under the present law, for example, a man with sequence number 185 may be called up by one draft board while a man with a lower number in a different draft board is not called. This can happen because present law does not permit a national call of young men by lottery sequence numbers.

Some local draft boards may not have enough low numbers to fill their assigned quota for the month. As a result, these local boards are forced to call young men with higher numbers. At the same time, other draft boards throughout the country will have more low numbers than necessary to fill their quotas.

I am recommending to the Congress an amendment to suspend this quota requirement while the random selection system is in effect. If the Congress adopts this amendment, I will authorize the Selective Service System to establish a plan under which the draft call each month will be on a national basis, with the same lottery sequence numbers called throughout the country. This will result in a still more equitable draft system.

As long as we need the draft, it is incumbent upon us to make it as fair and equitable as we can. I urge favorable Congressional action on these legislative proposals for draft reform.

Conclusion

While I believe that these reforms in our existing draft system are essential, it should be remembered that they are improvements in a system to be used only as long as conscription continues to be necessary.

Ultimately, the preservation of a free society depends upon both the willingness of its beneficiaries to bear the burden of its defense—and the willingness of government to guarantee the freedom of the individual.

With an end to the draft, we will demonstrate to the world the responsiveness of republican government—and our continuing commitment to the maximum freedom for the individual, enshrined in our earliest traditions and founding documents. By upholding the cause of freedom without conscription we will have demonstrated in one more area the superiority of a society based upon belief in the dignity of man over a society based on the supremacy of the State.

Richard Nixon

The White House
April 23, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released background material on the impact of the President's proposed draft reform on individual registrants and the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Roger T. Kelley, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs), and Dr. Curtis W. Tarr, Director, Selective Service System.

Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Representative Leslie C. Arends of Illinois discussed the message during a news briefing following a Republican leadership meeting with the President that morning. The transcript of the briefing was also released.

133 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Plan for United States Participation in the World Weather Program. *April* 23, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution 67 of the 90th Congress, I am forwarding to you the second Annual Plan for United States' Participation in the World Weather Program. This report reviews the progress made during the past year and describes the activities planned by the Federal agencies for the coming fiscal year.

Progress in the World Weather Program has been significant. Of particular import is that, through the United States' effort in space, we have seen the development and testing of an instrument which is capable of measuring globally from a satellite the temperature distribution of our total atmosphere. This represents a giant stride forward. It holds promise of providing data from over the oceans and other remote areas, heretofore unavailable, which are essential for providing weather predictions to our people.

On another front, it is most encouraging to note the progress in international cooperation in this area. Nations have joined hands in moving forward with a program to assist developing countries in improving their meteorological services. And the nations of the world are coming together this month to decide on the next major steps in the research activities of the World Weather Program.

The World Weather Program focuses on the important problem of understanding our global atmosphere. Whether we are attempting to assess the impact of pollutants on the quality of our environment, or trying to improve the accuracy and time range of weather prediction, these activities are vital to the people of the United States—to their safety and to their economic well-being.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
April 23, 1970

NOTE: The message is printed in "World Weather Program, Plan for Fiscal Year 1971" (Government Printing Office, 30 pp.).

134 Statement About Pledges by Private Commercial Institutions To Provide for an Increase in Housing Credit. *April* 24, 1970

THE DECISION of commercial banks, life insurance companies, and pension fund trustees to provide a significant increase in housing credit is one which I enthusiastically welcome and deeply appreciate. The pledges made to date of a $2 billion increase in commitments in 1970 for residential mortgages will significantly enhance our ability to meet critical housing needs. I hope and expect that this action will stimulate the flow of other funds into this important sector of the economy.

The action which has been taken by these private commercial institutions demonstrates once again the viability of "the voluntary way" in dealing with difficult public questions. These commit-

ments reaffirm the conviction that private enterprise can and will act in the public interest.

For its part, the Government has also taken a number of steps to improve the financial climate for housing and is on the way toward further action. Last week the Senate passed emergency mortgage finance legislation by a 72–0 vote. I urgently hope that the House of Representatives will now act promptly in approving this important program.

NOTE: A White House announcement describing the program is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 577).

On the same day, the transcript of a news briefing about the program by Bruce K. MacLaury, Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs, was also released.

135 Memorandum About Placement of Displaced Career Employees. *April* 24, 1970

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

A competent Federal career service is one of our most valuable assets. Career employees provide the skills, continuity and professional knowledge needed to carry out complex national programs and to perform essential governmental services.

As you know, reform and reduction of outmoded programs has limited many jobs in government. All departments and agencies have a responsibility to help provide the means by which displaced Federal career employees may transfer to other needed positions where their valuable skills can be retained.

Major reductions are taking place in the Department of Defense; last month, the elimination of 58,600 positions was announced. However, there is an annual turnover of about 400,000 employees in all government agencies. I urge all other departments and agencies to give priority consideration to displaced career employees when filling their vacancies.

The Civil Service Commission and the Department of Defense have established procedures for referral of these employees for consideration by other agencies. While the Civil Service Commission will provide leadership to this government-wide placement effort, each department and agency must accept responsibility for assuring that qualified displaced employees are given full and sympathetic consideration when vacancies are filled.

I also direct the Department of Labor to provide counseling, retraining and job placement services for those employees interested in retraining or in placement in non-Federal employment.

Through the joint efforts of all Federal agencies we can assure that the entire burden of adjusting to these necessary changes does not fall on the individual career employee but is responsibly shared by all of the agencies of Government. We cannot afford to continue unnecessary jobs; neither can we afford to lose good people.

RICHARD NIXON

136 Letter to House Leaders Supporting a Constitutional Amendment To Lower the Voting Age. *April* 27, 1970

A CONSTITUTIONAL issue of great importance is currently before the House. As you know, the Senate has attached to the bill modifying and extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965 a rider that purports to enable Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 to vote in Federal, State and local elections.

I say "purports" because I believe it would not in fact confer the vote. I believe that it represents an unconstitutional assertion of Congressional authority in an area specifically reserved to the States, and that it therefore would not stand the test of challenge in the courts. This belief is shared by many of the Nation's leading constitutional scholars.

I strongly favor the 18-year-old vote. I strongly favor enactment of the Voting Rights Bill. But these are entirely separate issues, each of which deserves consideration on its own merits. More important, each needs to be dealt with in a way that is constitutionally permissible—and therefore, in a way that will work.

Because the issue is now before the House, I wish to invite the urgent attention of the Members to the grave constitutional questions involved in the 18-year-old vote rider, and to the possible consequences of ignoring those questions.

Statute vs. Constitutional Amendment

The matter immediately at issue is not whether 18-year-olds should be given the vote, but how: by simple statute, or by constitutional amendment.

The argument for attempting it by statute is one of expediency. It appears easier and quicker.

The constitutional amendment route is admittedly more cumbersome, but it does appear that such an amendment could be readily approved. A resolution proposing such an amendment already has been introduced in the Senate, sponsored by two-thirds of the members, the same number required for passage. Sentiment in the House seems strongly in favor. Some contend that ratification would be a long and uncertain process. However, public support for the 18-year-old vote has been growing, and certainly the submission to the States of a constitutional amendment, passed by two-thirds of both Houses and endorsed by the President, would provide powerful additional momentum. An historical footnote is pertinent: When the women's suffrage amendment was proposed in 1919, many said the States would never go along—but ratification was completed in less than 15 months.

If the Senate provision is passed by the Congress, and if it is later declared unconstitutional by the courts, it will have immense and possibly disastrous effects.

At the very least, it will have raised false hopes among millions of young people—led by the Congress to believe they had been given the vote, only to discover later that what the Congress had purported to confer was not in its power to give.

It will have cost valuable time, during which a constitutional amendment could

have been submitted to the States and the process of ratification gone forward. It would almost certainly mean that the 18-year-old vote could not be achieved before the 1972 election.

Beyond this, there looms the very real possibility that the outcome of thousands of State and local elections, and possibly even the next national election, could be thrown in doubt: because if those elections took place before the process of judicial review had been completed, no one could know for sure whether the votes of those under 21 had been legally cast. It takes little imagination to realize what this could mean. The Nation could be confronted with a crisis of the first magnitude. The possibility that a Presidential election, under our present system, could be thrown into the House of Representatives is widely regarded as dangerous; but suppose that a probably unconstitutional grant of the 18-year-old vote left the membership of the House unsettled as well?

The Senate measure contains a provision seeking an early test of its constitutionality, but there can be no guarantee that such a test would actually be completed before elections took place. And the risk of chaos, if it were not completed, is real.

The Constitutional Questions

On many things the Constitution is ambiguous. On the power to set voting qualifications, however, the Constitution is clear and precise: within certain specified limits, this power belongs to the States. Three separate provisions vest this power with the States: Article I, Section 2 (election of members of the House of Representatives), the Tenth Amendment (reserved powers) and the Seventeenth Amendment (direct election of Senators) all lodge this power with the States. There are four provisions placing limitations on this power: the vote cannot be limited on grounds of race (the Fifteenth Amendment), sex (the Nineteenth Amendment), or failure to pay a poll tax (the Twenty-Fourth Amendment); nor can States impose voting qualifications so arbitrary, invidious or irrational as to constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws (the Fourteenth Amendment).

Advocates of the proposal that passed the Senate rely on the power given Congress under the Fourteenth Amendment to enforce equal protection of the laws, and particularly on the Supreme Court's 1966 decision in the case of *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan*. This case upheld Federal legislation enfranchising residents of New York who had attended school in Puerto Rico, and who were literate in Spanish but not in English. However, I do not believe that the Court's decision in *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan* authorizes the power now asserted by the Senate to enfranchise young people. Neither do I believe it follows that because Congress has power to suspend literacy tests for voting throughout the Nation, as the new Voting Rights Act would do, it has power also to decide for the entire Nation what the proper age qualification should be.

Where Puerto Ricans were denied the right to vote, the Court could readily conclude that there had been discriminatory treatment of an ethnic minority. This was especially so because of the particular circumstances of those whose rights were at issue: U.S. citizens by birth, literate in Spanish, but not literate in English be-

cause their schools, though under the American flag, had used Spanish as the language of instruction.

Similarly with literacy tests: the Court already has upheld the right of Congress to bar their use where there is presumptive evidence that they have been used in a discriminatory fashion. If Congress now finds that literacy tests everywhere impose a special burden on the poor and on large numbers of black Americans, and for this reason abolishes literacy tests everywhere, it is using the same power which was upheld when the Court sustained the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

To go on, however, and maintain that the 21-year voting age is discriminatory *in a constitutional sense* is a giant leap. This limitation—as I believe—may be no longer justified, but it certainly is neither capricious nor irrational. Even to set the limit at 18 is to recognize that it has to be set somewhere. A 21-year voting age treats all alike, working no invidious distinction among groups or classes. It has been the tradition in this country since the Constitution was adopted, and it was the standard even before; it still is maintained by 46 of the 50 states; and, indeed, it is explicitly recognized by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment itself as the voting age.

If it is unconstitutional for a State to deny the vote to an 18-year-old, it would seem equally unconstitutional to deny it to a 17-year-old or a 16-year-old. As long as the question is simply one of judgment, the Constitution gives Congress no power to substitute its judgment for that of the states in a matter such as age qualification to vote which the Supreme Court has recognized is one which the States may properly take into consideration.

One Constitution

A basic principle of constitutional law is that there are no trivial or less important provisions of the Constitution. There are no constitutional corners that may safely be cut in the service of a good cause. The Constitution is indivisible. It must be read as a whole. No provision of it, none of the great guarantees of the Bill of Rights is secure if we are willing to say that any provision can be dealt with lightly in order to achieve one or another immediate end. Neither high purpose nor expediency is a good excuse. We damage respect for law, we feed cynical attitudes toward law, whenever we ride roughshod over any law, let alone any constitutional provision, because we are impatient to achieve our purposes.

To pass a popular measure despite the Constitutional prohibition, and then to throw on the Court the burden of declaring it unconstitutional, is to place a greater strain and burden on the Court than the Founding Fathers intended, or than the Court should have to sustain. To enact the Senate proposal would be to challenge the Court to accept, or to reject, a fateful step in the redistribution of powers and functions, not only between the Federal Government and the States but also between itself and the Congress.

Historically, under the Fourteenth Amendment as well as under many other provisions of the Constitution, it has been the duty of the Court to define and enforce the division of powers between the Federal Government and the States. Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment gives Congress power to "enforce" Constitutionally-protected rights against intrusion by the States; but the primary role in

defining what those rights are belongs to the Court.

For the most part, the Court has acted with due deference and respect for the views of Congress, and for Congress' assessment of facts and conditions and the needs to which they give rise. But the Court has had the last word.

However, it is difficult to see how the Court could uphold the Senate proposal on the 18-year-vote without conceding that Congress now has the last word.

To present this challenge to the Court would thus raise equal and opposite dangers: on the one hand, if the Court acquiesced, its own power as the protector of our rights could be irreparably diminished; and on the other, if the Court rebuffed the challenge, the often valuable latitude Congress now has under broad readings of its Fourteenth Amendment power might in consequence be severely limited. Neither outcome, in my view, would be desirable.

The Path of Reason

I have recently canvassed many of the Nation's leading constitutional scholars for their views on the Senate proposal. Some feel that, by a broad reading of *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan,* the proposal's constitutionality could be sustained. The great majority, however, regard it as unconstitutional—and they voice serious concern not only for the integrity of the Constitution but also for the authority of the Court, if it should be sustained.

At best, then, it would be enacted under a heavy constitutional cloud, with its validity in serious doubt. Even those who support the legislation most vigorously must concede the existence of a serious constitutional question.

At worst, it would throw the electoral process into turmoil during a protracted period of legal uncertainty, and finally leave our young people frustrated, embittered and voteless.

I therefore urge:

—That the 18-year-old vote rider be separated from the bill extending the Voting Rights Act.

—That the Voting Rights Bill be approved.

—That Congress proceed expeditiously to secure the vote for the Nation's 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds in the one way that is plainly provided for in the Constitution, and the one way that will leave no doubt as to its validity: Constitutional amendment.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House, the Honorable Carl Albert, House Majority Leader, and the Honorable Gerald R. Ford, House Minority Leader.

137 Message About the Observance of National Invest-in-America Week. *April* 27, 1970

NATIONAL Invest-in-America Week affords us all a time to ponder the realities behind the great success of the American economic system. It is a system whose growth has always depended upon the enterprise of individuals who took risks—investors. The fruits of their activities over the past 200 years are plain to see. In less than a year, our gross national product will reach a trillion dollars.

The need for investment in America is by no means ended. Although our capacity and our product far exceed that of any other nation, our national needs and national goals have also grown apace. Although public policy has an important role in the meeting of these goals, without private enterprise the goals themselves would be meaningless. For we depend upon private investment to provide us the capital to produce goods, to provide jobs, to build houses, to support the nation's public debt, and, most important, to maintain the growth of product and income that yields benefits for all Americans. In short, without the private investor, America would simply not be the country we know and love.

The future holds many challenges, both for public policy and for the private investor. But, in the great tradition of this Nation, I am sure that history will record that both were equal to the task.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: National Invest-in-America Week was April 26 to May 2.

138 Letter to the Secretary of Defense Deactivating the Presidential Cabin Cruisers. *April* 28, 1970

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In order to effect a saving in money and manpower, I have decided to deactivate the Presidential cabin cruisers *Patricia* and *Julie,* which are operated by the Naval Administrative Unit.

You are, therefore, directed to offer these craft for disposal outside of the Department of Defense in a manner appropriate and befitting of their service to the administrations of five Presidents.

By separate correspondence, my Military Assistant will effect concurrent personnel reductions for the Naval Administrative Unit.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter was dated April 15, 1970, and released on April 28 along with background information on the Presidential cabin cruisers *Patricia* and *Julie,* as well as *Sequoia,* the only remaining Presidential vessel. The background information is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 591).

A fact sheet on Presidential yachts was also released by the White House on April 28.

139 Address to the Nation on the Situation in Southeast Asia. *April* 30, 1970

Good evening my fellow Americans:

Ten days ago, in my report to the Nation on Vietnam, I announced a decision to withdraw an additional 150,000 Americans from Vietnam over the next year. I said then that I was making that decision despite our concern over increased enemy activity in Laos, in Cambodia, and in South Vietnam.

At that time, I warned that if I concluded that increased enemy activity in any of these areas endangered the lives of Americans remaining in Vietnam, I would not hesitate to take strong and effective

measures to deal with that situation.

Despite that warning, North Vietnam has increased its military aggression in all these areas, and particularly in Cambodia.

After full consultation with the National Security Council, Ambassador Bunker, General Abrams, and my other advisers, I have concluded that the actions of the enemy in the last 10 days clearly endanger the lives of Americans who are in Vietnam now and would constitute an unacceptable risk to those who will be there after withdrawal of another 150,000.

To protect our men who are in Vietnam and to guarantee the continued success of our withdrawal and Vietnamization programs, I have concluded that the time has come for action.

Tonight, I shall describe the actions of the enemy, the actions I have ordered to deal with that situation, and the reasons for my decision.

Cambodia, a small country of 7 million people, has been a neutral nation since the Geneva agreement of 1954—an agreement, incidentally, which was signed by the Government of North Vietnam.

American policy since then has been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people. We have maintained a skeleton diplomatic mission of fewer than 15 in Cambodia's capital, and that only since last August. For the previous 4 years, from 1965 to 1969, we did not have any diplomatic mission whatever in Cambodia. And for the past 5 years, we have provided no military assistance whatever and no economic assistance to Cambodia.

North Vietnam, however, has not respected that neutrality.

For the past 5 years—as indicated on this map that you see here—North Vietnam has occupied military sanctuaries all along the Cambodian frontier with South Vietnam. Some of these extend up to 20 miles into Cambodia. The sanctuaries are in red and, as you note, they are on both sides of the border. They are used for hit and run attacks on American and South Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam.

These Communist occupied territories contain major base camps, training sites, logistics facilities, weapons and ammunition factories, airstrips, and prisoner-of-war compounds.

For 5 years, neither the United States nor South Vietnam has moved against these enemy sanctuaries because we did not wish to violate the territory of a neutral nation. Even after the Vietnamese Communists began to expand these sanctuaries 4 weeks ago, we counseled patience to our South Vietnamese allies and imposed restraints on our own commanders.

In contrast to our policy, the enemy in the past 2 weeks has stepped up his guerrilla actions and he is concentrating his main forces in these sanctuaries that you see on this map where they are building up to launch massive attacks on our forces and those of South Vietnam.

North Vietnam in the last 2 weeks has stripped away all pretense of respecting the sovereignty or the neutrality of Cambodia. Thousands of their soldiers are invading the country from the sanctuaries; they are encircling the capital of Phnom Penh. Coming from these sanctuaries, as you see here, they have moved into Cambodia and are encircling the capital.

Cambodia, as a result of this, has sent out a call to the United States, to a number of other nations, for assistance. Because if this enemy effort succeeds, Cambodia would become a vast enemy staging area and a springboard for attacks on South Vietnam along 600 miles of frontier—a refuge where enemy troops

could return from combat without fear of retaliation.

North Vietnamese men and supplies could then be poured into that country, jeopardizing not only the lives of our own men but the people of South Vietnam as well.

Now confronted with this situation, we have three options.

First, we can do nothing. Well, the ultimate result of that course of action is clear. Unless we indulge in wishful thinking, the lives of Americans remaining in Vietnam after our next withdrawal of 150,000 would be gravely threatened.

Let us go to the map again. Here is South Vietnam. Here is North Vietnam. North Vietnam already occupies this part of Laos. If North Vietnam also occupied this whole band in Cambodia, or the entire country, it would mean that South Vietnam was completely outflanked and the forces of Americans in this area, as well as the South Vietnamese, would be in an untenable military position.

Our second choice is to provide massive military assistance to Cambodia itself. Now unfortunately, while we deeply sympathize with the plight of 7 million Cambodians whose country is being invaded, massive amounts of military assistance could not be rapidly and effectively utilized by the small Cambodian Army against the immediate threat. With other nations, we shall do our best to provide the small arms and other equipment which the Cambodian Army of 40,000 needs and can use for its defense. But the aid we will provide will be limited to the purpose of enabling Cambodia to defend its neutrality and not for the purpose of making it an active belligerent on one side or the other.

Our third choice is to go to the heart of the trouble. That means cleaning out major North Vietnamese and Vietcong occupied territories—these sanctuaries which serve as bases for attacks on both Cambodia and American and South Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. Some of these, incidentally, are as close to Saigon as Baltimore is to Washington. This one, for example [*indicating*], is called the Parrot's Beak. It is only 33 miles from Saigon.

Now faced with these three options, this is the decision I have made.

In cooperation with the armed forces of South Vietnam, attacks are being launched this week to clean out major enemy sanctuaries on the Cambodian-Vietnam border.

A major responsibility for the ground operations is being assumed by South Vietnamese forces. For example, the attacks in several areas, including the Parrot's Beak that I referred to a moment ago, are exclusively South Vietnamese ground operations under South Vietnamese command with the United States providing air and logistical support.

There is one area, however, immediately above Parrot's Beak, where I have concluded that a combined American and South Vietnamese operation is necessary.

Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. This key control center has been occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong for 5 years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality.

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these

sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw.

These actions are in no way directed to the security interests of any nation. Any government that chooses to use these actions as a pretext for harming relations with the United States will be doing so on its own responsibility, and on its own initiative, and we will draw the appropriate conclusions.

Now let me give you the reasons for my decision.

A majority of the American people, a majority of you listening to me, are for the withdrawal of our forces from Vietnam. The action I have taken tonight is indispensable for the continuing success of that withdrawal program.

A majority of the American people want to end this war rather than to have it drag on interminably. The action I have taken tonight will serve that purpose.

A majority of the American people want to keep the casualties of our brave men in Vietnam at an absolute minimum. The action I take tonight is essential if we are to accomplish that goal.

We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam and winning the just peace we all desire. We have made—we will continue to make every possible effort to end this war through negotiation at the conference table rather than through more fighting on the battlefield.

Let us look again at the record. We have stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. We have cut air operations by over 20 percent. We have announced withdrawal of over 250,000 of our men. We have offered to withdraw all of our men if they will withdraw theirs. We have offered to negotiate all issues with only one condition—and that is that the future of South Vietnam be determined not by North Vietnam, and not by the United States, but by the people of South Vietnam themselves.

The answer of the enemy has been intransigence at the conference table, belligerence in Hanoi, massive military aggression in Laos and Cambodia, and stepped-up attacks in South Vietnam, designed to increase American casualties.

This attitude has become intolerable. We will not react to this threat to American lives merely by plaintive diplomatic protests. If we did, the credibility of the United States would be destroyed in every area of the world where only the power of the United States deters aggression.

Tonight, I again warn the North Vietnamese that if they continue to escalate the fighting when the United States is withdrawing its forces, I shall meet my responsibility as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces to take the action I consider necessary to defend the security of our American men.

The action that I have announced tonight puts the leaders of North Vietnam on notice that we will be patient in working for peace; we will be conciliatory at the conference table, but we will not be humiliated. We will not be defeated. We will not allow American men by the thousands to be killed by an enemy from privileged sanctuaries.

The time came long ago to end this war through peaceful negotiations. We stand ready for those negotiations. We have made major efforts, many of which must remain secret. I say tonight: All the offers

and approaches made previously remain on the conference table whenever Hanoi is ready to negotiate seriously.

But if the enemy response to our most conciliatory offers for peaceful negotiation continues to be to increase its attacks and humiliate and defeat us, we shall react accordingly.

My fellow Americans, we live in an age of anarchy, both abroad and at home. We see mindless attacks on all the great institutions which have been created by free civilizations in the last 500 years. Even here in the United States, great universities are being systematically destroyed. Small nations all over the world find themselves under attack from within and from without.

If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.

It is not our power but our will and character that is being tested tonight. The question all Americans must ask and answer tonight is this: Does the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world have the character to meet a direct challenge by a group which rejects every effort to win a just peace, ignores our warning, tramples on solemn agreements, violates the neutrality of an unarmed people, and uses our prisoners as hostages?

If we fail to meet this challenge, all other nations will be on notice that despite its overwhelming power the United States, when a real crisis comes, will be found wanting.

During my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to bring Americans home from Vietnam. They are coming home.

I promised to end this war. I shall keep that promise.

I promised to win a just peace. I shall keep that promise.

We shall avoid a wider war. But we are also determined to put an end to this war.

In this room, Woodrow Wilson made the great decisions which led to victory in World War I. Franklin Roosevelt made the decisions which led to our victory in World War II. Dwight D. Eisenhower made decisions which ended the war in Korea and avoided war in the Middle East. John F. Kennedy, in his finest hour, made the great decision which removed Soviet nuclear missiles from Cuba and the Western Hemisphere.

I have noted that there has been a great deal of discussion with regard to this decision that I have made and I should point out that I do not contend that it is in the same magnitude as these decisions that I have just mentioned. But between those decisions and this decision there is a difference that is very fundamental. In those decisions, the American people were not assailed by counsels of doubt and defeat from some of the most widely known opinion leaders of the Nation.

I have noted, for example, that a Republican Senator has said that this action I have taken means that my party has lost all chance of winning the November elections. And others are saying today that this move against enemy sanctuaries will make me a one-term President.

No one is more aware than I am of the political consequences of the action I have taken. It is tempting to take the easy political path: to blame this war on previous administrations and to bring all of

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our men home immediately, regardless of the consequences, even though that would mean defeat for the United States; to desert 18 million South Vietnamese people, who have put their trust in us and to expose them to the same slaughter and savagery which the leaders of North Vietnam inflicted on hundreds of thousands of North Vietnamese who chose freedom when the Communists took over North Vietnam in 1954; to get peace at any price now, even though I know that a peace of humiliation for the United States would lead to a bigger war or surrender later.

I have rejected all political considerations in making this decision.

Whether my party gains in November is nothing compared to the lives of 400,000 brave Americans fighting for our country and for the cause of peace and freedom in Vietnam. Whether I may be a one-term President is insignificant compared to whether by our failure to act in this crisis the United States proves itself to be unworthy to lead the forces of freedom in this critical period in world history. I would rather be a one-term President and do what I believe is right than to be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and to see this Nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history.

I realize that in this war there are honest and deep differences in this country about whether we should have become involved, that there are differences as to how the war should have been conducted. But the decision I announce tonight transcends those differences.

For the lives of American men are involved. The opportunity for 150,000 Americans to come home in the next 12 months is involved. The future of 18 million people in South Vietnam and 7 million people in Cambodia is involved. The possibility of winning a just peace in Vietnam and in the Pacific is at stake.

It is customary to conclude a speech from the White House by asking support for the President of the United States. Tonight, I depart from that precedent. What I ask is far more important. I ask for your support for our brave men fighting tonight halfway around the world—not for territory—not for glory—but so that their younger brothers and their sons and your sons can have a chance to grow up in a world of peace and freedom and justice.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in his office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

On the same day, the White House Press Office released an advance text of the President's address.

On May 5, 1970, the President met on two separate occasions with congressional leaders to discuss the Southeast Asian operations. The White House released transcripts of news briefings following these meetings: The first by Senator John G. Tower of Texas and Representatives L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina and Leslie C. Arends of Illinois on the meeting with the Members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees; the second by Senators George D. Aiken of Vermont and Robert P. Griffin of Michigan and Representatives Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania and E. Ross Adair of Indiana on the meeting with the Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

140 Statement on the Deaths of Four Students at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio. *May* 4, 1970

THIS should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence, it invites tragedy. It is my hope that this tragic and unfortunate incident will strengthen the determination of all the Nation's campuses—administrators, faculty, and students alike—to stand firmly for the right which exists in this country of peaceful dissent and just as strongly against the resort to violence as a means of such expression.

NOTE: The statement was read by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler at his regular afternoon news briefing.

141 Remarks to Members of the Tenth Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Conference. *May* 5, 1970

Senator Mansfield, and all of our distinguished guests today:

I am very honored to welcome you here to the White House, to what is called the Rose Garden but which today is a tulip garden.

We are particularly honored that you are here on a great holiday, a day of commemoration for your country, Cinco de Mayo. When we remember the hero of that occasion, President Juárez, we remember that he and our President Lincoln lived at about the same time in the history of our respective countries. They both are remembered by those who have followed them in their countries as men who saved their countries. It is particularly appropriate that we welcome the Mexican Parliamentary delegation here on such a day.

If I could be permitted just a brief personal word, I am glad that in this delegation are so many old friends. I refer not only to those from our House and Senate, but some of those who are my friends from Mexico, including a very distinguished man, the Chairman of your Foreign Relations Committee who was Foreign Minister of your country when I first knew him, Ambassador to the United States, Senator Tello.[1]

He will recall the first visit that I made to your country, then as Vice President-elect of the United States. I recall the many times that my wife and I were guests at the embassy when he was Ambassador. I mention this because this indicates the feeling of very great closeness that I personally have for the people of Mexico, not only for your governmental representatives but for our good friends.

We are geographical neighbors, but I trust also we are neighbors in the heart. I want to say finally that I feel very appreciative of the fact that Senator Mansfield and the members of our delegation have worked with Senator Aguirre and the members of your delegation in this 10th Parliamentary Conference, because as legislators meet together, we recognize that legislators are closer to the people, closer than Ambassadors and closer than other elected representatives. As our Senators and Congressmen learn to know each other and to work together, so our govern-

[1] Senator Manuel Tello Barraud served as Ambassador to the United States from 1952 to 1958.

ments will continue to work together in friendship between our two countries.

[At this point Manuel Bernardo Aguirre Samaniego, Senator from Chihuahua, President of the Mexican Senate and leader of the Mexican delegation, addressed the delegates in Spanish. A translation of his remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 614). The President then resumed speaking.]

Before I have to go, I would like the opportunity of shaking hands with the members of the delegation and their wives.

I think you should know that my next appointment is, significantly enough, with the members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

I can only say to you, Senator Tello, that I hope I get along as well with Senator Fulbright as I get along with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana was Chairman of the 11-member U.S. Senate delegation. Representative Robert C. Nix of Pennsylvania was Chairman of the 13-member House delegation.

142 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Reports of River Basins Commissions. *May* 7, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In the last few years we have become more aware than ever that the quality of American life depends largely upon how we use—and conserve—our natural resources. It was this growing awareness that prompted the enactment of the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965.

That Act provides for the establishment of river basin commissions—if requested by the States in the appropriate area—to plan for the best use and development of rivers, their adjoining land and their resources. The river basin commissions assure that the people within each area will have a voice in deciding how these resources are used. This approach to planning promises more efficient use of America's great natural and man-made wealth, and more attention to preserving the beauty and vitality of our environment.

Today I transmit the annual reports of the four commissions that have been established under the Act. They are the Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission, the Souris-Red-Rainy River Basins Commission, the Great Lakes Basin Commission, and the New England River Basins Commission—covering areas in 21 states.

These annual reports reflect the accomplishments of each commission during Fiscal Year 1969. They describe existing and emerging problems in the use of our river basins, and help in evaluating opportunities for their sound development.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 7, 1970

NOTE: The four reports are entitled:

Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission: Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1969 (53 pp.).

Souris-Red-Rainy River Basins Commission: Annual Report—Fiscal Year 1969 (34 pp.).

Great Lakes Basin Commission: Annual Report—Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1969 (27 pp.).

Water, Land and Change: Fiscal Year 1969 Annual Report of the New England River Basins Commission (32 pp.).

143 Statement Announcing the Appointment of a Special Adviser on the Academic Community and the Young. *May* 8, 1970

I RECOGNIZE the profound concerns that are rending many of our campuses today. However, this is a time for communication rather than violence and above all for mutual understanding.

In order to keep fully and currently informed on the thinking of the academic community and especially of the young, I am appointing G. Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, as a special adviser for the next 2 critical months. I will look to Mr. Heard to help present to this administration the views and sentiments of the campuses around the country.

He is one of the representatives of the Association of American Universities that I met with yesterday to review recent events on the campus and with whom I had met previously on this administration's higher education proposals. I plan to meet with this group regularly in the future. They include, in addition to Chancellor Heard:

WILLIAM C. FRIDAY, president, University of North Carolina;

FRED H. HARRINGTON, president, University of Wisconsin;

CHARLES J. HITCH, president, University of California at Berkeley;

EDWARD H. LEVI, president, University of Chicago;

MALCOLM C. MOOS, president, University of Minnesota;

NATHAN M. PUSEY, president, Harvard University;

W. ALLEN WALLIS, president, University of Rochester.

Prior to assuming his present position in 1963, Chancellor Heard was dean of the Graduate School of the University of North Carolina from 1958 to 1963. He is a member of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and a member of the board of trustees of the Ford Foundation. He served in the Navy during World War II, is married to the former Laura Jean Keller, and the father of four children.

I appreciate Mr. Heard's taking on this assignment which should be of great benefit to the country.

144 The President's News Conference of *May* 8, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Would you be seated.

QUESTIONS

PROTESTS AND THE DECISION ON CAMBODIA

[1.] Mr. Risher [Eugene V. Risher, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, have you been surprised by the intensity of the protest against your decision to send troops into Cambodia, and will these protests affect your policy in any way?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not been surprised by the intensity of the protests. I realize that those who are protesting

believe that this decision will expand the war, increase American casualties, and increase American involvement. Those who protest want peace. They want to reduce American casualties and they want our boys brought home.

I made the decision, however, for the very reasons that they are protesting. As far as affecting my decision is concerned—their protests I am concerned about. I am concerned because I know how deeply they feel. But I know that what I have done will accomplish the goals that they want. It will shorten this war. It will reduce American casualties. It will allow us to go forward with our withdrawal program. The 150,000 Americans that I announced for withdrawal in the next year will come home on schedule. It will, in my opinion, serve the cause of a just peace in Vietnam.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE COLLEGE COMMUNITIES

[2.] Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Do you believe that you can open up meaningful communications with this college-age generation, and how?

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to try as best I can to do that. It is not easy. Sometimes they, as you know, talk so loudly that it is difficult to be heard, as we have learned during the campaigns, and also during the appearances many of the Cabinet officers have made on university campuses. However, on an individual basis, I believe that it is possible to do what I have been doing, to bring representatives of the college and university communities to my office, to talk with them, to have a dialogue. I am very glad that Chancellor Heard, the chancellor of Vanderbilt, has agreed to take 2 months off from his very important responsibilities in that position to work with us in the administration to see if we cannot develop better lines of communication both to school administrators, but also to school students.

THE STUDENTS' MESSAGE

[3.] Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News].

Q. Mr. President, what do you think the students are trying to say in this demonstration?

THE PRESIDENT. They are trying to say that they want peace. They are trying to say that they want to stop the killing. They are trying to say that they want to end the draft. They are trying to say that we ought to get out of Vietnam. I agree with everything that they are trying to accomplish.

I believe, however, that the decisions that I have made, and particularly this last terribly difficult decision of going into the Cambodian sanctuaries which were completely occupied by the enemy—I believe that that decision will serve that purpose, because you can be sure that everything that I stand for is what they want.

I would add this: I think I understand what they want. I would hope they would understand somewhat what I want. When I came to the Presidency—I did not send these men to Vietnam—there were 525,000 men there. And since I have been here, I have been working 18 or 20 hours a day, mostly on Vietnam, trying to bring these men home.

We brought home 115,000. Our casualties were the lowest in the first quarter of this year in 5 years. We are going to bring home another 150,000. And, as a result of

the greater accomplishments than we expected in even the first week of the Cambodian campaign, I believe that we will have accomplished our goal of reducing American casualties and, also, of hastening the day that we can have a just peace. But above everything else, to continue the withdrawal program that they are for and that I am for.

PROGRESS OF VIETNAMIZATION

[4.] Yes, sir?

Q. On April 20th, you said Vietnamization was going so well that you could pull 150,000 American troops out of Vietnam. Then you turned around only 10 days later and said that Vietnamization was so badly threatened you were sending troops into Cambodia.

Would you explain this apparent contradiction for us?

THE PRESIDENT. I explained it in my speech of April 20th, as you will recall, because then I said that Vietnamization was going so well that we could bring 150,000 out by the spring of next year, regardless of the progress in the Paris peace talks and the other criteria that I mentioned.

But I also warned at that time that increased enemy action in Laos, in Cambodia, as well as in Vietnam, was something that we had noted, and that if I had indicated, and if I found, that that increased enemy action would jeopardize the remaining forces who would be in Vietnam after we had withdrawn 150,000, I would take strong action to deal with it. I found that the action that the enemy had taken in Cambodia would leave the 240,000 Americans who would be there a year from now without many combat troops to help defend them, would leave them in an untenable position. That is why I had to act.

THE POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTION AND REPRESSION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, some Americans believe this country is heading for revolution, and others believe that crime and dissent and violent demonstrations are leading us to an era of repression. I wonder if you would give us your view of the state of the American society and where it is heading.

THE PRESIDENT. That would require a rather extended answer. Briefly, this country is not headed for revolution. The very fact that we do have the safety valves of the right to dissent, the very fact that the President of the United States asked the District Commissioners to waive their rule for 30 days' notice for a demonstration, and also asked that that demonstration occur not just around the Washington Monument but on the Ellipse where I could hear it—and you can hear it pretty well from there, I can assure you—that fact is an indication that when you have that kind of safety valve you are not going to have revolution which comes from repression.

The second point, with regard to repression: That is nonsense, in my opinion. I do not see that the critics of my policies, our policies, are repressed. I note from reading the press and from listening to television that criticism is very vigorous and sometimes quite personal. It has every right to be. I have no complaints about it.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[6.] Yes, sir?

Q. One of the consequences of the

Cambodian action was the fact that the other side boycotted this week's peace talks in Paris. There is some question as to whether our side will attend next week. Have you made a decision on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Our side will attend next week. We expect the talks to go forward. And at the time that we are cleaning out the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia, we will pursue the path of peace at the negotiating table there and in a number of other forums that we are presently working on.

RESPONSE TO NORTH VIETNAMESE ACTION

[7.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, Secretary of Defense Laird said last week that if the North Vietnamese troops should move across the DMZ in force, he would recommend resumption of the bombing. What would be your reaction to such a recommendation in those circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to speculate as to what the North Vietnamese may do. I will only say that if the North Vietnamese did what some have suggested they might do—move a massive force of 250,000 to 300,000 across the DMZ against our Marine Corps people who are there—I would certainly not allow those men to be massacred without using more force and more effective force against North Vietnam.

I think we have warned the leaders of North Vietnam on this point several times, and because we have warned them I do not believe they will move across the DMZ.

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

[8.] Mrs. Dickerson [Nancy H. Dickerson, NBC News].

Q. After you met with these eight university presidents yesterday, they indicated that you had agreed to tone down the criticism within your administration of those who disagree with you. Then tonight Vice President Agnew is quoted all over the news programs as making a speech which includes these words, "That every debate has a cadre of Jeremiahs, normally a gloomy coalition of choleric young intellectuals and tired, embittered elders." Why?

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Dickerson, I have studied the history of this country over the past 190 years. And, of course, the classic and the most interesting game is to try to drive a wedge between the President and the Vice President. Believe me, I had 8 years of that, and I am experienced on that point.

Now, as far as the Vice President is concerned, he will answer for anything that he has said. As far as my attempting to tone him down or my attempting to censor the Secretary of the Interior because he happens to take a different point of view, I shall not do that. I would hope that all the members of this administration would have in mind the fact, a rule that I have always had, and it is a very simple one: When the action is hot, keep the rhetoric cool.

SCHEDULE FOR WITHDRAWAL FROM CAMBODIA

[9.] Q. Mr. President, on April 30 you announced that you, as Commander in Chief, were sending in U.S. units and

South Vietnamese units into Cambodia. Do the South Vietnamese abide by the same pull-out deadline as you have laid down for the American forces?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they do not. I would expect that the South Vietnamese would come out approximately at the same time that we do because when we come out our logistical support and air support will also come out with them.

I would like also to say that with response to that deadline I can give the members of the press some news with regard to the developments that have occurred. The action actually is going faster than we had anticipated. The middle of next week the first units, American units, will come out. The end of next week the second group of American units will come out. The great majority of all American units will be out by the second week of June, and all Americans of all kinds, including advisers, will be out of Cambodia by the end of June.

STUDENT DISSENTERS

[10.] I will take you next, Mr. Potter [Philip Potter, Baltimore Sun]. The writing press gets a break.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe that the use of the word "bums" [1] to categorize some of those who are engaged in dissent—and I know that you meant it to apply to those who are destructive, but it has been used in a broader context—do you believe that is in keeping with your suggestion that the rhetoric should be kept cool?

THE PRESIDENT. I would certainly regret that my use of the word "bums" was interpreted to apply to those who dissent. All the members of this press corps know that I have for years defended the right of dissent. I have always opposed the use of violence. On university campuses the rule of reason is supposed to prevail over the rule of force. And when students on university campuses burn buildings, when they engage in violence, when they break up furniture, when they terrorize their fellow students and terrorize the faculty, then I think "bums" is perhaps too kind a word to apply to that kind of person. Those are the kind I was referring to.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN CAMBODIA

[11.] Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News]. I will get you next, Mr. Bailey.

[1] On a visit to the Pentagon on May 1, 1970, the President, during an informal conversation with one of a group of employees who had gathered in a corridor to greet him, made the following remarks which were taped by a reporter who accompanied the President to the Pentagon:

You think of those kids out there. I say "kids." I have seen them. They are the greatest.

You see these bums, you know, blowing up the campuses. Listen, the boys that are on the college campuses today are the luckiest people in the world, going to the greatest universities, and here they are burning up the books, I mean storming around about this issue—I mean you name it—get rid of the war; there will be another one.

Out there we've got kids who are just doing their duty. I have seen them. They stand tall, and they are proud. I am sure they are scared. I was when I was there. But when it really comes down to it, they stand up and, boy, you have to talk up to those men. And they are going to do fine; we've got to stand back of them.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned that you expected the Americans to be out of Cambodia by some time in June. President Thieu was quoted as saying in an interview that he felt the North Vietnamese could reestablish their sanctuaries in Cambodia within 6 months and possibly, he was quoted as saying, within 2 or 3 months.

If that is the case, what have we accomplished in Cambodia? Was it worth the risks, and what do we do when they reestablish those sanctuaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I am planning to give a report to the Nation when our own actions are completed, toward the latter part of June. At that time, I will answer that question in full.

At the present time, I will say that it is my belief, based on what we have accomplished to date, that we have bought at least 6 months and probably 8 months of time for the training of the ARVN, the Army of South Vietnam. We have also saved, I think, hundreds, if not thousands, of Americans, as Frank Reynolds reported tonight on ABC. Rockets by the thousands and small arms ammunition by the millions have already been captured and those rockets and small arms will not be killing Americans in these next few months. And what we have also accomplished is that by buying time, it means that if the enemy does come back into those sanctuaries next time, the South Vietnamese will be strong enough and well trained enough to handle it alone.

I should point out, too, that they are handling a majority of the assignment now in terms of manpower.

SECRETARY HICKEL'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

[12.] Mr. Bailey [Charles W. Bailey 2d, Minneapolis Tribune].

Q. Sir, without asking you to censor the Secretary of the Interior, could you comment on the substantive points that he made in his letter?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Secretary of the Interior is a man who has very strong views. He is outspoken. He is courageous. That is one of the reasons I selected him for the Cabinet, and one of the reasons that I defended him very vigorously before this press corps when he was under attack.

As far as his views are concerned, I will, of course, be interested in his advice. I might say, too, that I hope he gives some advice to the Postmaster General. That was the fastest mail delivery I have had since I have been in the White House. [*Laughter*]

REASONS FOR THE CAMBODIAN ACTION

[13.] Mr. Scali [John A. Scali, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, how do you answer the criticism that the justification that you give for going into the Cambodian sanctuaries is hauntingly similar to the reasons that President Lyndon Johnson gave as he moved step by step up the ladder of escalation? He wanted peace, too, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Scali, President Johnson did want peace, and, if I may use

the vernacular, he has taken a bad rap from those who say that he wanted war.

However, the difference is that he did move step by step. This action is a decisive move, and this action also puts the enemy on warning that if it escalates while we are trying to deescalate, we will move decisively and not step by step.

WILL THE WAR PROVE WORTHWHILE?

[14.] Mr. Healy [Paul F. Healy, New York Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, this war was well underway before you came in, as you just said. Now, considering the toll in lives and in everything else that is happening now, do you think this war has proved to be worthwhile?

THE PRESIDENT. It is rather a moot question, Mr. Healy, as to whether it will prove to have been worthwhile. As Commander in Chief, I have found for 525,000 Americans it has been my responsibility to do everything I could to protect their lives and to get them home as quickly as I can. And we have succeeded pretty well. We brought 115,000 home. We are going to bring another 150,000, and this action will assure the continued success of that program.

However, looking at the whole of Southeast Asia, looking at the fact that we have lost lives there, I would say that only history will record whether it was worthwhile.

I do know this: Now that America is there, if we do what many of our very sincere critics think we should do, if we withdraw from Vietnam and allow the enemy to come into Vietnam and massacre the civilians there by the millions, as they would—if we do that, let me say that America is finished insofar as the peacekeeper in the Asian world is concerned.

POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD CONDUCT

[15.] Q. Mr. President, in the light of the Kent State University incident, could you tell us what, in your judgment, is the proper action and conduct for a police force or a National Guard force when ordered to clear the campus area and faced with a crowd throwing rocks?

THE PRESIDENT. We think we have done a rather good job here in Washington in that respect. As you note, we handled the two demonstrations, October 15 and November 15 of last year, without any significant casualties, and that took a lot of doing because there were some pretty rough people involved—a few were rough; most of them were very peaceful.

I would hope that the experience that we have had in that respect could be shared by the National Guards, which, of course, are not under Federal control but under State control.

Now, what I say is not to be interpreted as a criticism in advance of my getting the facts of the National Guard at Kent State. I want to know what the facts are. I have asked for the facts. When I get them, I will have something to say about it. But I do know when you do have a situation of a crowd throwing rocks and the National Guard is called in, that there is always the chance that it will escalate into the kind of a tragedy that happened at Kent State.

If there is one thing I am personally

committed to, it is this: I saw the pictures of those four youngsters in the Evening Star the day after that tragedy, and I vowed then that we were going to find methods that would be more effective to deal with these problems of violence, methods that would deal with those who would use force and violence and endanger others, but, at the same time, would not take the lives of innocent people.

CAMBODIA'S FUTURE

[16.] Q. After the American troops are removed from Cambodia, there may still be a question as to the future of Cambodia's ability to exist as a neutralist country.

What is your policy toward Cambodia's future?

THE PRESIDENT. The United States is, of course, interested in the future of Cambodia, and the future of Laos, both of which, of course, as you know, are neutral countries. However, the United States, as I indicated in what is called the Guam or Nixon Doctrine, cannot take the responsibility and should not take the responsibility in the future to send American men in to defend the neutrality of countries that are unable to defend themselves.

In this area, what we have to do is to go down the diplomatic trail, and that is why we are exploring with the Soviet Union—with not too much success to date, but we are going to continue to explore it—with Great Britain, with the Asian countries that are meeting in Djakarta,[2] and through every possible channel, methods through which the neutrality of countries like Cambodia and Laos, who cannot possibly defend themselves—to see that that neutrality is guaranteed without having the intervention of foreign forces.

PROGRESS TOWARD GOALS

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in your Inaugural Address, you said that one of your goals was to bring us together in America. You said that you wanted to move us in international terms from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. You said you wanted to bring peace to Vietnam. During the past 2 weeks, it seems that we are farther than ever from those goals. How do you account for this apparent failure?

THE PRESIDENT. Don't judge us too quickly. When it comes to negotiation, I would suggest that you recognize the fact that some very important talks are going forward on arms limitation with the Soviet Union. We are still far apart. But I will predict now that there will be an agreement. When that agreement comes, it will have great significance. I say that having in mind the fact that we are far apart from the Soviet Union in our policy toward Southeast Asia, in our policy toward the Mideast; but I say that where the problem of arms is concerned, here is where our interests are together. The Soviet Union has just as great an interest as we have in seeing that there is some limitation on nuclear arms.

THE MIDDLE EAST

[18.] Q. Mr. President, have you made any judgment yet on the sale of jets to Israel? And how do you view the situa-

[2] The Djakarta Conference of Foreign Ministers, representing 11 countries, met on May 16 and 17, 1970.

tion in the Middle East at the moment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the situation has become ominous due to the fact that reports have been received with regard to Soviet pilots being interjected into the U.A.R. Air Force, not in a combat but in some other role. We are watching these reports very closely. If those reports prove to be true, and if that continues to escalate, this will dramatically shift the balance of power, and it would make it necessary for the United States to reevaluate its decision with regard to the sale of jets to Israel.

We have made it very clear—and this is in the interest of peace in that area—that the balance of power must not be changed and we will keep that commitment.

PARIS TALKS AND CONSIDERATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT

[19.] Q. Mr. President, is the United States prepared to pursue with equal fervor in Paris negotiations to find a political settlement of this war, including the possibility of discussing with the other side a coalition government?

THE PRESIDENT. We are prepared to seek not only in Paris but in any other forum a political settlement of this war. We are not prepared, however, to seek any settlement in which we or anyone else imposes upon the people of South Vietnam a government that they do not choose. If the people of South Vietnam choose a coalition government, if they choose to change the leaders they presently have, that is a decision we will accept. President Thieu has indicated he will accept it. But we do not intend to impose at the conference table on the people of South Vietnam a government they do not choose.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

[20.] Q. Mr. President, on a domestic subject, the economy, sir, unemployment is up, the stock market is down, things look generally discouraging. Do you have any views on that, and do you have any plans?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Unemployment reached the point of 4.8, I noticed, this last month. In order to keep it in perspective, it should be noted that in 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965 the average unemployment was 5.7; 5.7 is too high; 4.8, I think, is also too high. But the unemployment we presently have is the result of the cooling of the economy and our fight against inflation.

We believe, however, that, as we look to the balance of the year, that we will begin to see a moving up in our gross national product in the last of the second quarter and throughout the third and fourth quarters. I believe that by the end of the year we will have passed the trillion dollar mark in terms of GNP. I believe that the year 1970 will be a good year economically, a year in which unemployment, we hope, can be kept below the average that we had in the early sixties, which was much too high.

THE CAMBODIAN DECISION

[21.] Q. Mr. President, did Secretary of State Rogers oppose your decision to go into Cambodia or did Dr. Kissinger oppose it?

THE PRESIDENT. Every one of my advisers, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, Dr. Kissinger, Director Helms, raised questions about the decision, and, believe me, I raised the most questions, because I knew the stakes that were in-

volved, I knew the division that would be caused in this country. I knew also the problems internationally. I knew the military risks. And then after hearing all of their advice, I made the decision. Decisions, of course, are not made by vote in the National Security Council or in the Cabinet. They are made by the President with the advice of those, and I made this decision. I take the responsibility for it. I believe it was the right decision. I believe it will work out. If it doesn't, then I am to blame. They are not.

ADMINISTRATION DISCOURSE WITH DISSENTERS

[22.] Mr. Morgan [Edward P. Morgan, ABC News].

Q. Volumes have been written about the loneliness of the Presidency. You, yourself, have said that you were not going to get trapped into an isolation as President. Have you, particularly in recent days, felt isolated? And if you have not, could you explain to us why it was not until yesterday that you, whose voice means more than anybody else's in the administration, whether it be Mr. Agnew or Mr. Hickel, waited until yesterday to tell the educators that the administration was lowering—was modifying its discourse with the dissenters?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, first let us understand what I told the educators. The educators came in to discuss their problems, and since they are all presidents I felt a community of interest with them.

I indicated to them that I didn't want to make their job any harder for them and I would appreciate it if they wouldn't make my job any harder for me in their own activities.

They raised questions about the Vice President, and about other people in the administration, about the rhetoric, and I know, of course, questions have been raised about my rhetoric.

Let me say that in terms, however, of the Vice President, in terms of what I told the educators, I did not indicate to them that I was going to muzzle the Vice President, that I was going to censor him.

I believe that the Vice President, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of HEW, everybody in this administration, should have the right, after considering all the factors, to speak out and express his views. This is an open administration. It will continue to be.

I also think that people should have the right to speak out as they do in the House, in the Senate, in the media, and in the universities. The only difference is that, of all these people—and I refer particularly to some of my lively critics in the House and Senate—they have the luxury of criticism.

I was once a Senator and a House Member; I thought back to this when I called Harry Truman today and wished him well on his 86th birthday, to some of the rather rugged criticisms that I directed in his direction.

They have the luxury of criticism because they can criticize and if it doesn't work out then they can gloat over it, or if it does work out, the criticism will be forgotten.

I don't have that luxury. As Commander in Chief, I, alone, am responsible for the lives of 425,000 or 430,000 Americans in Vietnam. That is what I have been thinking about. And the decision that I made on Cambodia will save those lives. It will bring the peace that we all want, in my opinion. I could be wrong, but if I am wrong, I am responsible and nobody else.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM VIETNAM

[23.] Q. Mr. President, early in the news conference, in saying that the troop withdrawals would continue, you said that a year from now there would be 240,000 American soldiers in Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT. Don't hold me to the exact figure. I haven't——

Q. That is 185,000 less. Are you announcing a larger withdrawal tonight?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I wasn't. What I was indicating was a range. But don't get the impression that we might not get that low also, because you understand we are going to go forward on the negotiating track at this time, and I am not among those who have given up on that track. I still think there is a possibility of progress there.

POSSIBILITY OF MEETING WITH DEMONSTRATORS

[24.] Q. Mr. President, will you see any of the demonstrators tomorrow in the White House? Will you talk with them?

THE PRESIDENT. If arrangements are made by my staff so that they can come in to see me, I will be glad to. I talk to great numbers of people. I will be here all day long. As a matter of fact, I will be here tonight and tomorrow as well. But sometimes it is quite difficult to arrange which groups should come in. I know members of my staff will go out to see them. I have asked all the younger members of my staff to talk to the demonstrators and try to get their views, as we did on November 15 and October 15. I will be glad to see them if some of them are available.

Frank Cormier, Associated Press: Thank you, Mr. President.

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO MERRIMAN SMITH, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

[25.] THE PRESIDENT. Could I ask the members of the press to wait one moment.

For 26 years a member of this press corps did just what Frank Cormier did then. He was known as the man who said "Thank you, Mr. President."

Three weeks ago he met a tragic death and, as we close this conference, I would like to suggest that we all stand for a moment in memory of Merriman Smith.

[*Moment of silence*]

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: President Nixon's tenth news conference was held at 10 p.m. on Friday, May 8, 1970, in the East Room at the White House. The news conference was broadcast live on television and radio.

In his news conference at 9:04 a.m. on Saturday, May 9, 1970, Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler told reporters that the President had made a sunrise visit to the Lincoln Memorial, accompanied by his valet, Manolo Sanchez. At the Memorial he found a number of students who had come to Washington to participate in the demonstrations for peace and talked with them at some length. The President later described the discussion to Garnett D. (Jack) Horner of the Washington Star, one of the first reporters to arrive at the White House that day. Mr. Ziegler and Mr. Horner later reported to other White House correspondents. Excerpts from their remarks at the briefing follow:

MR. ZIEGLER. The President, after the press conference last night, went upstairs to the living quarters of the residence and received and made phone calls. I understand he went to bed around 2 o'clock and got up shortly thereafter and was reading. And about 4 o'clock he called Manolo Sanchez, who works for the President, and said to Manolo, "I know you have never seen the Lincoln——" Jack will give you the quote.

MR. HORNER. As the President said, "I got up and called in Manolo and asked him if

he had ever seen the Lincoln Memorial at night. He never had. I said, 'Let's go see the Monument.' "

Q. This is 4 o'clock in the morning?

MR. HORNER. Yes.

MR. ZIEGLER. Let me give you a brief idea of what the President has done, and then Jack will give you the quotes.

They left the White House at 4:55 and drove to the Lincoln Memorial. They arrived there at 5 o'clock. The President and Manolo went up into the Memorial, and the President pointed out the inscriptions on the wall above the Memorial to Manolo. And as they came out—correct me anywhere I am interpreting this incorrectly, Jack—came out of the Memorial, there were some eight students there. And he stopped and talked to them for almost an hour.

The crowd of students grew, as the President told Jack and me, from eight to 30 and then he said about 50 by the end of the discussion. The President pointed out that one of the great things about the talk with the students was that there were no—forgive me—TV cameras or press there, so it gave them an opportunity to——

MR. HORNER. I will give them the quote when I come to it.

Q. Ron, what did he tell you about what he talked to them about?

MR. ZIEGLER. Jack will give you that in a minute.

Q. Was the Secret Service with him, too?

MR. ZIEGLER. Yes. He then departed the Lincoln Memorial and drove to the Capitol with Manolo Sanchez, and they walked through the Capitol. Manolo had never been to the Capitol.

They walked through the Rotunda and into the House Chambers. They left there at 6:40 and drove to the Mayflower Hotel, and the President had breakfast at the Mayflower Hotel and returned to the White House at 7:30.

Q. Where at the Mayflower Hotel, in the restaurant, coffee shop?

MR. ZIEGLER. In the Rib Room.

Q. Did anyone else join him?

MR. ZIEGLER. I will give you those details.

Q. What time did he return to the White House?

MR. ZIEGLER. 7:30.

Q. Can you tell us how large a group this was that went with the President?

MR. HORNER. I will get to that. To make this clear, I must have arrived shortly after or just a few minutes after the President got back, sometime between 7:30 and 8:00. An aide met me at the door and said, "Ron wants to see you." Ron started to give me a fill in. In a moment or two the President came in and continued to fill in himself.

The way the President said it was that he was up to about 2:30 a.m. reading and taking calls. He remarked that it was earlier than that on the West Coast. He said he went to bed, had trouble sleeping, slept about an hour. Then at 4 a.m., he got up and called Manolo. The quote I gave you a moment ago about going to the Lincoln Memorial.

He said no one of the staff knew he was going, no one but the Secret Service. I interjected, "Didn't the Secret Service go with you?" He said, "Oh, yes, I never leave without them." But the Secret Service was "petrified."

At the Lincoln Memorial, he said of the youths, "They were fine kids from all over the country." He said the Secret Service apparently was worried because Manolo kept coming up to him and saying there was a telephone call for him. But, "I said, 'Manolo, I want to talk to these people.' " He said it was one of the most interesting experiences of his life.

He went on to say that when you bring people like this to the White House they are overwhelmed, and there was a feeling they were being exploited. There will be more of this later. But I am taking this chronologically.

But he said, "Here at the Memorial I was sort of carried back to when I was in college myself and in law school."

About the peace thing, he said, "I told them that I know it is awfully hard to keep this in perspective. I told them that"—he seemed to grope for a date—"in 1939 I thought Neville Chamberlain was the greatest man living and Winston Churchill was a madman. It was not until years later that I realized that Neville Chamberlain was a good man, but Winston Churchill was right." Then he sort of shrugged his shoulders and said, "I doubt if that got over."

He went on to say what he talked to the kids about. He took them all over the world—

Japan. "But I told them to see this country first. I know it has its problems"—he mentioned some of the problems but he was talking a little too fast for me at that point—"But it has its good points, too. Our passport office is not crowded with people wanting to leave."

Then continuing his travelog, he said that Mexico City was one of the most interesting places in the world, that Asia is fascinating.

Q. Is this a recounting of what he was saying to the kids?

MR. HORNER. This is recounting to us what he said to the kids.

He said he told them how great are the Chinese people and that "One thing I am working all my heart for is the time when you have the opportunity to know the people of China."

Then he mentioned, still recounting what he had told the youth, Indochina, India "such wonderful people." He told them they would find much of India barren and its cities dirty, but "Don't look at the cities; look at the people."

Then he said he told them to go on to Iran and on to the Soviet Union, and he mentioned a couple of cities in Siberia whose names I didn't catch. He mentioned a ballet in Moscow. But he also mentioned a couple of cities in Siberia where "You see a different kind of people." He mentioned ballet, and he said he told them "Then go on to Budapest and Prague," and he described those cities for them.

Q. Is he recommending that they make such a trip?

MR. HORNER. Yes.

MR. ZIEGLER. Jack, if I could interject here. In talking with the President over breakfast about his discussions, the point he was making here in reference to the cities around the world was the fact that the important thing is knowing the people, as Jack has just referred to, and the development of understanding between people both in countries around the world and also a development of understanding of people within this country. That was the focus of the discussion of these various cities.

MR. HORNER. Yes, he emphasized again when he was talking to us that he told them "Remember to know the people, not the cities."

Then he said he was talking about their scholars. "One thing that concerns me"—this is what he told them—"is the way that Negroes, the blacks, are separating from the whites. You must find a way to communicate with them in your universities." It seemed obvious that these were mostly white students that he was talking to. "And they must find a way to communicate with the blacks."

He went on to say that he told them that the Indians in this country are the most mistreated of all our people.

Q. Is that a quote?

MR. HORNER. Yes, "most mistreated of our people," even though they had not known the bonds of slavery. And he mentioned that he had also said that some of the Mexican-Americans in California are worse off than many of the Negroes. That is not an exact quote.

Then he said, "On the war thing, I said that I know you think we are a bunch of so-and-so's." He interjected that he had used a stronger expression to them. It was here he said that he told them what he had thought about Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill when he was in college to emphasize a point that "I know how you feel."

Q. Jack, are you still at the Lincoln Memorial?

MR. HORNER. Still at the Lincoln Memorial.

Q. Ron, you didn't go with them, did you?

MR. ZIEGLER. I caught up with them.

MR. HORNER. He said he also told the students that he knows they want to get the war over. Then he said, "Try to understand what we are doing." He said he told them that, "Sure, you came here to demonstrate and shout your slogans on the Ellipse. That is all right. Just keep it peaceful." Still quoting, "Remember, I feel just as deeply as you do about this."

Then the President said they talked about the environment and the dirty streets and the dirty air and the dirty water. He said he told them that we are going to clean up those things. "But you can clean all that up and have sanitized, clean cities, but no color, no warmth, no human qualities. The real problem is finding some meaning to life other than air and water."

Q. Did you say "the real problem"?

MR. HORNER. Yes. At that point the President got up and started to walk out. But I asked him if there is a real possibility of some of the student leaders coming in to see him at

the White House today. He said he had told his young people on the staff to go out and meet these people, and if they "find some who want to chat, I will be glad to see them."

But he emphasized that, "The one thing I don't want is to bring them in here and exploit them." He said he didn't want to bring them in here and create the impression that he brought them in just to be able to say that he had talked to some students.

Q. Did the students talk with him or answer him or react at all or were they just listening to him all the time?

MR. HORNER. I will let Ron answer that one. Let me finish mine.

He said, "I think this"—referring to what he did this morning at the Lincoln Memorial—"is far more useful. There were no TV cameras, no press. They did not feel the awesome power of the White House. I was trying to relate to them in a way they could feel that I understood their problems."

He said he told them to have a good time here in Washington and "don't go away bitter."

I think that is the end of my direct quotes from the President.

MR. ZIEGLER. Thank you, Jack.

I was not with the President at the Lincoln Memorial. Those who were with the President, that I talked to, at the Lincoln Memorial—one of them is sitting here; I don't want to identify him—indicated that, this is somewhat of an understatement of course, that the students were of course surprised. But in reference to your question, the tone of the discussion was very respectful; it was very amiable, and the students initially, of course, were somewhat in awe, but after the hour began to unfold there was a good discussion.

What Jack was relating to you is what the President related to Jack and me in my office. I have only one or two things to add to those direct quotes in terms of what the feeling I got in talking to the President at breakfast this morning in regards to the Ellipse.

The point, I think, he was expressing to Jack, as he did to me, was making somewhat the point he made last night at the press conference; in other words, come to the Ellipse and demonstrate, express yourselves, but keep it peaceful and to try to seek an understanding, and understand that he feels as deeply about this war and the problems in the country as they do.

He did make the point also that his objective—he mentioned this to me at breakfast—in Southeast Asia is to bring a peaceful solution to the conflict and to accomplish many of the things which they are concerned about.

The President left, as I said, the Lincoln Memorial at 5:55 and drove to the Capitol and was at the Capitol for about 35 minutes, as I said earlier. Manolo Sanchez and the President went to the Rotunda and then into the House Chambers and the President departed at about 6:40.

145 Statement About the Death of Walter P. Reuther. *May* 10, 1970

THE TRAGIC DEATH of Walter Reuther is a deep loss not only for organized labor but also for the cause of collective bargaining and the entire American process. He was a man who was devoted to his cause, spoke for it eloquently, and worked for it tirelessly. While he was outspoken and controversial, even those who disagreed with him had great respect for his ability, integrity, and persistence.

For the Reuther family, the tragedy of this day is compounded by the death of Mrs. Reuther. Mrs. Nixon joins me in offering our heartfelt sympathy to them, and in expressing the hope that the memory of Walter Reuther's great achievements, with the constant help of his wife, will sustain them at this sad time.

NOTE: Mr. Reuther died on May 9, in the crash of a private plane in northern Michigan. He had served as president of the United Auto Workers since 1946.

The statement was posted for the press.

146 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on Operation of the International Coffee Agreement. *May* 11, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith my 1969 report on the operations of the International Coffee Agreement, 1968.

This treaty, which continues in modified form the International Coffee Agreement, 1962, embodies the oft-stated concern of the United States that the developing countries dependent on the export of primary commodities be able to achieve the stability in foreign exchange income essential for economic growth. The International Coffee Agreement, which involves the most important agricultural export of the less developed world, has evolved into an effective mechanism for influencing coffee prices toward levels which are equitable for producers and reasonable for consumers. While the Agreement is not designed to eliminate reasonable price fluctuations, it has been successful in 1969 as in the previous years of its existence in moderating price movements and preventing prices from reaching levels disastrously low for exporting countries or unacceptably high to the importing countries.

I am encouraged also by the progress which the Agreement has made in achieving long-term market equilibrium through the setting of production goals for the coffee year 1972–73 and the establishment of the Coffee Diversification Fund designed to bring the supply of coffee in line with demand. I hope that negotiations for United States participation in this Fund soon will be completed.

Agreement with Brazil was reached April 30, 1969 on a temporary arrangement regarding the export of soluble coffee from that country to the United States. Consultations toward a permanent solution to this problem are currently under way.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 11, 1970

NOTE: The report, entitled "1969 Annual Report of the President to the Congress on the International Coffee Agreement" (16 pp., plus annexes), was published by the Department of State.

147 Letter to the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means on United States Trade Policy. *May* 11, 1970

Dear Mr. Chairman:

It is gratifying to me that you are today beginning hearings on trade legislation. The Administration welcomes the chance to testify on behalf of the trade bill which I submitted last November, passage of which we believe to be necessary to provide a start in adjusting U.S. trade policy to meet the problems of the 1970s. These hearings will also be useful in giving all interested citizens a chance to explain their views on a subject which is of great economic and foreign policy significance for this country.

I urge speedy enactment of the proposals which I have sent to the Congress.

The proposals are modest in scope, but they provide needed flexibility for U.S. trade policy in a number of significant ways. They would:

—Restore the authority needed by the President to make limited tariff reductions. This authority is not intended for major negotiations, but rather to permit minor adjustments, such as would be required to extend compensation to other countries hurt by U.S. escape clause actions—thereby avoiding retaliation against U.S. exports.

—Recognize the very real plight of particular industries, companies and workers faced with import competition, by providing for a readier escape clause and adjustment assistance relief where justified.

—Eliminate the American Selling Price system of customs valuation, a major obstacle impeding progress toward the reduction of non-tariff barriers.

—Strengthen the hand of the President in his efforts to ensure fair treatment for U.S. exports.

Since I submitted this legislation to the Congress in November, there have been a number of developments which add to its urgency. I cite only the important decisions taken by the European Communities on the future evolution of that great trading area, and the consideration by the Congress of new U.S. farm legislation, which would further increase the importance of our access to foreign markets. At a time of rapid movement in international trade relations and patterns, the U.S. will find itself at a disadvantage unless we have the added flexibility which I have requested.

Progress toward freer trade should continue. We must encourage it. Without the strong support of the United States, the world's largest trader, this progress could falter. Passage of the legislation I have submitted will keep us headed in the right direction.

For the Future

The legislation proposed by the Administration represents an interim step toward developing the flexible trade policies needed for the world of the 1970s. For the long range, it is important to reexamine our entire approach. Changes in production, trade and investment patterns, and the rapid progress in communications, transportation and technology impel us toward a basic reassessment of our trade policy. I have recently announced the appointment of the chairman of my Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy, which will assist in this reexamination, and I will shortly announce its full membership. The Commission is charged with examining the entire range of our trade and related policies, and of preparing recommendations for the next decade.

We need more information regarding the competitive position of U.S. industries. So that we will have an adequate factual base, I am requesting that the Tariff Commission make a broad survey of the competitiveness of particular industries. I believe that such a broad study, which the Tariff Commission is best suited to conduct, will be of great assistance to us in our future policies and trade actions and in the work of my Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy.

It is my intention to marshal the forces of the executive branch to expedite efficient adjustment to economic changes brought about by increased imports. I

intend to activate the Trade Adjustment Assistance Advisory Board called for in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to lead a broad coordinated executive effort to make adjustment assistance more effective in opening opportunities for workers and firms. I also intend to request additional funds for adjustment assistance as they are needed.

Certain aspects of our trading relations have been of particular concern in recent years. The decline in our trade surplus, from about $7 billion in 1964 to only $0.8 billion in 1968, and $1.3 billion in 1969, stems from a variety of causes: the inflationary forces which have dominated our economy in the late sixties; the growing economic strength and technological progress of our trading partners; the increase in agricultural self-sufficiency abroad; and the increasing demand of American consumers for goods made in other countries. As I mentioned in my balance of payments statement of April 1969, it is appropriate to deal with fundamental problems by the use of fundamental remedies. One of the required fundamental remedies has been the reduction of inflationary pressures. With the steps we have taken to gain control of inflation, there has been some modest evidence of improvement of our trading position. As our anti-inflationary policies continue, we expect a further improvement. At the same time, it is important to take vigorous steps to improve our exports.

One of the most disquieting trade developments has come in the field of agricultural trade. Although there has been a general reduction in trade barriers in recent decades, there have been contrary trends in agricultural trade. In particular, high trade barriers in a number of countries, used to protect high domestic prices, have created difficulties for our agricultural exports. We have protested against these measures as each new barrier has been raised and have on occasion been reluctantly forced to threaten or to actually take retaliatory measures.

During the past decade, there has been a major integration of the economies of Western Europe. We see ahead the prospect of an enlargement of this community. We wish our friends in Europe well in their efforts toward economic and political unity and will watch their steps toward this end with sympathetic interest—remaining alert, however, to the need for respect for our commercial interests. We would expect, of course, that in the process of enlargement of the European Community, due regard will be given to the rights and interests of the United States and other third countries.

Improved Export Performance

For a number of reasons it is possible that American industry has been less export-minded than that of other major competing industrialized countries. Attractive alternatives to export sales development—in our very large domestic market for example, and in the alternative of direct foreign investment abroad for manufacture of products in locations closer to the foreign markets being served—have existed for American industries to a greater degree than for foreign companies. Furthermore, our tax laws tend to favor sales by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations over exports from the United States. Administration witnesses will submit a legislative proposal to improve the tax situation for income earned on exports.

United States exports have increasingly

shown a concentration in capital goods and other technologically advanced products. It is customary in domestic as well as international trade in such items for the seller to provide credit on comparable conditions with those provided by his competitors. Important steps have been taken by the Export-Import Bank in the past year to make U.S. Government export credit and guarantee programs as flexible and useful as possible to a wide range of American producers. These steps include a complete revision of the commercial bank discount program to encourage banks throughout the country to respond favorably to financing requests from exporters on a continuing basis, and initiation of an advance commitment procedure that has been most useful to buyers, suppliers and manufacturers.

Significant steps also have been taken to assist U.S. engineering and contracting firms in achieving contract awards for major projects. Money sources from outside the United States have been attracted to finance American exports as a result of the extension of the Export-Import Bank's guarantee authority. Special attention has been given to small business and agriculture through modification of the export insurance operations and through specific program assistance. The American aircraft industry and nuclear power developments have been substantially aided through the actions of the Bank. The key aspect of the Export-Import Bank's new look is greater cooperation and flexibility. Our exporters can look forward to continued expansion of Export-Import Bank activities.

The export programs I have just described, when taken together with the stepped up trade promotion programs of the Department of Commerce and the opening up of foreign markets through the reduction in foreign tariffs and other obstacles to trade, provide strong incentives for American industry to export more. These programs take into account the advice received from all segments of American business, both large and small, as represented by the National Export Expansion Council, as well as other groups. The benefits of an increase in exports should be felt throughout our entire economy. One statistic alone makes this point very strongly: in 1969, about 2.7 million jobs were attributable to U.S. exports.

As you begin hearings on this most important legislation, I want to express my appreciation for your careful attention and my high hope for results that will greatly enhance the U.S. trade position.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter was made available to the press.

148 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the National Capital Housing Authority. *May* 12, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Although confronted with the same financial problems during fiscal year 1969 that plagued public housing agencies throughout the nation, the National Capital Housing Authority continued its search for new ways to provide good housing for the low income residents of the

District of Columbia. The Authority made progress in many areas toward increasing both the supply and the utility of public housing. Details of this progress are reported in the authority's annual report, which I transmit herewith.

The effort to provide a sound public housing program requires concerted cooperation and coordination among all levels of government, private enterprise, and the community. Under Mayor Washington's leadership, I anticipate that further important progress will be made toward achieving our goal of decent housing and effective community services for all the residents of our Nation's Capital.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 12, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "Exploring New Directions" (Government Printing Office, 24 pp.).

149 Statement on Signing a Bill Expanding School Lunch and Child Nutrition Programs. *May* 14, 1970

THE LEGISLATION that I am signing today, H.R. 515, amends and improves the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act. This legislation will help the administration achieve its goal of expanding the school lunch program for all children and providing free or reduced-price lunches for every needy child.

In the year which has passed since I sent to the Congress my message on this subject, the fight to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in America has come a long way. More than 9 million needy persons now participate in government food programs—an increase of 30 percent over last May. Participation in the food stamp program has increased by 55 percent. Significant reforms in that program include a new schedule of payments and bonuses so that all participating families can receive enough food stamps to purchase an economy level diet. The program has also been expanded in a geographic sense, for while there were 440 counties with no family food assistance plans a year ago, there are now only 73.

At the same time that these reforms have gone into effect, the Office of Economic Opportunity has expanded the food portion of its Emergency Food and Medical Services program from $17 million to $48.8 million. A new Food and Nutrition Service has been established in the Department of Agriculture to administer Federal food programs. The White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health was held in December and many of its recommendations have already been implemented.

The child nutrition programs which this legislation affects have also been growing in the past year, and, together with our other efforts, provide the legislative framework to meet the balanced nutritional requirements of our needy children. More than 20 million children now participate in the national school lunch program at an average price to each student of 30 cents per meal. Of these children, 4.8 million are needy students who receive lunches entirely without cost or at a substantially reduced price. This figure represents a 40 percent increase in the last year—and the number of participants should continue to grow in the months ahead.

The child nutrition programs—school

lunch, school breakfast, and food programs in day care centers and summer camps—can have an important impact on the life of those who participate in them. Because the student who is well fed is more attentive and learns better, improved nutrition can help children break out of the cycle of poverty.

The legislation I am signing will do much to improve these programs. Local school boards will have more flexibility in budgeting under this legislation, since Federal funds can be appropriated a year in advance and since funds can be shifted from one program to another. H.R. 515 also provides for a modest level of matching funds to come from State revenues. In addition, it will assure that every child from a family whose income falls below the poverty line will get a free or reduced-price lunch.

The child nutrition programs are cooperative programs which are run by State and local governments, with Federal support. This legislation represents an important Federal effort to improve these programs. I hope that State and local governments will also do all they can to move forward in this critical area.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 515 is Public Law 91-248 (84 Stat. 207).

150 Remarks on Awarding the Congressional Medal of Honor to Twelve Members of the Armed Services. *May* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am very honored to welcome this group here in the East Room of the White House this morning, and particularly because this is one of those occasions that is one of the really mountaintop experiences for a President of the United States.

The Medal of Honor has been described many times, and there are no words that can add to the grandeur of that medal, what it means to those who receive it.

I will simply say today that as we think of this great country of ours—particularly in this room, where we see the pictures of President Washington and Martha Washington, who, incidentally, were the only First Family that never lived in this house; it wasn't built until after their term—as we think of the beginning of this country 190 years ago, we think of it as the land of the free. We should all be reminded that it could not be the land of the free if it were not also the home of the brave.

Today we honor the brave men, the men who, far beyond the call of duty, served their country magnificently in a war very far away, in a war which is one, many times, not understood and not supported by some in this country.

I simply want to say to those who receive the medal and to those who are your families, that there are millions of your countrymen who today honor you as I have the privilege of representing them by presenting this medal to you.

I believe also as I stand here, that as time goes on, millions more of your countrymen will look back at the experience that you have participated in and they will reach the conclusion that you served the cause of the land of the free by being brave, brave far beyond the call of duty; so brave that you received the very highest award that this Nation can provide.

We will now go forward with the ceremony, and I understand, incidentally,

that as I present the awards, we will move to each recipient and after I present the award to them, I am going to turn around for a family picture with each of them, so if you will all sort of stay in place until we get the pictures taken.

Secretary Beal of the Army will read the citations.

[At this point, Under Secretary of the Army Thaddeus R. Beal, Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee, and Secretary of the Air Force Robert C. Seamans, Jr., read the citations for awards to members of their respective services. The texts of the citations follow:]

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

LIEUTENANT COLONEL CHARLES C. ROGERS
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Lieutenant Colonel Charles C. Rogers, Field Artillery, distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action on 1 November 1968, while serving as Commanding Officer, 1st Battalion, 5th Artillery, 1st Infantry Division during the defense of a forward fire support base in the Republic of Vietnam. In the early morning hours, the fire support base was subjected to a concentrated bombardment of heavy mortar, rocket and rocket propelled grenade fire. Simultaneously the position was struck by a human wave ground assault, led by sappers who breached the defensive barriers with bangalore torpedoes and penetrated the defensive perimeter. Colonel Rogers with complete disregard for his own safety moved through the hail of fragments from bursting enemy rounds to the embattled area. He aggressively rallied the dazed artillery crewmen to man their howitzers and he directed their fire on the assaulting enemy. Although knocked to the ground and wounded by an exploding round, Colonel Rogers sprang to his feet and led a small counterattack force against an enemy element that had penetrated the howitzer positions. Although painfully wounded a second time during the assault, Colonel Rogers pressed the attack killing several of the enemy and driving the remainder from the positions. Refusing medical treatment, Colonel Rogers reestablished and reinforced the defensive positions. As a second human wave attack was launched against another sector of the perimeter, Colonel Rogers directed artillery fire on the assaulting enemy and led a second counterattack against the charging forces. His valorous example rallied the beleaguered defenders to repulse and defeat the enemy onslaught. Colonel Rogers moved from position to position through the heavy enemy fire, giving encouragement and direction to his men. At dawn the determined enemy launched a third assault against the fire base in an attempt to overrun the position. Colonel Rogers moved to the threatened area and directed lethal fire on the enemy forces. Seeing a howitzer inoperative due to casualties, Colonel Rogers joined the surviving members of the crew to return the howitzer to action. While directing the position defense, Colonel Rogers was seriously wounded by fragments from a heavy mortar round which exploded on the parapet of the gun position. Although too severely wounded to physically lead the defenders, Colonel Rogers continued to give encouragement and direction to his men in the defeating and repelling of the enemy attack. Colonel Rogers' dauntless courage and heroism inspired the defenders of the fire support base to the heights of valor to defeat a determined and numerically superior enemy force. His relentless spirit of aggressiveness, conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his own life above and beyond the call of duty are in the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

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CAPTAIN PAUL W. BUCHA
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Captain Bucha distinguished himself during the period 16–19 March 1968 while serving as Commanding Officer, Company D, 3d Battalion (Airborne), 187th Infantry, 3d Brigade, 101st Airborne Division on a reconnaissance-in-force mission against enemy forces near Phuoc Vinh, in Binh Duong Province, Republic of Vietnam. The company was inserted by helicopter into the suspected enemy stronghold to locate and destroy the enemy. During this period Captain Bucha aggressively and courageously led his men in the destruction of enemy fortifications and base areas and eliminated scattered resistance impeding the advance of the company. On 18 March while advancing to contact, the lead elements of the company became engaged by the heavy automatic weapon, heavy machine gun, rocket propelled grenade, Claymore mine and small arms fire of an estimated battalion-size force. Captain Bucha, with complete disregard for his own safety, moved to the threatened area to direct the defense and ordered reinforcements to the aid of the lead element. Seeing that his men were pinned down by heavy machine gun fire from a concealed bunker located some forty meters to the front of the positions, Captain Bucha crawled through the hail of fire to single-handedly destroy the bunker with grenades. During this heroic action Captain Bucha received a painful shrapnel wound. Returning to the perimeter, he observed that his unit could not hold its positions and repel the human wave assaults launched by the determined enemy. Captain Bucha ordered the withdrawal of the unit elements and covered the withdrawal to positions of a company perimeter from which he could direct fires upon the charging enemy. When one friendly element retrieving casualties was ambushed and cut off from the perimeter, Captain Bucha ordered them to feign death and he directed artillery fires around them. During the night Captain Bucha moved throughout the position, distributing ammunition, providing encouragement and insuring the integrity of the defense. He directed artillery, helicopter gunship and Air Force gunship fires on the enemy strong points and attacking forces, marking the positions with smoke grenades. Using flashlights in complete view of enemy snipers, he directed the medical evacuation of three air-ambulance loads of seriously wounded personnel and the helicopter supply of his company. At daybreak Captain Bucha led a rescue party to recover the dead and wounded members of the ambushed element. During the period of intensive combat, Captain Bucha, by his extraordinary heroism, inspirational example, outstanding leadership and professional competence, led his company in the decimation of a superior enemy force which left one hundred and fifty-six dead on the battlefield. By his conspicuous gallantry at the risk of his own life in the highest traditions of the military service, Captain Bucha has reflected great credit on himself, his unit, and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

CAPTAIN RONALD E. RAY
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Captain Ronald E. Ray (then First Lieutenant), Infantry, distinguished himself on 19 June 1966 while serving as a platoon leader with Company A, 2d Battalion, 35th Infantry, 25th Infantry Division in the Ia Drang Valley, Republic of Vietnam. When one of his ambush patrols was attacked by an estimated reinforced Viet Cong company, Captain Ray organized a reaction force and quickly moved through 2 kilometers of mountainous jungle terrain to the contact area. After breaking through the hostile lines to reach the beleaguered patrol, Captain Ray began directing the reinforcement of the site. When an enemy position pinned down three of his men with a heavy volume of automatic weapons fire, he silenced the emplace-

ment with a grenade and killed four Viet Cong with his rifle fire. As medics were moving a casualty toward a sheltered position, they began receiving intense hostile fire. While directing suppressive fire on the enemy position, Captain Ray moved close enough to silence the enemy with a grenade. A few moments later Captain Ray saw an enemy grenade land, unnoticed, near two of his men. Without hesitation or regard for his own safety he dove between the grenade and the men, thus shielding them from the explosion while receiving wounds in his exposed feet and legs. He immediately sustained additional wounds in his legs from an enemy machine gun, but nevertheless he silenced the emplacement with another grenade. Although suffering great pain from his wounds, Captain Ray continued to direct his men, providing the outstanding courage and leadership they vitally needed, and prevented their annihilation by successfully leading them from their surrounded position. Only after assuring that his platoon was no longer in immediate danger did he allow himself to be evacuated for medical treatment. By his conspicuous gallantry at the risk of his own life in the highest traditions of the military service, Captain Ray has reflected great credit on himself, his unit and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SERGEANT ALLEN J. LYNCH
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Sergeant Allen J. Lynch (then Specialist Four), distinguished himself on 15 December 1967 while serving as a radiotelephone operator with Company D, 1st Battalion (Airmobile), 12th Cavalry, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), in Binh Dinh Province, Republic of Vietnam. While serving in the forward element on an operation near the village of My An (2), his unit became heavily engaged with a numerically superior enemy force. Quickly and accurately assessing the situation, Sergeant Lynch provided his commander with information which subsequently proved essential to the unit's successful actions. Observing three wounded comrades lying exposed to enemy fire, Sergeant Lynch dashed across fifty meters of open ground through a withering hail of enemy fire to administer aid. Reconnoitering a nearby trench for a covered position to protect the wounded from intense hostile fire, he killed two enemy soldiers at point blank range. With the trench cleared, he unhesitatingly returned to the fire swept area three times to carry the wounded men to safety. When his company was forced to withdraw by the superior firepower of the enemy, Sergeant Lynch remained to aid his comrades at the risk of his own life rather than abandon them. Alone, he defended his isolated position for two hours against the advancing enemy. Using only his rifle and a grenade, he stopped them just short of his trench, killing five. Again, disregarding his own safety in the face of withering hostile fire, he crossed seventy meters of exposed terrain five times to carry his wounded comrades to a more secure area. Once he had assured their comfort and safety, Sergeant Lynch located the counterattacking friendly company to assist in directing the attack and evacuating the three casualties. By his conspicuous gallantry at the risk of his own life in the highest traditions of the military service, Sergeant Lynch has reflected great credit on himself, the 12th Cavalry and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SPECIALIST FOUR FRANK A. HERDA
UNITED STATES ARMY

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Specialist Four Frank A. Herda (then Private First Class), distinguished himself on

29 June 1968 while serving as grenadier with Company A, 1st Battalion (Airborne), 506th Infantry, 101st Airborne Division (Airmobile) near Trang Bang, Republic of Vietnam. Company A was part of a battalion-size night defensive perimeter when a large enemy force initiated an attack on the friendly units. While other enemy elements provided diversionary fire and indirect weapons fire to the west, a sapper force of approximately thirty men armed with hand grenades and small charges attacked Company A's perimeter from the east. As the sappers were making a last, violent assault, five of them charged the position defended by Specialist Herda and two comrades, one of whom was wounded and lay helpless in the bottom of the foxhole. Specialist Herda fired at the aggressors until they were within ten feet of his position and one of their grenades landed in the foxhole. He fired one last round from his grenade launcher, hitting one of the enemy soldiers in the head, and then, with no concern for his own safety, Specialist Herda immediately covered the blast of the grenade with his body. The explosion wounded him grievously, but his selfless action prevented his two comrades from being seriously injured or killed and enabled the remaining defender to kill the other sappers. By his conspicuous gallantry at the risk of his own life in the highest traditions of the military service, Specialist Herda has reflected great credit on himself, his unit and the United States Army.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of the Congress takes pleasure in presenting the Medal of Honor to

MAJOR M. SANDO VARGAS, JR.
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as Commanding Officer, Company G, Second Battalion, Fourth Marines, Ninth Marine Amphibious Brigade in action against enemy forces in the Republic of Vietnam from 30 April to 2 May 1968. On 1 May 1968, though suffering from wounds he had incurred while relocating his unit under heavy enemy fire the preceding day, Major (then Captain) Vargas combined Company G with two other companies and led his men in an attack on the fortified village of Dai Do. Exercising expert leadership, he maneuvered his marines across 700 meters of open rice paddy while under intense enemy mortar, rocket and artillery fire and obtained a foothold in two hedgerows on the enemy perimeter, only to have elements of his company become pinned down by the intense enemy fire. Leading his reserve platoon to the aid of his beleaguered men, Major Vargas inspired his men to renew their relentless advance, while destroying a number of enemy bunkers. Again wounded by grenade fragments, he refused aid as he moved about the hazardous area reorganizing his unit into a strong defense perimeter at the edge of the village. Shortly after the objective was secured, the enemy commenced a series of counterattacks and probes which lasted throughout the night but were unsuccessful as the gallant defenders of Company G stood firm in their hard-won enclave. Reinforced the following morning, the marines launched a renewed assault through Dai Do on the village of Dinh To, to which the enemy retaliated with a massive counterattack resulting in hand-to-hand combat. Major Vargas remained in the open, encouraging and rendering assistance to his marines when he was hit for the third time in the three day battle. Observing his battalion commander sustain a serious wound, he disregarded his excruciating pain, crossed the fire-swept area and carried his commander to a covered position, then resumed supervising and encouraging his men while simultaneously assisting in organizing the battalion's perimeter defense. His gallant actions uphold the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in pre-

senting the Medal of Honor to

CAPTAIN JAMES E. LIVINGSTON
UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty while serving as Commanding Officer, Company E, Second Battalion, Fourth Marines, Ninth Marine Amphibious Brigade in action against enemy forces in the Republic of Vietnam. On 2 May 1968, Company E launched a determined assault on the heavily fortified village of Dai Do, which had been seized by the enemy on the preceding evening isolating a marine company from the remainder of the battalion. Skillfully employing screening agents, Captain Livingston maneuvered his men to assault positions across 500 meters of dangerous open rice paddy while under intense enemy fire. Ignoring hostile rounds impacting near him, he fearlessly led his men in a savage assault against enemy emplacements within the village. While adjusting supporting arms fire, Captain Livingston moved to the points of heaviest resistance, shouting words of encouragement to his marines, directing their fire, and spurring the dwindling momentum of the attack on repeated occasions. Although twice painfully wounded by grenade fragments, he refused medical treatment and courageously led his men in the destruction of over 100 mutually supporting bunkers, driving the remaining enemy from their positions, and relieving the pressure on the stranded marine company. As the two companies consolidated positions and evacuated casualties, a third company passed through the friendly lines launching an assault on the adjacent village of Dinh To, only to be halted by a furious counterattack of an enemy battalion. Swiftly assessing the situation and disregarding the heavy volume of enemy fire, Captain Livingston boldly maneuvered the remaining effective men of his company forward, joined forces with the heavily engaged marines, and halted the enemy's counterattack. Wounded a third time and unable to walk, he steadfastly remained in the dangerously exposed area, deploying his men to more tenable positions and supervising the evacuation of casualties. Only when assured of the safety of his men did he allow himself to be evacuated. Captain Livingston's gallant actions uphold the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in presenting the Medal of Honor to

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER THOMAS G. KELLEY
UNITED STATES NAVY

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on the afternoon of 15 June 1969 while serving as Commander River Assault Division 152 during combat operations against enemy aggressor forces in the Republic of Vietnam. Lieutenant Commander (then Lieutenant) Kelley was in charge of a column of eight river assault craft which were extracting one company of United States Army infantry troops on the east bank of the Ong Muong Canal in Kien Hoa Province, when one of the armored troop carriers reported a mechanical failure of a loading ramp. At approximately the same time, Viet Cong forces opened fire from the opposite bank of the canal. After issuing orders for the crippled troop carrier to raise its ramp manually, and for the remaining boats to form a protective cordon around the disabled craft, Lieutenant Commander Kelley, realizing the extreme danger to his column and its inability to clear the ambush site until the crippled unit was repaired, boldly maneuvered the monitor in which he was embarked to the exposed side of the protective cordon in direct line with the enemy's fire, and ordered the monitor to commence firing. Suddenly, an enemy rocket scored a direct hit on the coxswain's flat, the shell penetrating the thick armor plate, and the explosion spraying shrapnel in all directions. Sustaining serious head

wounds from the blast, which hurled him to the deck of the monitor, Lieutenant Commander Kelley disregarded his severe injuries and attempted to continue directing the other boats. Although unable to move from the deck or to speak clearly into the radio, he succeeded in relaying his commands through one of his men until the enemy attack was silenced and the boats were able to move to an area of safety. Lieutenant Commander Kelley's brilliant leadership, bold initiative, and resolute determination served to inspire his men and provided the impetus needed to carry out the mission after he was medically evacuated by helicopter. His extraordinary courage under fire, and his selfless devotion to duty sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in presenting the Medal of Honor to

LIEUTENANT (JUNIOR GRADE) JOSEPH R. KERREY, UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE

for service as set forth in the following citation:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on 14 March 1969 while serving as a SEAL Team Leader during action against enemy aggressor (Viet Cong) forces in the Republic of Vietnam. Acting in response to reliable intelligence, Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey led his SEAL Team on a mission to capture important members of the enemy's area political cadre known to be located on an island in the bay of Nha Trang. In order to surprise the enemy, he and his team scaled a 350-foot sheer cliff to place themselves above the ledge on which the enemy was located. Splitting his team in two elements and coordinating both, Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey led his men in the treacherous downward descent to the enemy's camp. Just as they neared the end of their descent, intense enemy fire was directed at them, and Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey received massive injuries from a grenade which exploded at his feet and threw him backward onto the jagged rocks. Although bleeding profusely and suffering great pain, he displayed outstanding courage and presence of mind in immediately directing his element's fire into the heart of the enemy camp. Utilizing his radioman, Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey called in the second element's fire support which caught the confused Viet Cong in a devastating cross fire. After successfully suppressing the enemy's fire, and although immobilized by his multiple wounds, he continued to maintain calm, superlative control as he ordered his team to secure and defend an extraction site. Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey resolutely directed his men, despite his near-unconscious state, until he was eventually evacuated by helicopter. The havoc brought to the enemy by this very successful mission cannot be overestimated. The enemy who were captured provided critical intelligence to the allied effort. Lieutenant (jg) Kerrey's courageous and inspiring leadership, valiant fighting spirit, and tenacious devotion to duty in the face of almost overwhelming opposition, sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States in the name of The Congress takes pleasure in presenting the Medal of Honor to

DONALD E. BALLARD
HOSPITAL CORPSMAN THIRD CLASS
UNITED STATES NAVY

for service as set forth in the following

CITATION:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty on 16 May 1968 while serving as a Corpsman with Company "M", Third Battalion, Fourth Marines, Third Marine Division in connection with operations against enemy aggressor forces in the Republic of Vietnam. During the afternoon hours, Company "M" was moving to join the remainder of the Third Battalion in Quang Tri Province. After treating and evacuating two heat casualties, Petty Officer Ballard was returning to his platoon from the evacuation landing zone when the

company was ambushed by a North Vietnamese Army unit employing automatic weapons and mortars, and sustained numerous casualties. Observing a wounded Marine, Petty Officer Ballard unhesitatingly moved across the fire-swept terrain to the injured man and swiftly rendered medical assistance to his comrade. Petty Officer Ballard then directed four Marines to carry the casualty to a position of relative safety. As the four men prepared to move the wounded Marine, an enemy soldier suddenly left his concealed position and, after hurling a hand grenade which landed near the casualty, commenced firing upon the small group of men. Instantly shouting a warning to the Marines, Petty Officer Ballard fearlessly threw himself upon the lethal explosive device to protect his comrades from the deadly blast. When the grenade failed to detonate, he calmly arose from his dangerous position and resolutely continued his determined efforts in treating other Marine casualties. Petty Officer Ballard's heroic actions and selfless concern for the welfare of his companions served to inspire all who observed him and prevented possible injury or death to his fellow Marines. His courage, daring initiative, and unwavering devotion to duty in the face of extreme personal danger, sustain and enhance the finest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress, the Medal of Honor to

CAPTAIN JAMES P. FLEMING
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

On 26 November 1968, Captain Fleming (then First Lieutenant) distinguished himself as the Aircraft Commander of a UH-1F Transport Helicopter near Duc Co, Republic of Vietnam. On that date, Captain Fleming went to the aid of a six-man Special Forces Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol that was in danger of being overrun by a large, heavily armed hostile force. Despite the knowledge that one helicopter had been downed by intense hostile fire, Captain Fleming descended, and balanced his helicopter on a river bank with the tail boom hanging over open water. The patrol could not penetrate to the landing site and he was forced to withdraw. Dangerously low on fuel, Captain Fleming repeated his original landing maneuver. Disregarding his own safety, he remained in this exposed position. Hostile fire crashed through his windscreen as the patrol boarded his helicopter. Captain Fleming made a successful takeoff through a barrage of hostile fire and recovered safely at a forward base. Captain Fleming's conspicuous gallantry, his profound concern for his fellowmen, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty are in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Air Force and reflect great credit upon himself and the Armed Forces of his Country.

RICHARD NIXON

The President of the United States of America, authorized by Act of Congress, March 3, 1863, has awarded in the name of The Congress the Medal of Honor to

SERGEANT JOHN L. LEVITOW
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Sergeant John L. Levitow (then Airman First Class), United States Air Force, distinguished himself by exceptional heroism on 24 February 1969, while assigned as a loadmaster aboard an AC-47 aircraft flying a night mission in support of Long Binh Army Post, Republic of Vietnam. On that date, Sergeant Levitow's aircraft was struck by a hostile mortar round. The resulting explosion ripped a hole two feet in diameter through the wing and fragments made over 3,500 holes in the fuselage. All occupants of the cargo compartment were wounded and helplessly slammed against the floor and fuselage. The explosion tore an

activated flare from the grasp of a crewmember who had been launching flares to provide illumination for Army ground troops engaged in combat. Sergeant Levitow, though stunned by the concussion of the blast and suffering from over forty fragment wounds in the back and legs, staggered to his feet and turned to assist the man nearest to him who had been knocked down and was bleeding heavily. As he was moving his wounded comrade forward and away from the opened cargo compartment door, he saw the smoking flare ahead of him in the aisle. Realizing the danger involved and completely disregarding his own wounds, Sergeant Levitow started toward the burning flare. The aircraft was partially out of control and the flare was rolling wildly from side to side. Sergeant Levitow struggled forward despite the loss of blood from his many wounds and the partial loss of feeling in his right leg. Unable to grasp the rolling flare with his hands, he threw himself bodily upon the burning flare. Hugging the deadly device to his body, he dragged himself back to the rear of the aircraft and hurled the flare through the open cargo door. At that instant the flare separated and ignited in the air, but clear of the aircraft. Sergeant Levitow, by his selfless and heroic actions, saved the aircraft and its entire crew from certain death and destruction. Sergeant Levitow's conspicuous gallantry, his profound concern for his fellowmen, and his intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty, are in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Air Force and reflect great credit upon himself and the Armed Forces of his country.

RICHARD NIXON

[The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

As we conclude this ceremony, I can only say that I hope that those of us who have the responsibilities in Government here can work as effectively, as courageously in the cause of a just and lasting peace as you have served this country in war.

At the conclusion of these ceremonies in the East Room we always like to invite our guests to make this your home, because this belongs to the whole country. Down in the State Dining Room we have some refreshments that you might enjoy, some coffee, tea, pastries, and so forth.

Mrs. Nixon, unfortunately, today is attending a luncheon at the Congress which traditionally is given for the First Lady, but my daughter, Julie Eisenhower, will be your hostess, and I know she will very much enjoy welcoming all of you, and particularly seeing all of these young children who are here.

Again, we are very proud to have you in this house. It will always belong to you, and very especially belong to you in our hearts.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:17 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

151 Statement About the Deaths of Two Students at Jackson State College, Mississippi. *May* 16, 1970

MRS. NIXON and I are deeply saddened by the death of the two students at Jackson State College. In the shadow of these past troubled days, this tragedy makes it urgent that every American personally undertake greater efforts toward understanding, restraint, and compassion. I am confident that the Nation joins us in extending sincere sympathy to the families of these two young men, James Earl Green and Phillip L. Gibbs.

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press at Key Biscayne, Fla.

152 Letter to the Chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary. *May* 19, 1970

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter of April 29 on behalf of the Special Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary which is considering a resolution of impeachment of Associate Justice William O. Douglas [H. Res. 920] and requests information relevant thereto that may be in the possession of the Executive Branch.

The power of impeachment is, of course, solely entrusted by the Constitution to the House of Representatives. However, the Executive Branch is clearly obligated, both by precedent and by the necessity of the House of Representatives having all of the facts before reaching its decision, to supply relevant information to the Legislative Branch, as it does in aid of other inquiries being conducted by committees of the Congress, to the extent compatible with the public interest.

Therefore, in accordance with the Subcommittee's request, I shall authorize and direct appropriate officials of the Executive Branch to furnish information within the jurisdiction of their departments and agencies relevant to the charges against Justice Douglas and otherwise to cooperate with the House of Representatives in this matter. As you know, there are limitations to the President's authority with respect to independent regulatory agencies, but I shall express to such agencies my desire that they cooperate to the extent permissible by law.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Emanuel Celler, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

NOTE: The President's letter, dated May 13, 1970, was made available to the press, along with Representative Celler's letter, on May 19. Representative Celler's letter is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 658).

153 Statement About Revised Budget Estimates for Fiscal Years 1970 and 1971. *May* 19, 1970

TO SLOW DOWN the rise in prices, we have been faced with the urgent need to slow down the momentum of rising Federal spending.

We have responded to this need. From fiscal 1965 to 1969, the average annual increase in Federal spending was over 13 percent; in fiscal 1970, that rise was cut to 7.4 percent, and in the coming fiscal year, that spending momentum will be further cut in half—to 3.7 percent.

I am issuing today the latest revisions of the budget for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971, as prepared for me by the Bureau of the Budget.

For fiscal 1970, the budget last February projected a surplus of $1.5 billion.

To hold the line on the spending side, we are offsetting increases in uncontrollable outlays, such as interest on the public debt, farm price supports, and public assistance grants, as well as a Federal employees pay raise, with reductions in other programs. By holding a tight rein on all others, we will succeed in meeting our overall spending target of approximately

$198 billion.

However, tax revenues are running about 1½ percent or $3 billion below previous projections. For this reason, rather than because of overruns of expenditures, we now estimate a deficit for 1970 of $1.8 billion.

For fiscal 1971, our budget revisions show an estimated deficit of $1.3 billion. This change of $2½ billion since my February budget message reflects principally:

1. A $1 billion shortfall in the revenues projected in the budget;

2. A further increase of $2¼ billion in statutory outlays not subject to executive control, including $1 billion in increased interest and one-half billion in increased unemployment insurance.

3. An increase of more than $1 billion to reflect the cost of the recently enacted Federal employee pay and postal wage increases, after deducting proposed postal rate increases;

4. About three-quarters of a billion dollars (net) for other pressing needs already announced, which became necessary after the February budget was prepared (more than one-half of it for release of Federal assistance money to aid State and local construction); and

5. Another three-quarters of a billion dollars growing out of completed congressional actions to date—actions in excess of my requests.

These, in turn, are offset to the extent of over $3 billion largely by:

6. My earlier proposal to the Congress to accelerate the collection of estate and gift taxes; and

7. A further proposal that I shall be making to the Congress to impose a tax on lead used in the manufacture of gasoline, a proposal closely related to our anti-pollution efforts as well as to our revenue needs.

The principle of comparability of pay for Federal employees may require an additional expenditure of slightly more than $1 billion in the latter half of fiscal 1971. Other programs should be reduced to pay for such an increase, should it become necessary, without adding to the deficit.

It should be noted that the deficit now projected for fiscal 1971 would have been more than covered by the amount of revenues the Congress chose to eliminate from my recommendations for the Tax Reform Act of 1969.

Despite this premature reduction by the Congress, our tax system would produce sufficient revenue to cover the present, restrained level of Government spending if we had normal economic growth without inflation today. Progress is being made toward that goal. However, if Government spending, in spite of the strict controls I have placed on it, were to exceed the potential yield of the tax system, I would not hesitate to ask the Congress for further increases in taxes when I present my new budget next January.

The Congress must cooperate if spending is to be controlled. If the Congress votes higher appropriations than I have requested for some programs, it should match these increases with cuts in other programs or raise the revenues to pay for them. Responsible action permits no other alternative.

As this administration's actions have proved, we are determined to slow down the rise in prices, which imposes too great a hardship on too many of our people. One vital element in this campaign has been to gain control of Federal spending and in that we must continue to succeed.

I am equally determined to curb

inflation.

Frankly, my concern about unemployment and my desire to bring about price stability without economic dislocation is why the campaign to control inflation cannot be accomplished quickly.

As I anticipated, price increases are beginning to slow down; as I forewarned, this has been accompanied by "slowing pains." We expect that economic activity will shortly resume a more rapid yet steady and more sustainable rate of increase that will not fuel a new inflation.

None of us can claim perfect vision of our economic outlook. I am confident, however, that by persevering in our policies as we have done in the past year, we shall achieve our goal of price stability in a climate of sound and sustainable economic growth.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the revised budget estimates by Robert P. Mayo, Director, Bureau of the Budget, and Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality.

The White House also made available an analysis of the proposed revised estimates, with accompanying tables, prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.

On July 28, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing held in San Clemente, Calif., by Director George P. Shultz and Deputy Director Caspar W. Weinberger, Office of Management and Budget, on a statement made by Mr. Shultz on the 1970 final budget totals.

154 Special Message to the Congress on Marine Pollution From Oil Spills. *May* 20, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The oil that fuels our industrial civilization can also foul our natural environment.

The threat of oil pollution from ships—both at sea and in our harbors—represents a growing danger to our marine environment. With the expansion of world trade over the past three decades, seaborne oil transport has multiplied tenfold and presently constitutes more than 60 percent of the world's ocean commerce.

This increase in shipping has increased the oil pollution hazard. Within the past ten years, there have been over 550 tanker collisions, four-fifths of which have involved ships entering or leaving ports. The routine discharge by tankers and other ships of oil and oily wastes as a part of their regular operation is also a major contributor to the oil pollution problem.

The development of world commerce and industry and its growing dependence on oil need not result in these added dangers. The growing threat from oil spills can be contained—not by stopping industrial progress—but through a careful combination of international cooperation and national initiatives.

This message outlines a number of actions which the Congress should take to reduce the risks of oil pollution. It also announces additional executive measures which will promote this same end and calls for the cooperation of industry and the American public to aid in this important effort.

1. *International Conventions*

The problem of oil spills is a major international environmental problem and any remedy must deal effectively with its

global implications. Last year in Brussels, working under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, an arm of the United Nations, the United States joined with other nations in reaching important agreements in this area. We signed two new conventions which would allow us to take actions within an international framework to prevent oil spill damages and to assure compensation when spills occur.

Today, I am transmitting these conventions to the Senate for its advice and consent. The ratification of the first of these conventions will empower us, by international agreement, to take preventive action against vessels on the high seas which threaten imminent pollution danger to our coasts. Had this treaty been in force at the time of the *Torrey Canyon* disaster in 1967, effective action could have been initiated without delay to prevent or limit the damaging effects. The second convention imposes strict civil liability upon the owner of vessels responsible for pollution damage to coastal areas, regardless of the location of the vessel. The Congress should consider the differences between existing domestic legislation and this convention and, if necessary, enact conforming legislation. In ratifying these conventions, we will demonstrate our firm belief that the danger of oil pollution is an urgent matter for international regulation, and that innocent victims of oil spills should not go uncompensated.

Another major international action to curb oil pollution was the adoption last year of amendments to the 1954 Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil. These amendments deal principally with the intentional discharge of oil or oily wastes on the high seas and establish new rules prohibiting the discharge of oil within 50 miles of our coast. These amendments are also being submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent, and legislation will be submitted to provide for the effective enforcement of these new international requirements.

The amendments to the 1954 Convention may not go into effect for some time, since they require ratification by other nations. This process could take several years. Therefore, I am instructing appropriate United States authorities to bring the provisions of these amendments into effect with respect to American vessels as soon as the implementing legislation is adopted. I hope that other nations will take similar action to implement these changes for their own vessels before the treaty amendments go into effect.

The government of the United States is eager to participate in any international forum considering the problems of marine pollution. We particularly support the efforts of NATO's Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society which will sponsor a conference this fall in Brussels to exchange information and make recommendations for further international action concerning oil spills.

2. *International Standards for Ship Construction and Operation*

The best way to protect our ocean resources and coastal areas from oil damage is to prevent the occurrence of oil spills. The establishment of more effective international standards for both the construction and the operation of tanker vessels will materially reduce the potential hazard.

The Secretary of State is being instructed to seek effective multilateral action to prescribe international standards for the construction and operation of

tankers. The Secretary of Commerce, with the assistance of the Secretary of Transportation, will develop the specific technical standards or criteria which could form the basis for multilateral action.

3. *Ports and Waterways Safety Act*

I am asking the Congress to enact the Ports and Waterways Safety Act of 1970, a law which would give the Coast Guard additional authority to protect against oil spills in several important ways. It would allow the Coast Guard to control vessel traffic in the inland waters and the territorial seas of the United States, to regulate the handling and storage of dangerous cargoes on the waterfront, to establish safety requirements for waterfront equipment and facilities, and to set up safety zones or other controlled access areas in and near U.S. ports and harbors. This legislation could significantly enhance our drive to prevent oil pollution and I hope the Congress will give it early and favorable attention.

4. *Increased Surveillance*

A large number of oil spills occur in waters close to our shores. Many of these spills result from willful violations of laws which limit the discharging of oil. Such spills can be reduced by more stringent surveillance procedures. All government agencies are being directed to instruct their vessel and aircraft commanders and other personnel to immediately report all oil spills to the Coast Guard. Every citizen who observes a spill of oil should do likewise. The Commandant of the Coast Guard will increase off-shore air patrols in the areas of highest spill potential and will enforce vigorously all of our anti-pollution laws.

5. *Harbor Advisory Radar Systems*

Just as air traffic controllers are necessary to the safe operation of airplanes, so an improved traffic control system is needed in our nation's most active harbors. A system which is known as the Harbor Advisory Radar System has been developed and is now operating successfully in the San Francisco area. The Secretary of Transportation will establish more such systems in ports that have a heavy traffic of oil-bearing vessels. These radar systems, operated by the Coast Guard, will enable tankers and other vessels to move through congested areas with much less risk of collision and will make ports such as New York, New Orleans and Houston safer than they are at present. Pilots who use these ports will receive harbor surveillance data and traffic information by radio from a control center that will be manned 24 hours a day throughout the year.

6. *Research and Development: Emergency Oil Transfer and Storage Systems*

In addition to specific legislation and regulations that can contribute significantly to the reduction of oil spill hazards, a broad program of research and development concerning oil pollution must also be pursued. These efforts must be sufficiently diverse to treat all aspects of spill prevention, cleanup and the mitigation of ecological damage. Many such programs are now underway in government agencies and university laboratories. These research and development efforts will continue to receive emphasis until satisfactory solutions are found.

One notable result of our research is the test which was conducted last week of an

ingenious system for collecting and removing oil from damaged vessels. Using this system, up to 20,000 tons of oil a day could be pumped from stranded or leaking tankers into oil-tight plastic bags. These bags could be delivered by air to the scene of the accident and could be towed away safely. The Secretary of Transportation will examine the results of the current tests and will make such a system available for use on both the east and west coasts of this country as soon as practicable.

7. *Cooperation of Private Industry and Port Authorities*

If we are to stop or even reduce the discharge of waste oil at sea, then we must provide alternate means of disposing of it. Port areas should be equipped with facilities, stationary or mobile, to receive oily discharges from vessels upon their arrival in port. If the amendments to the 1954 Oil Pollution Convention I have referred to are adopted and permissible oil discharges at sea are further reduced, then such facilities will be indispensable. Therefore, I am calling upon private industry and port authorities to develop additional facilities for the reception of oily wastes. The Secretary of Commerce with the assistance of the Secretaries of Interior and Transportation will coordinate this effort.

8. *Radiotelephones*

Vessels in the United States navigable waters are presently required only to use whistle signals to communicate with other vessels. Direct radio communications between vessels would supplement and clarify the information they are able to exchange as they maneuver in close proximity to one another. Legislation to require the use of bridge-to-bridge radiotelephones is now pending in the Congress and I urge its prompt enactment.

9. *The Licensing of Towboat Operators*

Legislation is also pending in the Congress that would require uninspected towing vessels to be under the direction and control of a licensed operator. I endorse that concept and call for its consideration by the Congress. We must do everything we can to increase the margin of safety for maritime traffic.

10. *Financing Cleanup Operations*

When oil spills occur, considerable resources are required to finance the cleanup operation. The provisions of the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1970 call for the establishment of a revolving fund which will assure that money is immediately available to initiate and conduct such efforts. The law provides that the fund shall be reimbursed by those who are responsible for the spill.

Today, I am announcing the formal establishment of that fund and am delegating responsibility for its administration to the Secretary of Transportation. As soon as regulations governing the operations of this fund are completed and approved, I will forward to the Congress a request for $35 million to finance its operations.

This Administration is committed to protect the national environment without retarding social and economic progress. The program outlined in this message involves significant national and international actions which will help us to meet this commitment. By working to reduce and prevent oil spills and by responding

more effectively to those spills which do occur, these measures will help to improve the quality of life in our nation and in all parts of our world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 20, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the message by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality; Andrew Gibson, U.S. Maritime Administrator; Rear Adm. O. R. Smeder, Assistant Chief of Staff for Ocean Sciences, U.S. Coast Guard; and Robert H. Neuman, Assistant Legal Adviser for Politico-Military and Ocean Affairs, Department of State.

Also on the same day, the President transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent the International Convention Relating to Intervention on the High Seas in Cases of Oil Pollution Casualties, and the International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage. The President's message of transmittal is printed, together with the texts of the Conventions and related documents, in Senate Executive H (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

155 Statement About the Retirement From the Congress of Speaker McCormack. *May* 20, 1970

I FEEL profoundly and very personally touched by the unexpected news of Speaker McCormack's retirement from Congress at the end of his present term. It is a momentous turn of events, not only for Congress, but also for our country.

John McCormack is one of the finest public servants I have ever known. Few men in my acquaintance over many years of public service have held as faithfully to the patriot's concept that our country comes first. He has served with seven Presidents of the United States, and with each, on the great issues involving the security and safety of the United States, unfailingly John McCormack has put country above party—the national good above self.

He has been Speaker of the House of Representatives for a longer consecutive period than any Speaker in the entire history of our country. I regard this as not simply proof of his exceptional leadership qualities; it is proof as well of his compassionate spirit, his undeviating integrity, and his eagerness to be helpful to everyone, whether in his district and State or his congressional colleagues in both parties.

In my White House years as Vice President, as also in the past 14 months as President, I have time and time again had occasion to be thankful for our country's sake that John McCormack was Speaker of the House. Every person in this country has an immense debt to him for his statesmanship and patriotism.

So deeply do I hold these views that I had scheduled a luncheon in honor of Speaker McCormack on May 27 well before I had heard of his intended retirement. The Speaker's announcement today will give a special poignancy to this luncheon, and there I shall join his senior colleagues and some of his host of personal friends in saluting this truly great American.

NOTE: Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts had served as a Member of the House of Representatives since November 6, 1928, and as Speaker from January 6, 1962.

The statement was made available by the White House Press Office.

156 Special Message to the Congress Proposing the Emergency School Aid Act of 1970. *May* 21, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Successfully desegregating the nation's schools requires more than the enforcement of laws. It also requires an investment of money.

In my statement on school desegregation on March 24, I said that I would recommend expenditure of an additional $1.5 billion—$500 million in fiscal 1971, and $1 billion in fiscal 1972—to assist local school authorities in meeting four special categories of need:

"—The special needs of desegregating (or recently desegregated) districts for additional facilities, personnel and training required to get the new, unitary system successfully started.

"—The special needs of racially impacted schools where *de facto* segregation persists—and where immediate infusions of money can make a real difference in terms of educational effectiveness.

"—The special needs of those districts that have the furthest to go to catch up educationally with the rest of the nation.

"—The financing of innovative techniques for providing educationally sound interracial experiences for children in racially isolated schools."

To achieve these purposes, I now propose the Emergency School Aid Act of 1970.

Under the terms of this Act, the four categories of need I outlined would be met through three categories of aid:

(I) Aid to districts now eliminating *de jure* segregation either pursuant to direct Federal court orders or in accordance with plans approved by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, for special needs incident to compliance.

(II) Aid to districts that wish to undertake voluntary efforts to eliminate, reduce or prevent *de facto* racial isolation, with such aid specifically targeted for those purposes.

(III) Aid to districts in which *de facto* racial separation persists, for the purpose of helping establish special interracial or inter-cultural educational programs or, where such programs are impracticable, programs designed to overcome the educational disadvantages that stem from racial isolation.

In all three categories, administrative priority will be given to what I described on March 24 as "the special needs of those districts that have the furthest to go to catch up educationally with the rest of the nation." In all three, also, there will be special attention given to the development of innovative techniques that hold promise not only of helping the children immediately involved, but also of increasing our understanding of how these special needs can best be met.

The Background

The process of putting an end to what formerly were deliberately segregated schools has been long and difficult. The job is largely done, but it is not yet completed. In many districts, the changes needed to produce desegregation place a heavy strain on the local school systems, and stretch thin the resources of those dis-

tricts required to desegregate. The Federal Government should assist in meeting the additional cost of transition. This Act would do so, not only for those now desegregating but also for those that have desegregated within the past two years but still face additional needs as a result of the change.

The educational effects of racial isolation, however, are not confined to those districts that previously operated dual systems. In most of our large cities, and in many smaller communities, housing patterns have produced racial separation in the schools which in turn has had an adverse effect on the education of the children. It is in the national interest that where such isolation exists, even though it is not of a kind that violates the law, we should do our best to assist local school districts attempting to overcome its effects.

In some cases this can best be done by reducing or eliminating the isolation itself. In some cases it can best be done through interracial educational programs involving the children of two or more different schools. In some cases, where these measures are not practicable or feasible, it requires special measures to upgrade education within particular schools or to provide learning experiences of a type that can enlarge the perspective of children whose lives have been racially circumscribed.

This Act deals specifically with problems which arise from racial separation, whether deliberate or not, and whether past or present. It is clear that racial isolation ordinarily has an adverse effect on education. Conversely, we also know that desegregation is vital to quality education—not only from the standpoint of raising the achievement levels of the disadvantaged, but also from the standpoint of helping all children achieve the broad-based human understanding that increasingly is essential in today's world.

This Act is addressed both to helping overcome the adverse effects of racial isolation, and to helping attain the positive benefits of integrated education. It is concerned not with the long range, broad-gauge needs of the educational system as a whole, but rather with these special and immediate needs.

How It Works

The procedures under this Act are designed to put the money where the needs are greatest and where it can most effectively be used, and to provide both local initiative and Federal review in each case.

Two-thirds of the funds would be allotted among the states on the basis of a special formula. One-third would be reserved for use by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for especially promising projects in any eligible district. In all cases, whether under the State allotment or not, the grants would be made for specific individual projects with each project requiring approval by the Secretary. Application for grants would be made by local education agencies, with the State given an opportunity to review and comment on the grant application.

The State allotment formula begins by providing a basic minimum of $100,000 in each fiscal year for each State. The remainder of formula funds for each fiscal year would be allotted among the States according to the proportion of the nation's minority students in each State, with those in districts required by law to desegregate and implementing a desegregation plan double-counted. This

double counting is designed to put extra money where the most urgent needs are, recognizing that there is a priority need at the present time for the ending of *de jure* segregation swiftly, completely, and in a manner that does not sacrifice the quality of education.

If any given State's allocation of funds is not fully utilized under the terms of this Act, the remainder of those funds would then be reallocated on the same formula basis for use in other States.

Under Category I (*de jure* desegregating), any district would be eligible which is now implementing an approved desegregation plan, or which had completed implementing one within two years prior to its application. Those not yet doing so would become eligible upon submission of an acceptable plan. Funds would be available to help meet the additional costs of implementing the desegregation plan itself, and also for special programs or projects designed to make desegregation succeed in educational terms.

Under Category II (*de facto* desegregating), any district would be eligible if it has one or more schools in which minority pupils now constitute more than half the enrollment, or appear likely to in the near future. Funds could be provided to help carry out a comprehensive program for the elimination, reduction or prevention of racial isolation in one or more such schools within the district.

Under Category III (special programs in racially impacted areas), a district would be eligible if it has 10,000 or more minority students, or if minority students constitute 50 percent or more of its public school enrollment. Funds could be provided under this category for special interracial or intercultural educational programs or, where these proved impracticable, for unusually promising pilot or demonstration programs designed to help overcome the adverse educational impact of racial isolation.

In connection with this Category III aid, it is worth noting that such research data as is available suggests strongly that from an educational standpoint what matters most is not the integrated school but the integrated classroom. This might, at first glance, seem a distinction without a difference. But it can make a great deal of difference, especially where full integration of schools is infeasible. It means that, by arranging to have certain activities integrated—for example, by bringing students from a mostly black school and from a mostly white school together for special training in a third location—the educational benefits of integration can be achieved, at least in significant part, even though the schools themselves remain preponderantly white or black.

In a number of communities, experiments are already under way or being planned with a variety of interracial learning experiences. These have included joint field trips, educational exchanges between inner-city and suburban schools, city-wide art and music festivals, and enriched curricula in inner-city schools that serve as a "magnet" for white students in special courses. Other innovative approaches have included attitude training for teachers, guidance and counseling by interracial teams, and after-hour programs in which parents participated. I cite these not as an inclusive catalogue, but merely as a few examples of the kinds of experimental approaches that are being tried, and that give some indication of the range of activities that could and should be further experimented with.

Examples of the kinds of activities

which could be funded under all categories are teacher training, special remedial programs, guidance and counseling, development of curriculum materials, renovation of buildings, lease or purchase of temporary classrooms, and special community activities associated with projects funded under the Act.

The Urgency of Action Now

It now is late in the legislative year, and very soon it will be the beginning of the next school year.

In the life of the desegregation process, the fall of 1970 has special significance and presents extraordinary problems, inasmuch as all of the school districts which have not yet desegregated must do so by then. The educational problems they confront are enormous, and the related problems of community social and economic adjustment are equally so.

Some 220 school districts are now under court order calling for complete desegregation by this September; 496 districts have submitted, are negotiating or are likely to be negotiating desegregation plans under HEW auspices for total desegregation by this September; another 278 districts are operating under plans begun in 1968 or 1969; more than 500 Northern districts are now under review or likely soon to be under review for possible violations of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Quite beyond these matters of enforcement, we also must come seriously to grips with the fact that of the nation's 8.7 million public school students of minority races, almost 50 percent are in schools with student populations made up 95 percent or more of minority pupils.

Desegregating districts face urgent needs for teachers, education specialists, materials, curriculum revision, equipment and renovation.

Teachers and education specialists for the fall of 1970 are being recruited now. Materials and equipment must be purchased this summer to be on hand for the opening of school. Curriculum revision requires months of preparation. Contracts for renovation must be entered into and work commenced soon.

Administration representatives are now discussing with members of Congress possible ways of making the first of the funds for the purposes of this Act available when they are needed, which is now, through the use of existing legislative authorities.

Five hundred million dollars will be spent in fiscal 1971. I recommend that $150 million be appropriated under these existing authorities, on an emergency basis, as "start-up" money.

I recommend that the remaining $350 million for Fiscal 1971 and $1 billion for Fiscal 1972 be appropriated under the Emergency School Aid Act itself. It is this Administration's firm intention to spend these funds—$500 million in Fiscal 1971 and $1 billion in Fiscal 1972—in the years for which they are appropriated.

Quality and Equality

If money provided under this Act were spread too thinly, it would have very little impact at all on the specific problems toward which it is addressed. Therefore, the criteria laid down in the Act are designed to insure its use in a manner sufficiently concentrated to produce a significant and measurable effect in those places where it is used.

This is not, and should not be, simply

another device for pumping additional money into the public school system. We face educational needs that go far beyond the range or the reach of this Act. But the specific needs the Act addresses are immediate and acute. It represents a shift of priorities. It places a greater share of our resources behind the goal of making the desegregation process work, and making it work *now*. It also represents a measured step toward the larger goal of extending the proven educational benefits of integrated education to all children wherever they live.

Properly used, this $1.5 billion can represent an enormous contribution to both quality and equality of education in the United States.

With this help, the process of ending *de jure* segregation can be brought to a swift completion with minimum disruption to the process of education. It is in the interest of all of us—North and South alike—to insure that the desegregation process is carried out in a manner that raises the educational standards of the affected schools.

Beyond this, our goal is a system in which education throughout the nation is both equal and excellent, and in which racial barriers cease to exist. This does not mean imposing an arbitrary "racial balance" throughout the nation's school systems. But it should mean aiding and encouraging voluntary efforts by communities which seek to promote a greater degree of racial integration, and to undo the educational effects of racial isolation.

Nothing in this Act is intended either to punish or to reward. Rather, it recognizes that a time of transition, during which local districts bring their practices into accord with national policy, is a time when a special partnership is needed between the Federal Government and the districts most directly affected. It also recognizes that doing a better job of overcoming the adverse educational effects of racial isolation, wherever it exists, benefits not only the community but the nation.

This legislative recommendation should be read in the context of my comprehensive public statement of March 24 on school desegregation. In that, I dealt with questions of philosophy and of policy. Here, I am dealing with two aspects of the process of implementation: aiding the desegregation process required by law, and supporting voluntary community efforts to extend the social and educational benefits of interracial education.

The issues involved in desegregating schools, reducing racial isolation and providing equal educational opportunity are not simple. Many of the questions are profound, the factors complex, the legitimate considerations in conflict, and the answers elusive. Our continuing search, therefore, must be not for the perfect set of answers, but for the most nearly perfect and the most constructive.

Few issues facing us as a nation are of such transcendent importance: important because of the vital role that our public schools play in the nation's life and in its future; because the welfare of our children is at stake; because our national conscience is at stake; and because it presents us a test of our capacity to live together in one nation, in brotherhood and understanding.

The tensions and difficulties of a time

of great social change require us to take actions that move beyond the daily debate. This legislation is a first major step in that essential direction.

The education of each of our children affects us all. Time lost in the educational process may never be recovered. I urge that this measure be acted on speedily, because the needs to which it is addressed are uniquely and compellingly needs of the present moment.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
May 21, 1970

157 Statement About Passage by the House of the Social Security Amendments of 1970. *May* 22, 1970

YESTERDAY the House of Representatives passed a bill that is a major milestone on the road to reform of the social security system. This is the bill that would tie social security payments to the cost of living and thus protect them from the uncertainties of politics and shifts of the economy once and for all. I want to thank the Members of the House who voted to approve this proposal, which I have been urging since my campaign of 1968.

People receiving social security benefits have been among those hardest hit by a 5-year inflation of their cost of living. This reform would give them the peace of mind that comes from the certainty that the purchasing power of their benefit checks will not be eroded.

The bill passed by the House would provide a 5 percent rise in social security payments beginning the first of next year, financed by the social security system itself. I urge the Senate to approve this legislation, which is both fiscally sound and urgently needed to help the elderly and the disabled and their dependents make ends meet.

NOTE: The bill was H.R. 17550.

158 Statement on the Death of Former Governor Goodwin Knight of California. *May* 22, 1970

IT WAS with a deep sense of sadness that I learned of the death of former Governor Goodwin Knight. His distinguished contributions to good government in the State of California and his devoted service to its people will long serve as a fitting memorial to him. As a fellow Californian, I knew Goodwin Knight well and admired him not only for his great abilities in politics and government and for his remarkable zest and vitality, but also for his qualities as a man. Mrs. Nixon joins me in extending our most sincere condolences to his family.

NOTE: Governor Knight, 73, died of pneumonia on May 22, 1970, at Inglewood, Calif. He served as Governor from 1953 to 1958.

The statement was posted for the press.

159 Statement on Signing a Bill Permitting Tribe Members To Develop the Hopi Industrial Park. *May* 22, 1970

THE ECONOMIC advancement and general welfare of the Hopi Tribe of the State of Arizona will be significantly enhanced by the legislation which I am signing today.

The Hopi Indians face very serious economic difficulties. The unemployment rate on the reservation reaches 49 percent. The average per capita income in 1968 was $520, both earned and unearned. This places the Hopi's personal income in the bottom quarter of Indian tribes and stands in contrast to a national per capita average income of $3,421 in 1968. Ninety-five percent of the housing on the reservation is substandard. Fifty-five percent of the reservation population has less than 8 years of education.

The purpose of H.R. 4869 is to permit members of the Hopi Tribe to develop the Hopi Industrial Park and thus broaden their economic base. The Park is an excellent example of tribal self-help development programs that create income sources and at the same time provide jobs for unemployed members of the tribe. It is a vitally important undertaking for the Hopis, and I warmly endorse their project.

One part of the act, however, does cause me some concern. That is the provision which authorizes the Hopi Tribal Council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior or his representative, to issue bonds which would be treated as if they were issued by the State of Arizona or one of its political subdivisions. This means that the interest paid on such bonds will be exempt from Federal income taxes. This administration has opposed extension of the tax-exempt financing privilege beyond the scope of present law. We believe that the tax exemption privilege is an inefficient and wasteful means of providing financial assistance and wherever possible have proposed the substitution of taxable financing for tax-exempt financing.

In the case of the Hopi Tribe, the passage of this act will enable them to move ahead with their development plan and I approve it for this reason. At the same time, however, the administration is actively exploring other methods of providing economic developmental assistance to Indian tribes that may be more beneficial and effective than the steps approved today.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 4869 is Public Law 91-264 (84 Stat. 260).

160 Statement About United States Oceans Policy. *May* 23, 1970

THE NATIONS of the world are now facing decisions of momentous importance to man's use of the oceans for decades ahead. At issue is whether the oceans will be used rationally and equitably and for the benefit of mankind or whether they will become an arena of unrestrained exploitation and conflicting jurisdictional claims in which even the most advantaged states will be losers.

The issue arises now—and with urgency—because nations have grown in-

creasingly conscious of the wealth to be exploited from the seabeds and throughout the waters above and because they are also becoming apprehensive about ecological hazards of unregulated use of the oceans and seabeds. The stark fact is that the law of the sea is inadequate to meet the needs of modern technology and the concerns of the international community. If it is not modernized multilaterally, unilateral action and international conflict are inevitable.

This is the time then for all nations to set about resolving the basic issues of the future regime for the oceans—and to resolve it in a way that redounds to the general benefit in the era of intensive exploitation that lies ahead. The United States as a major maritime power and a leader in ocean technology to unlock the riches of the ocean has a special responsibility to move this effort forward.

Therefore, I am today proposing that all nations adopt as soon as possible a treaty under which they would renounce all national claims over the natural resources of the seabed beyond the point where the high seas reach a depth of 200 meters (218.8 yards) and would agree to regard these resources as the common heritage of mankind.

The treaty should establish an international regime for the exploitation of seabed resources beyond this limit. The regime should provide for the collection of substantial mineral royalties to be used for international community purposes, particularly economic assistance to developing countries. It should also establish general rules to prevent unreasonable interference with other uses of the ocean, to protect the ocean from pollution, to assure the integrity of the investment necessary for such exploitation, and to provide for peaceful and compulsory settlement of disputes.

I propose two types of machinery for authorizing exploitation of seabed resources beyond a depth of 200 meters.

First, I propose that coastal nations act as trustees for the international community in an international trusteeship zone comprised of the continental margins beyond a depth of 200 meters off their coasts. In return, each coastal state would receive a share of the international revenues from the zone in which it acts as trustee and could impose additional taxes if these were deemed desirable.

As a second step, agreed international machinery would authorize and regulate exploration and use of seabed resources beyond the continental margins.

The United States will introduce specific proposals at the next meeting of the United Nations Seabeds Committee to carry out these objectives.

Although I hope agreement on such steps can be reached quickly, the negotiation of such a complex treaty may take some time. I do not, however, believe it is either necessary or desirable to try to halt exploration and exploitation of the seabeds beyond a depth of 200 meters during the negotiating process.

Accordingly, I call on other nations to join the United States in an interim policy. I suggest that all permits for exploration and exploitation of the seabeds beyond 200 meters be issued subject to the international regime to be agreed upon. The regime should accordingly include due protection for the integrity of investments made in the interim period. A substantial portion of the revenues derived by a state from exploitation beyond 200 meters during this interim period should be turned over to an appropriate interna-

tional development agency for assistance to developing countries. I would plan to seek appropriate congressional action to make such funds available as soon as a sufficient number of other states also indicate their willingness to join this interim policy.

I will propose necessary changes in the domestic import and tax laws and regulations of the United States to assure that our own laws and regulations do not discriminate against U.S. nationals operating in the trusteeship zone off our coast or under the authority of the international machinery to be established.

It is equally important to assure unfettered and harmonious use of the oceans as an avenue of commerce and transportation, and as a source of food. For this reason the United States is currently engaged with other states in an effort to obtain a new law of the sea treaty. This treaty would establish a 12-mile limit for territorial seas and provide for free transit through international straits. It would also accommodate the problems of developing countries and other nations regarding the conservation and use of the living resources of the high seas.

I believe that these proposals are essential to the interests of all nations, rich and poor, coastal and landlocked, regardless of their political systems. If they result in international agreements, we can save over two-thirds of the earth's surface from national conflict and rivalry, protect it from pollution, and put it to use for the benefit of all. This would be a fitting achievement for this 25th anniversary year of the United Nations.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the statement by John R. Stevenson, Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

161 Letter to the President of the American Bar Association About Pending Anticrime Legislation. *May* 23, 1970

Dear Bernie:

I was most appreciative to have had an opportunity to discuss the issue of crime with the American Bar Association Board of Governors yesterday. The reduction of crime is of paramount importance to this society and I have pledged and pursued the strongest measures within my power and authority to resolve this problem.

Today, Mayor Walter Washington reported to me that the April statistics for the more serious crimes here in the District of Columbia dropped below those of March—the fifth consecutive month in this downward pattern. The Mayor pointed out that in November, the number of crimes reported in the more serious categories totaled 6,071—a daily average of 202.4. This daily average decreased to 187.4 in December, to 176.9 in January, to 171.1 in February, to 170.2 in March—and then to last month's 164.2 offenses. The total percentage decrease is 19%. In the District we have authorized extra police manpower, broadened our attack on drug abuse, and encouraged more vigorous prosecution of cases through the courts to eliminate a very serious backlog.

While we can be heartened by this evidence of improvement in the District of Columbia, we have been seriously constricted in our ability to wage our campaign against crime because of the Congressional delay in providing us with nec-

essary new tools to do the job. Major legislative proposals to fight organized crime, narcotics abuse, street crime, pornography and crime in the District of Columbia have been introduced, discussed, debated. While the District of Columbia crime package has progressed to Conference, not a single bill has reached my desk for signature.

I iterate my request of yesterday for your support in urging the Congress to act speedily on the crime legislation which lies before it. As I mentioned, we have either submitted or strongly endorsed 20 items of significant crime legislation now pending in the Congress. Some of these proposals have been pending for as long as 15 months. While some of these provisions are controversial, many are not, and all demand prompt Congressional attention. It is inexplicable to me how Congress can delay enactment of these proposals—either as introduced or amended—given the gravity of the crime situation confronting our people in these times.

I would appreciate all the assistance you can provide in this vital and needed effort.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Mr. Bernard G. Segal, President, American Bar Association, the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter was dated May 22, 1970, and released on May 23, 1970.

162 Memorandum Calling for an Evaluation of Current Federal Programs. *May* 25, 1970

Memorandum to the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

In my budget for Fiscal Year 1971 and in my Federal Economy Act Message, I have taken or have requested of the Congress 57 specific actions to save money by reducing, terminating or restructuring Federal programs. These actions were necessary because of our stringent budgetary position and because we regard it as our responsibility to make the best possible use of every tax dollar.

Every Federal program—including those of very low priority—is of special concern to some special interest group. Such groups are now resisting our economy actions even though these actions are clearly in the interest of the general public. As I said in my March 19 memorandum to you, each department and agency must now do all it can to make a strong, cogent case for the Administration's economy measures—both to the public and to the Congress. We must exert at least as much—and sometimes even more—effort to save the taxpayer's money as we do to spend it.

To make the most effective possible use of every tax dollar, we must also institute a vigorous examination of every current program—large and small—to uncover those which can and should be modified or eliminated by executive action, and those which should be altered by the Congress.

Program evaluation is one of your most important responsibilities and is key to this effort. As the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization has emphasized, each agency must continually evaluate its own internal programs while the Bureau of the Budget gives special attention to the evaluation of interagency programs. In addition, the Bureau

of the Budget stands ready to provide your department or agency with any assistance in systems analysis and program evaluation that you may need.

In general, the kind of program evaluation for which I am calling involves three steps:

First, critical examination of the objectives of the program. Is the objective valid today? What is the relative priority of the objective?

Second, an analysis of the effectiveness of the program. Does the program adequately serve its target population? Does the program achieve its objectives in an economical manner?

Third, consideration of alternative approaches to achieving the objective which would produce the same or greater benefits at the same or lesser costs.

I am requesting that each of you initiate an intensive program evaluation effort and submit to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, not later than July 1, 1970, a report on your findings. This report should:

1. Identify and briefly describe each activity that is relatively ineffective or of low priority;

2. Suggest corrective action, including the administrative or legislative steps necessary to obtain the desired results; and

3. Estimate the outlay and budget authority savings that could be realized for the fiscal year in which the change is proposed, and the full year savings expected under the recommended action.

Your suggestions and others will be carefully considered as the Fiscal Year 1972 budget is prepared. I will expect the Budget Director to keep me informed on the results of these actions as we proceed through the budget formulation process.

The present outlook for the 1972 budget is one of continued stringency. If we are to keep expenditures down—and yet free sufficient funds for new initiatives—we must all make a very tough evaluation of current programs. I request your full cooperation in this very important effort.

RICHARD NIXON

163 Remarks of Welcome to President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia. *May* 26, 1970

President Suharto, Mrs. Suharto, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, we welcome you very warmly to the White House and to Washington on this occasion, your first visit to the United States.

We welcome you first because you come from a great country, a new country, but the third most populous nation in all the free nations of the world.

We welcome you secondly because of the leadership you have provided for your country, leadership which is devoted toward producing that progress which will go to the people of the country and not just to its leaders.

We welcome you also because of the role you and your government have played and are continuing to play for peace in the Pacific. The recent conference at Djakarta [1]—a conference which was a splendid example of Asian nations

[1] The Djakarta Conference of Foreign Ministers of 11 Asian nations was held on May 16 and 17, 1970, at the invitation of President Suharto.

attempting to find solutions for Asian problems—this conference is one that we have noted, and we know that it will contribute to the cause of peace and security for all nations in the Asian area.

Finally, Mr. President, we welcome you because we know that the slogan of your country is "Unity in Diversity," which is somewhat similar to the slogan of our country. As we think of the world in which we live, a world of different peoples, different races, different religions, different philosophies, we realize that we cannot find answers to all the differences. We will not always be all the same, not either among peoples or nations or within a nation, but we can be unified on those great principles that really matter—the right of all people to be free, the right of all people to be independent of foreign domination, and the right of all people to live in peace.

Unity in diversity—on these great principles the people of Indonesia, the people of the United States, I believe all the peoples of the world, are truly united. We welcome you most warmly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Suharto received a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 165.

President Suharto responded in Indonesian. The text of his remarks, as read by his interpreter, follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

We thank God Almighty that my wife and I and my party have safely arrived in this great country, the United States of America, in response to your gracious invitation.

I am deeply touched by your kind words and the warmth of your welcome today.

This is indeed my first visit to your great country. But my acquaintance with America and with its people is not new. In fact, slightly less than a year ago I had the singular honor of welcoming you, Mr. President, in Djakarta, on a visit that regrettably had to be very short. I am very grateful, therefore, for the opportunity this visit provides me, not only to deepen our personal friendship but also to immerse myself, however briefly, in the ways of life and culture of America and its people.

Apart from being a return visit, the main purpose of my coming here today is a simple one, although of profound significance to me and the Indonesian people. It is to convey, on behalf of the Indonesian people, our sincere gratitude for the support you extended to us in those moments in our history when friendly assistance was needed most.

The friendship between Indonesia and the United States has existed for a long time, in fact since the birth of the Republic of Indonesia. It is a sincere friendship which does not seek anything specific in return. To us, friendship with the United States is not a matter of convenience or expediency but a question of fundamental orientation and of affinity of basic goals. And I hope that our visit today will reiterate this friendship.

I am sure that our two countries have, and probably will continue to have, different perspectives in our view on many world issues. However, we do share the common aspiration to strive for a better world in which man of whatever race, creed, or political belief can live in freedom and dignity, relieved from the terrible scourges of poverty and ignorance, oppression and war.

I am also aware of the big problems the American people are facing at present, and of the process of reordering of national priorities through which you are going. As a friend, we understand the difficulties you are facing and appreciate your efforts to overcome them.

Let us hope that this visit may also serve to contribute useful ideas. For a profound study of each other's problems in order to arrive at a common understanding, based on our respective principles and potentialities, is most essential for the strengthening of a more concrete and meaningful friendship.

Mr. President, my visit comes at a time when the need for sincere and realistic efforts in the interest of peace and stability in the world, and in Southeast Asia in particular, has become

ever more pressing. The restoration of peace and stability in this region will require the combined endeavors of all countries of the area as well as of those external powers having a responsibility in the maintenance of world peace.

It is for all these reasons that I look forward to having a frank exchange of views with you, Mr. President, and with other leaders of your country.

It is my sincere hope that this visit will contribute to the strengthening of friendship between our two countries and peoples, which I am sure will be useful in solving the problems we are both facing, as well as the world in general.

Thank you.

164 Remarks at a Reception Honoring Speaker McCormack. *May* 26, 1970

President and Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Speaker, all of the distinguished guests here in the Caucus Room today:

It is my privilege to do what the Speaker usually does for the President of the United States in those great joint session ceremonies. The Speaker presents the President of the United States to the Congress.

It is my privilege to present the Speaker to you. But before doing so, I would like to tell you why that word tutelage apparently was used. That is where I got the rapier tongue that you have all heard about.

In introducing the Speaker, one historical note, perhaps, should be made. As all of you who studied the House of Representatives in our American system are aware, we had a Speaker before we had a President. The Speaker is the oldest elected office that this country has. Speaker [Frederick A. C.] Muhlenberg from Pennsylvania was Speaker of the House for a month before George Washington was sworn in as the first President of the United States.

So today we in truth honor the first office and, I think, in honoring John McCormack, we honor the first man in the first office in this country today—the Speaker of the House.

And now if I could be permitted a personal reference with regard to the Speaker. He is a man I learned in the years I was in the House and in the Senate, and as Vice President, who is able to carry the partisan burden effectively and well. I respect that, I understand it. All of you respect it and understand it.

He was a skillful debater, a very effective one, and one who strongly represented his point of view, sometimes differing from the point of view that I might have had or some of the rest in this room have.

He also was a man, however, of great honor. And in this body in which we have served, whether in the Senate or the House, we appreciate that. We appreciate the fact that we can have differences, and yet that within those differences we can have personal relationships which remain warm and friendly, built on mutual respect.

I recall an incident that the Speaker probably has forgotten because this probably happened in his life many times to new and young Congressmen of both parties who came to Washington.

In the year 1948, when I was a freshman Member of the House of Representatives, I had a very great responsibility, to carry on the floor of the House a bill. Jim Wadsworth, I remember—all of you who are older Members will remember him—the distinguished Congressman from New York, a former Senator,[1] was presiding in the Committee of the Whole. I, sitting in the position usually reserved for the Majority Leader, was carrying the bill. What the bill was is not material. What, to me, was something I will always remember is that at the conclusion of a very spirited debate, the then Minority Leader, the man who was sitting on the other side, John McCormack, came over to me and he said, "That was a good job, young man."

You know, a young Congressman remembers that when he hears it from a man who is his senior in his own party. He never forgets it when he hears it from a man who is his senior in the other party.

I always remember John McCormack for that kindness many, many years ago. There is something else that I admire him for and for which I think we all owe him very great respect today. It has been my privilege, as has been the case of other Presidents, to have the Speaker from time to time for breakfast at the White House, along with Carl Albert, to consider some of the legislative matters.

Every time I have had the Speaker there he only has a cup of coffee. Now, I don't suggest that I appreciate that because it saves on the White House budget. But the reason is something that, to me, tells us something about the Speaker.

As you know, Mrs. McCormack has not been well. Speaker McCormack always gets up early, very early in the morning, so that he can have breakfast with Mrs. McCormack. To me that tells us a great deal about John McCormack.

This man, a fine, strong partisan, a fair presiding officer over the House of Representatives, but this man who is kind to his political opponents and respects them, even though he disagrees with them, and this man also who has such great affection for his family, for his wife.

I think all of this touches us on an occasion like this and I wanted to share these two impressions that I have of the Speaker going back over the past 20 years.

Tomorrow at a luncheon at the White House we will honor him again. But there is not room for all of you. There will be just 100 there. I am very proud, however, that I could join with all of the Members of the House and many Members of the Senate in representing you and presenting to you the man that we honor today.

My colleagues in the House, my colleagues in the Senate, a man we respect, a man for whom we have affection, a man who has presided over this House of Representatives with such fairness over the years, a man who through those years has always thought of his country above his party when the great issues were concerned: the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

NOTE: The President, who was introduced by House Majority Leader Carl Albert, spoke at 5:53 p.m. in the Longworth House Office Building.

[1] James W. Wadsworth, Jr., served in the Senate from 1915 to 1927 and in the House from 1933 to 1951.

165 Toasts of the President and President Suharto of the Republic of Indonesia. *May* 26, 1970

Mr. President, Mrs. Suharto, our distinguished guests:

We are very honored to have in this house the President of Indonesia and his wife and the members of their party.

In welcoming them, I speak not only in an official capacity but also in a very personal sense. I would first remind all of us in this room who are Americans, that we well might not be here had it not been that many, many years ago a sailor started out searching for Indonesia and found America.

In 1492 Christopher Columbus charted the seas in his search for what was then called the Spice Islands. That, of course, is now part of Indonesia. And on the way to the Spice Islands, he ran into America, and that is why we are here.

So we owe much to history. We have something in common.

We have something much more in common. I speak now in a personal sense. In 1953 I had the privilege, with Mrs. Nixon, of visiting Asia for the first time. We were introduced to Asia through Indonesia. It was the first Asian country we visited. It was well that that was the case because the welcome was warm. We learned in that 4-day visit to know about the people of Indonesia, the great historical background, Borobudur,[1] and also the tremendous promise as well as some of the problems.

In 1967 I returned to Indonesia, then as a private citizen—not at my own choice—but nevertheless as a private citizen. When I returned to Indonesia, I will always be grateful that Ambassador Green, now the Assistant Secretary for the Pacific area, asked me to meet the man who was to be the President of Indonesia, President Suharto; and the President graciously received me when I was out of office, at his home.

I recall so well the warmth of his welcome, seeing some of his children briefly, and also having the opportunity to talk to him about the problems of Indonesia, as in that critical year of 1967 it was moving on a new course under new leadership under the new President.

Then again last year we had the privilege of visiting Indonesia again, a very brief visit, but a chance to see what had transpired in the 2 years since we were there. We were tremendously impressed.

Then finally today, the President and Mrs. Suharto paid their first visit to America and their first visit to this house.

I give this chronology only for the purpose of reminding those in this room, all of whom are friends of Indonesia, of the fact that this is a very significant occasion, of reminding us all that this great republic of over 100 million people, 1,000 miles of islands, joining the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, that its future, its freedom, its independence of any domination, ours or anyone else's, is essential to peace and freedom in the Pacific and for America in the years ahead.

The President knows this. The President and his colleagues stand for this. And we in America are privileged that we can, with complete respect for Indonesia's independent status, always work with Indo-

[1] Eighth-century Buddhist temple in central Java.

nesia for what the President wants for the people of Indonesia—a better life, progress for the people that we saw in such great numbers when we were there, and independence, freedom, these words that are used these days so loosely but that mean so much when nations do not have them.

In proposing the health of the President, I want to say that I mentioned this morning that Indonesia is the third most populous free nation of all the free nations. India, of course, is the most populous, the United States is second, and Indonesia is the third.

In the Pacific area, this great, vibrant, free nation of Indonesia is one that is essential to those things that we in this room, Indonesians and Americans, deeply believe in—the right of all people to choose their own way, the right of all people to be free, the right of all people to avoid having imposed upon them any government from abroad that they do not want. It is this that we want for Indonesia. It is this that we are privileged to work with them in the way that they believe is best for them toward those great goals.

To the man who has given to this great, strong country and its people the leadership that is needed at a time that was tremendously difficult, in a time of crisis, the man who was the man of the hour for Indonesia, as Abraham Lincoln was the man of the hour for America 100 years ago, it is my privilege to propose the health of the President of Indonesia.

To President Suharto.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 10:03 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 163.

President Suharto responded in Indonesian. His remarks, as read by his interpreter, follow:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests:

Once more your eloquent and generous words fill me with gratitude. They bespeak a friendship and good will toward our people and myself. I can assure you, Mr. President, that these sentiments are fully reciprocated in the hearts and minds, not only of myself, my wife, and those of my party present here, but in the hearts and minds of all Indonesians.

It is with a feeling of deep emotion that I stand here before you tonight. For to me and to millions of my countrymen, America is more than just a geopolitical entity, a great and abundant land, 200 million people strong, endowed with technological and economic prowess that makes it one of the superpowers of the world. The America we see beyond this is the America that is the cradle of modern democracy, the seedbed of the first successful struggle against colonial domination, the birthplace of a Washington, a Jefferson, a Lincoln, and a Martin Luther King.

In the last quarter of the 18th century you founded man's quest for human dignity and for a political system that would insure these values. The fact that America is the oldest nation living under the same written Constitution is of deep significance to me for I come from an old civilization but a young nation, which is still in the process of building the viable political institutions that could insure these same values in a different cultural and historical setting.

We are now moving into the last quarter of this 20th century. The challenges that face us have changed because the new problems that have emerged have changed—in nature and in scope.

There is the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world, a gap not merely in terms of wealth but in knowledge and modern skills as well. There is the problem of the population explosion that threatens to negate all that man has achieved so far. In each of our societies problems have emerged that concern the quality of life for each of our citizens, problems of poverty and injustice and the destruction of human ecology.

There is a special problem that is of grave concern to all of us, that of war raging in various parts of the world. It is even of more

concern to us in Asia, for instead of the peace we hoped for, the threat of a new war is spreading. Cambodia is now being engulfed in the fires of war. Here the problem is even more complex. Because what is at issue here is the threat against the sovereignty and the integrity of a nation, a threat against the right of the Khmer people to maintain the neutrality they have chosen. We cannot afford just to wait; for the sake of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, all efforts should be taken to prevent the war from widening and to insure the preservation of Cambodia's right to sovereignty and neutrality, among other things, by effecting the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodian territory.

It was on the basis of those considerations that Indonesia, as a nonaligned state which pursues an independent and active foreign policy, has taken the initiative to convene a Conference of Foreign Ministers of Asian countries. This conference has just been concluded in Djakarta and has taken a clear and appropriate stand on the Cambodian issue. The nations of Asia have started to take it upon themselves to meet the challenges that Asia faces today.

Of most of these problems it can be said that they are universal in nature, if not always in scope, and therefore impervious to piecemeal or country-by-country solution. Their solution will require international action and the pooling of all the wisdom and experience that man collectively possesses. Their solution will not be the monopoly of the rich, nor for that matter, the exclusive battle cry of the poor. But both will have to join forces in a common quest to preserve civilized life on this earth in the decades to come.

Thus, Mr. President, at present the world is once again looking at the United States for the contribution that it could give in the search for answers to the challenges mankind is facing today.

In this, Mr. President, Indonesia considers itself most fortunate to have you as a friend, a President of the United States, a world leader, who by personal disposition, as well as experience, is so thoroughly familiar with the problems, the hopes, and aspirations of Asia, including Southeast Asia to which my country belongs. Furthermore, Mr. President, you are the first American President to have visited Indonesia three times in the past.

Your continued interest in my country and your sympathetic understanding of our aspirations as well as our problems give me great hope that the deepening friendship between our two countries will accelerate the attainment of a stable, prosperous, and democratic Indonesia, which in turn could enhance the chances for stability, prosperity, and freedom in the whole of Southeast Asia.

It is in this spirit that I ask all of you to join me in a toast to the friendship between the American and Indonesian peoples, to your health and well-being, Mrs. Nixon, and to the health and well-being of the President of the United States.

166 Statement on Signing a Bill Naming the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir in Missouri. *May* 27, 1970

IT IS highly fitting that the Kaysinger Bluff Project in Missouri should be named in honor of a great Missourian and great American who always believed in and worked for the conservation of our natural resources. As a county judge, Harry Truman was concerned with the development of the Big Blue Basin. As Senator and Vice President and President, he supported water-resources management throughout the Nation. In recognition of his lifelong concern for the wise use of our natural resources, I am pleased to sign this bill which honors him by naming this project the Harry S. Truman Dam and Reservoir.

NOTE: The bill (S. 3778), approved May 26, 1970, is Public Law 91-267 (84 Stat. 265).

167 Remarks at a Luncheon Honoring Speaker McCormack. *May* 27, 1970

Mr. Speaker, President Johnson, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, all of the distinguished guests who are here for this occasion:

We wish that time permitted everyone here to say what he would like to say about the Speaker, and even under the rules of the House that might have been possible, because I figured it out that with approximately 100 of the elite—and you are the elite, believe me; you should have seen the words I received from those who were not invited to this luncheon—but 100 of the elite are here, and each of you should speak, but even under the rules of the House, literally interpreted, we would not be out of here until 4:00.

I have just been informed that the House Members have to get back for a couple of votes and the Senate Members just have to get back.

But we do not want to keep either the House or the Senate from their very important responsibilities, so I have taken upon myself the very difficult choice of selecting those from this assemblage who would speak for all of us.

I naturally have turned to those who have known the Speaker the longest, those who served with him who are no longer in the House, and those who have served under him and with him who are presently in the House.

It will be bipartisan, of course, bipartisan because those who respect this Speaker are not numbered or certainly designated by their party affiliation. We all cherish his friendship and that will be evident from the remarks that you will hear.

So now under the rules of the House, which the Speaker will enforce, if I will not, each will be recognized.

[At this point the President introduced Representatives Emanuel Celler of New York and Leslie C. Arends of Illinois, and former Representatives Howard W. Smith of Virginia (1931–1967) and Charles Halleck of Indiana (1934–1969) for brief remarks. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now we come to one who has served with the Speaker and one who has been intimately associated with him over many, many years and one who presided in this house with such great dignity and great courage immediately prior to the time I have had the privilege to be here.

I think we are very fortunate that President Johnson came all the way from Texas up here to honor the Speaker today.

President Johnson.

[At this point former President Lyndon B. Johnson spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

I have the privilege to make the presentation to the Speaker, a presentation which inevitably, as you will see, has the gavel, but which also has an inscription which I think summarizes some of the things that have been said so eloquently by those who have spoken before on this program.

In thinking of this moment, however, I believe it is well for all of us to realize that like so many moments in this great room, we are here on an occasion that never happened before, and probably will never happen again.

The Speaker has been honored—the Speaker as a man and as an institution—at dinners at the White House for many,

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many years. But this is the first occasion in which a Speaker who has been honored has served longer continually in that particular position than any Speaker in the whole history of the United States, and who, next to Sam Rayburn, held the office of Speaker longer than any man in the history of the United States.

What a distinguished record that is. It is something that should be honored in this room, where last night we honored a President, and over the years, kings and queens and emperors and various leaders in all walks of life.

I think President Johnson stated my sentiments very well, and perhaps it is not unexpected that our views about the Speaker would be somewhat the same because of the position that we held.

Perhaps I can put it this way: I asked the Speaker to submit a list of names to be included and he chose all of you, the ranking Members of the House and of the Senate, also some of the people in the administration, the elected officials, the Chief Justice, very, very few people otherwise from family, Lew Deschler,[1] without whom no Speaker could preside over that House—I don't think he could, at least.

It is also significant that the Speaker asked, in addition to his present friends and colleagues and former friends, the former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. I think I know the reason he wanted him here, because he was a friend, but also because the Speaker, based on my conversations with him over the years, and particularly over the past 16 months, speaks of those times when he spoke to President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson about domestic policies and also about foreign policy.

He did not agree with all Presidents, even Presidents of his own party, completely. But in this area of foreign policy, he had an enormous interest, an enormous concern, and over and over again he has told of incidents in which there were foreign policy matters where he talked to the President and gave the President his views on what he, as a man and as a leader of his party, felt was best for the country.

I think that on this occasion, Republicans and Democrats can be very proud of the service the Speaker has rendered in that esteemed office that he has held. We can be proud of all his other characteristics that have been so eloquently described. We can be particularly proud of the fact that here is a man who meets the qualifications that President Johnson so eloquently described.

I will show you the plaque and then I will read the inscription and then propose the toast to the Speaker.

"Presented to John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, May 27, 1970."

My inscription: "He has been Speaker of the House of Representatives for a record number of consecutive years. His actions have always expressed unsurpassed devotion to country. When the lines are drawn on the great national issues, John McCormack stands not as a son of Massachusetts, not as the leader of a political party, but as an American."

To the Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, you are recognized under the rules of the Senate.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

The remarks of former President Johnson and Speaker McCormack are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 698 and 700).

[1] Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives.

168 Remarks at the Presentation of Portraits of James and Dolley Madison. *May* 28, 1970

THIS is indeed a very special day for the White House for reasons that have already been indicated, I am sure, by Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Johnson. And I don't know what they have said, so if I repeat, remember we didn't check beforehand.

All of us, of course, know the famous story of how this great painting of Washington, the only painting in the White House, until this one was acquired by loan, the only painting in the White House that was here before the White House in its present form, back in 1814 or so, was built, that it was saved by Dolley Madison.

And now finally to have this great portrait of Dolley Madison in this house brings us full circle and will remind us of the great historical tradition that those of us who live in this house, and those of us who visit it, and it belongs to all of us, this tradition that we share.

I would simply like to say that first, Dolley Madison, when we think of First Ladies, is always thought of as one of the great hostesses in all White House history. I am a bit prejudiced on that point myself. I think that we have in Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Nixon, two in the same league. I am very proud.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:34 p.m. in the East Room at the White House where he joined in the presentation ceremony presided over by Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson.

The portrait of President Madison, painted by John Vanderlyn in 1816, was purchased for the White House from Laurence Gouverneur Hoes of Washington, a great-great-grandson of President Madison, who attended the ceremony.

The portrait of Dolley Madison by Gilbert Stuart was loaned to the White House by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

169 Remarks at Dr. Billy Graham's East Tennessee Crusade. *May* 28, 1970

Dr. Graham, all of the distinguished guests on this platform, and all of those gathered here in Volunteer Stadium, and those who are listening on television and those who are outside the stadium:

May I say very briefly to you, first, how deeply honored Mrs. Nixon and I are to be here in Tennessee and to receive such a wonderfully warm and friendly welcome from our friends in Tennessee.

We also want you to know that it is a very great privilege to be on the campus of the largest university in the South—the University of Tennessee.

If I may add a personal note as one who warmed the bench for 4 years, it is finally good to get out on the football field here at Volunteer Stadium. And even if we are on the 20-yard line, we are going to be over that goal line before we are through.

Billy Graham, when he invited me to come here, said that this was to be Youth Night. He told me that there would be youth from the university, from other parts of the State, representing different points of view. I am just glad that there seems to be a rather solid majority on one side rather than the other side tonight.

Could I say to you, too, that I think that, if I could have your attention for just a moment, perhaps America needs to

know something about America's youth and perhaps America's youth needs to know something about America.

I want to tell you that I am very proud that on our White House staff we have the largest proportion of staff members in responsible positions below the age of 30 of any White House staff in history. The reason we have is that I believe in the young people of America. I think they have something to say and I want them in the high councils of the government of this country.

The reason that they are there is because I believe America also needs to know that the great majority of our young people are people who go to college and universities for the purpose of getting a good education. It is a well-educated generation. It is a very dedicated generation. It is also a generation, I know, that is enormously interested, not simply in the pursuit of a good living, but also in those causes that are beyond self. And for this I am most grateful that the young who will be leading this country when we are gone is one that is interested in America's future, and is so dedicated to those goals.

And also I am proud to say that the great majority of America's young people do not approve of violence; the great majority of America's young people, as I do, do approve of dissent. But they say they want the right to be heard and when they speak they think other people should be silent so that they can be heard.

And so it is a generation that is not the lost generation, as some Americans think. It isn't the beat generation. It isn't the beat-up generation. It can be and it will become the great young generation. That is what I believe and that is what you are going to make it become.

And now if I could say a word about what perhaps we should know about America. I don't tell you that everything about America is what I want it to be. I can understand why so many of our young people speak of their desire for peace. I want that. You want it. The man who will address you tonight represents a religious faith that has been dedicated to peace.

I recognize that a great number of our young people are concerned about the fact that in our great cities the air is dirty; that some places the water is polluted; that there aren't enough parks; that education is inferior; that health is inadequate; that there is alienation between the races in this country; and that there is also alienation between the generations.

I know there are things about America that are wrong. But I also know this: that this is a country where a young person knows that there is a peaceful way he can change what he doesn't like about America and that is why it is a great country. And I also know that of all the nations in the world, that this is the one country where a young person knows that not only do we have the power, but we have the ability to clean up the air and clean up the water and provide better jobs and better opportunity and all these things for our people. And that is because we are so fortunate to be so rich in those things that are material.

And now one other thought: I speak from the field of government and the man who follows me will speak from another field. As one who works in the field of government, I can tell you my life is dedicated to the cause that I know you are dedicated to, all of you. I want this Nation to be at peace, and we shall be. I want the air to be clean, and it will be clean. I

want the water to be pure, and it will be pure. I want better education for all Americans, whatever their race or religion or whatever it may be, and an equal opportunity for all, and that shall be.

But I can tell you, my friends, that while government can bring peace, that while government can clean up the air, that while government can clean up the streets and while government can clean up the water and bring better education and better health, there is one thing that government cannot do because, you see, we can have what can be described as complete cleanliness and yet have a sterile life unless we have the spirit, a spirit that cannot come from a man in government, a spirit that will be represented by the man who follows me.

I conclude with one thought: I have studied the lives of all the Presidents of this country, of both parties. They came from different religions. Some were better churchgoers than others, but there is one thing I have noted about every man who has occupied this Office, and that is by the time he ended his term in office he was more dedicated and more dependent on his religious faith than when he entered it. And that tells me something.

This is a great Office, and I am proud and humble to hold it. This is enormous responsibility, and I accept the responsibility without fear but with also great respect.

But I can also tell you America would not be what it is today, the greatest nation in the world, if this were not a nation which has made progress under God. This Nation would not be the great Nation that it was unless those who have led this Nation had each in his own way turned for help beyond himself for these causes that we all want for our young people, a better life, the things that we may not have had ourselves but we want for them.

And I simply want to tell the people here in Tennessee and those listening on television and radio that I respect those who disagree with me.

No one can be sure what decision is right. I have to make it. I thank those who send in their criticisms and those who send in their support, but above all, I want you to know that I have appreciated the fact that in the few months I have been in this Office I have received thousands of letters from people who say, "I pray for this country and I pray for the President in the exercise of the powers of his Office."

With that kind of spiritual guidance and spiritual assistance, there is no question, in my view, about the long-range future of America.

And I can only say in conclusion to all of those gathered here today, government can provide, as I have indicated, peace, clean water, clean air, clean streets, and all the rest, but we must remember that that quality of the spirit that each one of us needs, that each one of us hungers for must come from a man who will address you in a moment.

Some will not share his religious convictions, but all with me will share respect for the message that he brings because what he will say to you is what America and the world needs to hear, and that is that man does not live by bread alone, that the material things are not enough, that if we are going to bring people together as we must bring them together, if we are going to have peace in the world, if our young people are going to have a fulfillment beyond simply those material things, they must turn to those great

spiritual sources that have made America the great country that it is.

I am proud to be here, and I am very proud to have your warm reception.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the Neyland Stadium at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville.

170 Letter to Clark R. Mollenhoff Accepting His Resignation as Special Counsel to the President. *May* 30, 1970

Dear Clark:

It is with regret that I accept your resignation as Special Counsel effective as of mid-July. The work you have done has alerted us to many potential problem areas and has been important in demonstrating that good government can be good politics for any administration.

I hope that seeing this administration from the inside has given you some greater perspective on the problems of government and the difficulties we face in trying to solve them. I am sure that this experience has demonstrated to you that we are trying to come to grips with the great issues of our times in an honest and forthright manner.

As you return to the press corps, I am sure that you will call them as you see them with regard to the Nixon Administration. And while I recognize that our relationship cannot be the same as it was when you were in the government, I know that it will always be one of friendship and respect.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Clark Mollenhoff, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter of acceptance was dated May 29, 1970, and released May 30, 1970, at San Clemente, Calif. Mr. Mollenhoff's letter, dated May 28 and released along with the President's letter, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

It is with some regret that I submit my resignation at this time, effective in mid-July. I had hoped that it might be possible to continue for many months more before making a decision relative to my own long-time future plans. However, the retirement of Richard L. Wilson as Bureau Chief for the Des Moines Register and Tribune makes it necessary for me to take the step now. This last chance to return to the Des Moines Register and Tribune as Chief of the Washington Bureau is too good an opportunity to let slip by despite the great experience it has been to work as "presidential ombudsman" in your administration.

Your instructions were to investigate any indications of wrong-doing or questionable ethical conduct, and to call them the way that I saw them without regard for partisan politics or ideology. You have never changed those instructions. As your Special Counsel, it has been my responsibility to keep informed on problems dealing with mismanagement or corruption in government, to report to you and other administration officials on the facts where it appeared that illegality, impropriety, or just plain careless practices might be interfering with the honest efficient operations of government. Your personal responses to my reports on these problems in government operations have always been in the highest tradition.

My decision to resign is in no manner an opposition to your policies, and it is certainly not an indication of any dissatisfaction with our personal relationship. There have been no restraints placed upon my work except to be accurate, fair and firm as I had been in the past in dealing with Democratic and Republican administrations.

It has not been possible to spotlight or to solve all of the problems of government oper-

ations, but I believe that much has been accomplished in avoiding the factual errors and the delays in problem solving that have plagued so many of our past administrations. I hope that a good government tone has been set, and that we have made some headway in proving that aggressive good government can be good politics. I also hope that we have been able to right a few wrongs, and to help a few average citizens fight their way through the bureaucratic jungle that our big government has become.

I have become more appreciative of the problems of making big government operate effectively, and sympathetic with the problems our presidents face in making the federal government move. The experience has dramatized how important it is that the President have the "right to know" what is taking place at all levels of government, and the right to expect that his will is carried out.

Sincerely,

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF
Special Counsel to the President

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

171 Remarks of Welcome to President Rafael Caldera of Venezuela. *June* 2, 1970

Mr. President, Mrs. Caldera, all of our distinguished guests:

Mr. President, it is a very great honor and a personal privilege for me to welcome you and the members of your party to our country on this state visit.

And in welcoming you, we think of many things. We remember the fact that we have one of the longest relationships of peace and friendship with your country as with any country in the world. Just 2 days ago marked the commemoration of the 134th year of the coming into force of the treaty of peace and friendship and commerce and navigation between your country and ours.

We think also in commercial terms, because we in America, particularly our business people, recall the fact that Venezuela is our major trading partner in all of the Americas.

But we think in terms that are more important than these rather official and commercial terms. We think in terms of your inaugural, when you said that the great objectives of your administration would be peace, human understanding, liberty, and justice. That is what we believe in. It is what we want for our country as you want it for your country. It is what we want for the Americas; it is what both of us want for the world.

Finally, Mr. President, I am very pleased to welcome you here as a personal friend as well as an official friend. I recall our visits and our talks in 1958 in your country and in 1959 in Washington, and I know that that personal relationship will contribute to good understanding, solution of the problems, to the extent they do exist, and they are very few, between our countries.

We welcome you very warmly, and we wish you a happy stay in the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:09 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where President Caldera was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 173.

President Caldera spoke in Spanish and then repeated his remarks in English as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

Mrs. Caldera and I are really honored with this kind invitation. We know that you repre-

sent, in this moment to Venezuela, the will of all the people of the United States. My wife and I should be very happy if we could represent, really, here, the proper image of a friendly Venezuela, a country who loves peace and understanding and solidarity between men.

We think that it is easy for us, fellow countrymen of Simón Bolívar, to understand and to be understood by you, fellow countrymen of Washington and Lincoln. The only condition is to speak a common language based on freedom, justice, and equality among men and among people.

We are very happy here, Mr. President. We know that you wish us to search for a new way to the hemispheric relations. May I assure you that all Latin Americans want to live in peace and to achieve that development and to prosper.

We are trying to do our part. We love frankness and sincere friendship. Only we aspire that our voice be heard and accepted as the voice of people of good will.

Mr. President, we are really very honored, and we thank you and Mrs. Nixon very much for your kind reception.

Thank you.

172 Memorandum About the Federal Payroll Savings Plan. *June* 2, 1970

Memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

By Executive Order [11532], which I have signed today, I have made several changes in the Interdepartmental Committee for Voluntary Payroll Savings Plan for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds. These changes should result in a more efficient operation of the Federal Payroll Savings Plan.

Savings Bonds have long played a vital role in the management of the national debt by non-inflationary means. The more than $52 billion now outstanding amounts to nearly one-fourth of the privately held portion of the debt.

This Administration is dedicated to sound financial management. I urge each of you to give your full support to the Payroll Savings Plan.

RICHARD NIXON

173 Toasts of the President and President Caldera of Venezuela. *June* 2, 1970

Mr. President, Mrs. Caldera, friends from Venezuela and the United States:

This house—and this very famous room—is honored to have you, Mr. President, and the members of your party here as our guests tonight. I speak first from a personal standpoint, because we are old friends from years before we reached the offices we presently have. We have much in common I should point out to our guests. We both are lawyers. We both like baseball. The President is going to the game tomorrow night, incidentally, to see the great Venezuelan star play for the White Sox against Washington. I don't know which side I am on—tomorrow, maybe the White Sox. Also, we both have the distinction of having run for President and having lost, which proves that having run and having lost does not mean that you may not win at some time in the future.

The President told me that he thought that my election in 1968 was somewhat encouraging to him because our election took place in November, as you may recall, and his took place in December. One of the arguments that his opponents were using against him was that he was a professional politician who had lost before. They said, well, after what happened to Nixon, anybody can win.

We also honor tonight the country the President represents. We honor it as a nation with whom this Nation has had friendly relations for 134 years; a nation—one of the few in the world, Secretary Stans tells me—with which this Nation has a favorable balance of trade, which the President is trying to change, and we wish him well. And we also honor his nation for another reason that in this room it seems appropriate to refer to.

I found that when the President arrived upstairs before coming down to the reception, that he particularly wanted to see the Lincoln Room. Like so many of our friends from the Americas and from the world, he was interested in the Lincoln background. As we were sitting here tonight, looking at this great portrait of Lincoln which hangs in this State Dining Room, I was thinking of those principles which unite two countries and two peoples in this hemisphere, which Lincoln represented and also which are represented by our friends from Venezuela in their history.

The President presented to me before dinner one of the finest and, to me, most appreciated state gifts that I have ever received. It was a replica made by a very famous jeweler in Caracas, a replica of a Washington emblem, a picture of George Washington, which was in 1825 delivered to Simón Bolívar by General Lafayette and was presented to Bolívar by Lafayette on behalf of Washington's grandson. The letters that accompanied the transfer, the fact that Bolívar later wore this tiny medallion with the splendid picture of Washington on it, reminded us that our heritage goes back to the same very sound and great transcendent principles.

We speak different languages in this hemisphere. We represent different cultures. We have different types of music, as we heard a few moments ago. But men like Bolívar and Lincoln and Washington are men that are bigger than Venezuela or the United States. They are as big as America—all the Americas, and as big as the whole world and they belong to the whole world.

Tonight, as we receive the man, the President of the Republic of Venezuela, the birthplace of the liberator, the man who liberated not only Venezuela but Colombia and Peru and Panama—other countries in that area, as we think of what he stood for 134 years ago, what Lincoln stood for and what we believe in today, we realize that despite the difference in distance, in geography, in music, in culture, in language, that we are as one when it comes to our dedication to the right of people to be independent, to be free, to have progress, to have a better life, and to live at peace in this hemisphere without interference from other parts of the world.

Mr. President, your visit reminds us of this common heritage that we share so proudly together. Your visit reminds us also that we must never take it for granted, that we in the Americas must always remember that we are an American family, and that we must find ways to live together and work together and prosper together as a family. I know that your visit will help us in developing those ways

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better in the future.

I know that all of our guests would agree with me when I say that as we think of you, we think of you representing, as did Bolívar, not just Venezuela but all of our neighbors to the south. And we know that your visit will help us to develop a more effective policy which will meet the great objectives that Bolívar stood for and that Lincoln stood for and George Washington stood for—the policies of peace and friendship and progress for all peoples.

Finally, I would say this: that all of us come from and were born to this world, our nations, through violent revolution. Now our charge and our task is to provide the means and the method through which those great changes that need to be made in the world, in our own countries and in the world, can be made through peaceful change. This is what you stand for, Mr. President, in your country. It is what we work for in our country and we are proud to work with you toward that great goal.

So, I know all of you would like to rise and raise your glasses to His Excellency, the President of Venezuela, and to the friendship of our two peoples.

To President Caldera.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:02 p.m. at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 171.

President Rafael Caldera responded in English as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

I should speak in Spanish, it is my language. More or less I have tried to manage it. But I think that we are living in a democracy and I see that here the majority speaks English, and I am going to try to do the same.

In my country there is a popular word. Probably it comes from the French language: *monsieur*. We call it down there *musiú*, that one who speaks Spanish with a foreign accent and in not a very correct way. So, I dare to say a few words in English, *musiú*.

I try to give with this an evidence of courage because after having heard so famous an orator and master of the English language as President Nixon, you must realize how much courage is necessary to try to talk in English.

But I want to say that we are very happy, my wife and I and all the members of my party here, because we have been so kindly received as we were so kindly invited. And for us, this is really a very important item.

I am the chief of state of a small country. We know how modest it is, but we know, too, that in a new world great nations and smaller nations have a role. I know, too, that we belong to a family of nations, Latin America, that considered as a whole represents something for mankind and especially for this hemisphere.

I am coming as a messenger of good will. My country is a peace-loving country. We have had trouble, as everybody in the present world. But a large majority of people—Governor Rockefeller knows them—these fine people, they want to work, to live in peace, and to prosper. They love their country and they are anxious to do the best possible to achieve a development program and to be fully incorporated in the process of civilization.

Today, here, we have been received as friends and we are not going to forget this, Mr. President. Your kind words have been very, very meaningful. You have remembered the name of Bolívar. And, really, when General Lafayette, by commitment of George Washington Custis, in the name of the Washington family, sent in 1825 to Bolívar a miniature, a medallion of Washington, which copy I had the privilege to present to you as a souvenir of my visit, [he] told to him, among the existing men and maybe among the men in history, "I cannot find anyone else to whom General Washington would be so happy to deliver it." I think that means a lot, and it is a sign of perpetual friendship between your great nation and my dear country.

Mr. President, you have also evoked Lin-

coln's memory. I have told you before coming to this beautiful dinner that you have two treasures that maybe you have not used enough, especially in regard to Venezuela and maybe to other Latin American—but at least to some Caribbean—countries. One of them is Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln means a lot for our people, maybe because down there in Latin America people coming from every angle of the earth, people of much different races, have joined to live together and live in harmony—a representation of the common will of humanity. And Lincoln represents to our people a man who fought for his country and for equality among men, a man who put his ideas forward and who was able to put aside every interest in favor of a belief. So, Lincoln is very and deeply popular in the feeling of our people.

Allow me to pass to a less serious item that you have, another treasure that maybe you have not used enough. It is baseball. It is the most popular game with our people. The most humble of our youngsters in the outskirts of Caracas or maybe in the country knows the names and average of the players of the big leagues, the names of all the teams. And they are proud because Luis Aparicio, the famous shortstop that I hope to see tomorrow playing—and I am sorry it is against the Washington Senators—is among the most outstanding figures; so are Cesar Tovar and Victor Davalillo and some others participating in the big leagues and maybe in the World Series. That is an instrument of understanding that sometimes is not sufficiently used.

And there are many, many more things in common. Naturally, in Venezuela, as in any other part of the world, there are groups, committed groups, that cultivate strategic hatred against the United States. But there is a large feeling of sympathy and there is a long desire of seeing always the United States as the champion of freedom, of peace, of justice.

During the 18th century young men came from different parts of the world looking for liberty here. Lafayette was one. I think he was a little more than 30 years old when he came to become a general during the famous war; so was Kosciusko, the famous Pole, and so was Miranda, a Venezuelan Army officer that, after participating in Florida in the Spanish campaign during your Independence War, went to France and became a general in the Revolutionary Armies during the French Revolution and finally tried to liberate Venezuela and failed and died in Spain in prison.

All those youngsters came looking for liberty, and the United States was known in our countries by our ancestors and by all the world as the leader of a free life, of the rights of citizens, of the first serious experience of the republican system of government, of the democratic system of government, in the modern world.

I am sure that we are living one of the most exciting moments in the history of the world. Naturally exciting and important moments are dangerous ones, are not easy—we have to face them. But the matter is how to carry to our peoples and to every people of the world the faith in the future. It is not possible that the man who has achieved so wonderful adventures that you have done with the Apollos, the moon shots, may not be able to organize societies and to try to make every people live in peace and friendship.

My wife and I should be very happy if our visit, an incident in the very complicated and sometimes difficult life of people in Washington, contributes in any way to raise that faith and the moral values in the spirit of men and the dignity of men, and the possibility—may I say more—in the obligation of people to obtain a system of life in which permanent values be observed.

I am very happy to be here. Mr. President, I apologize for my English and my words. And please, I want to make a toast and invite you to rise again.

To the United States, to your wonderful people, to the future of this great Nation, to President Nixon, to his gentle wife, to all of you and to perpetual and fruitful friendship between the United States and Venezuela and all Latin American countries.

Thank you.

174 Statement on Signing Bills Relating to District Judges and Customs Courts. *June* 3, 1970

I HAVE SIGNED into law two important bills which will greatly improve the administration of justice in this country: S. 952, which provides for the appointment of additional district judges, and S. 2624, the Customs Courts Act of 1970 and the Customs Administrative Act of 1970.

These two measures will help to reduce the tremendous backlogs of cases which currently clog the calendars of these courts. In the Customs Court, filings have risen from 35,000 in fiscal 1963 to more than 75,000 in fiscal 1969 with an ending caseload of over 431,000 cases as of July 1, 1969. In the United States district courts, civil and criminal filings increased by 14 percent for a total of 61,000 in the first half of fiscal 1970—up 24 percent in 4 years—leaving more than 110,000 cases pending on December 31, 1969, the largest number in history.

"Justice delayed is justice denied." That is a maxim I learned even before I attended law school. But its universal familiarity makes it no less valid. When parties to civil cases are denied prompt judicial determination of their rights and liabilities, interruption of commerce and personal frustration are the result. When delays occur between indictment and trial in criminal cases, innocent persons are required to wait many painful months before their good names may be cleared, and the community as a whole is subjected to the risk of repeated criminal acts committed by some persons free awaiting trial.

It is toward the solving of these problems that these two bills are directed. This is a most important step in our common goal of insuring that the courts of this Nation are able to give to the cases which are brought before them the most thoughtful and prompt scrutiny possible.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 952 is Public Law 91-272 (84 Stat. 294), and S. 2624 is Public Law 91-271 (84 Stat. 274), both approved on June 2, 1970.

175 Address to the Nation on the Cambodian Sanctuary Operation. *June* 3, 1970

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

One month ago, I announced a decision ordering American participation with South Vietnamese forces in a series of operations against Communist-occupied areas in Cambodia which have been used for 5 years as bases for attacks on our forces in South Vietnam.

This past weekend, in the Western White House in California, I met with Secretary Laird, General Abrams, and other senior advisers to receive a first-hand report on the progress of this operation.

Based on General Abrams' report, I can now state that this has been the most successful operation of this long and very difficult war.

Before going into the details which form the basis for this conclusion, I believe it would be helpful to review briefly why I considered it necessary to make this

decision, what our objectives were, and the prospects for achieving those objectives.

You will recall that on April 20, I announced the withdrawal of an additional 150,000 American troops from Vietnam within a year—which will bring the total number withdrawn, since I have taken office, to 260,000. I also reaffirmed on that occasion our proposals for a negotiated peace. At the time of this announcement I warned that if the enemy tried to take advantage of our withdrawal program by increased attacks in Cambodia, Laos, or South Vietnam in a way that endangered the lives of our men remaining in South Vietnam, I would, in my capacity as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, take strong action to deal with that threat.

Between April 20th and April 30th, Communist forces launched a series of attacks against a number of key cities in neutral Cambodia. Their objective was unmistakable—to link together bases they had maintained in Cambodia for 5 years in violation of Cambodian neutrality. The entire 600-mile Cambodian-South Vietnam border would then have become one continuous hostile territory from which to launch assaults upon American and allied forces.

This posed an unacceptable threat to our remaining forces in South Vietnam. It would have meant higher casualties. It would have jeopardized our program for troop withdrawals. It would have meant a longer war. And—carried out in the face of an explicit warning from this Government—failure to deal with the enemy action would have eroded the credibility of the United States before the entire world.

After very intensive consultations with my top advisers, I directed that American troops join the South Vietnamese in destroying these major enemy bases along the Cambodian frontier. I said when I made this announcement, "Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw." That pledge is being kept. I said further on that occasion, "We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam." That purpose is being advanced.

As of today I can report that all of our major military objectives have been achieved. Forty-three thousand South Vietnamese took part in these operations, along with 31,000 Americans. Our combined forces have moved with greater speed and success than we had planned; we have captured and destroyed far more in war material than we anticipated; and American and allied casualties have been far lower than we expected.

In the month of May, in Cambodia alone, we captured a total amount of enemy arms, equipment, ammunition, and food nearly equal to what we captured in all of Vietnam in all of last year.

Here is some film of the war material that has been captured.

[At this point, Department of Defense films were shown while the President continued speaking.]

This is some ammunition you see. We have captured more than 10 million rounds of ammunition. That is equal to the enemy's expenditures of ammunition for 9 months.

And here also you see a few of the over 15,000 rifles and machine guns and other weapons we have captured. They will

never be used against American boys in Vietnam.

This reality was brought home directly to me a few days ago. I was talking with a union leader from New York. His son died in Vietnam this past February. He told me that had we moved earlier in Cambodia, we might have captured the enemy weapon that killed his son.

And now you are looking at some of the heavy mortars and rocket launchers and recoilless rifles that have shelled U.S. base camps and Vietnamese towns. We have seized over 2,000 of these along with 90,000 rounds of ammunition. That is as much as the enemy fires in a whole year. Had this war material made its way into South Vietnam and had it been used against American and allied troops, U.S. casualties would have been vastly increased.

And here you see rice, more than 11 million pounds of rice we have obtained. This is more than enough rice to feed all the enemy's combat battalions in Vietnam for over 3 months. But this rice you see will not be feeding enemy troops now, rather the war refugees you saw a minute ago.

With the rainy season now beginning, it will take the enemy months to rebuild his shattered installations and to replace the equipment we have captured or destroyed.

The success of these operations to date has guaranteed that the June 30 deadline I set for withdrawal of all American forces from Cambodia will be met. General Abrams advises me that 17,000 of the 31,000 Americans who entered Cambodia have already returned to Vietnam. The remainder will return by the end of this month. This includes all American air support, logistics, and military advisory personnel.

The only remaining American activity in Cambodia after July 1 will be air missions to interdict the movement of enemy troops and material where I find that is necessary to protect the lives and security of our men in South Vietnam.

Our discussions with the South Vietnamese Government indicate that their primary objective remains the security of South Vietnam, and that their activity in Cambodia in the future—after their withdrawal from the sanctuaries—will be determined by the actions of the enemy in Cambodia.

When this operation was announced, the critics charged that it would increase American casualties, that it would widen the war, that it would lengthen our involvement, that it might postpone troop withdrawals. But the operation was undertaken for precisely the opposite reasons—and it has had precisely the opposite effect.

Let us examine the long-range impact of this operation.

First, we have eliminated an immediate danger to the security of the remaining Americans in Vietnam, and thereby reduced our future casualties. Seizing these weapons and ammunition will save American lives. Because of this operation, American soldiers who might not otherwise be ever coming home, will now be coming home.

Second, we have won some precious time for the South Vietnamese to train and prepare themselves to carry the burden of their national defense, so that our American forces can be withdrawn.

From General Abrams' reports and from our advisers in the field, one of the most dramatic and heartening developments of the operation has been the splendid performance of the South Vietnamese

Army. Sixty percent of all the troops involved in the Cambodian operations were South Vietnamese. The effectiveness, the skill, the valor with which they fought far exceeded our expectations. Confidence and morale in the South Vietnamese Army has been greatly bolstered. This operation has clearly demonstrated that our Vietnamization program is succeeding.

Third, we have insured the continuance and success of our troop withdrawal program. On April 20, I announced an additional 150,000 Americans would be home within a year. As a result of the success of the Cambodian operations, Secretary Laird has resumed the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. Fifty thousand of the 150,000 I announced on April 20 will now be out by October 15.

As long as the war goes on, we can expect some setbacks and some reversals. But, following the success of this effort, we can say now with confidence that we will keep our timetable for troop withdrawals.

Secretary Rogers and I have been particularly encouraged by the resolve of 11 Asian countries at the Djakarta Conference to seek a solution to the problem of Cambodia. Cambodia offers an opportunity for these 11 Asian nations, as well as other countries of the area, to cooperate in supporting the Cambodian Government's effort to maintain Cambodia's neutrality, its independence, and its territorial integrity. We shall do what we can to make it possible for these Asian initiatives to succeed.

To the North Vietnamese tonight I say again: The door to a negotiated peace remains wide open. Every offer we have made at the conference table, publicly or privately, I herewith reaffirm. We are ready to negotiate whenever they are ready to negotiate.

However, if their answer to our troop withdrawal program and to our offer to negotiate is to increase their attacks in a way that jeopardizes the safety of our remaining forces in Vietnam, I shall, as my action 5 weeks ago clearly demonstrated, take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation.

As all of you know, when I first announced the decision on Cambodia, it was subjected to an unprecedented barrage of criticism in this country. I want to express tonight my deep appreciation to the millions of Americans who supported me then and who have supported me since in our efforts to win a just peace.

But I also understand the deep divisions in this country over the war. I realize that many Americans are deeply troubled. They want peace. They want to bring the boys home. Let us understand once and for all that no group has a monopoly on those concerns. Every American shares those desires; I share them very deeply.

Our differences are over the best means to achieve a just peace.

As President, I have a responsibility to listen to those in this country who disagree with my policies. But I also have a solemn obligation to make the hard decisions which I find are necessary to protect the lives of 400,000 American men remaining in Vietnam.

When I spoke to you a month ago, a clear threat was emerging in Cambodia to the security of our men in Vietnam.

Ask yourselves this question: If an American President had failed to meet this threat to 400,000 American men in Vietnam, would those nations and peoples who rely on America's power and treaty commitments for their security—in Latin America, Europe, the Mideast, or other parts of Asia—retain any confidence in

the United States? That is why I deeply believe that a just peace in Vietnam is essential if there is to be a lasting peace in other parts of the world.

With this announcement tonight, we have kept the pledge I made when I ordered this operation, that we would withdraw from Cambodia on a scheduled timetable—just as this administration has kept every pledge it has made to the American people regarding the war in Vietnam and the return of American troops.

Let us look at the record.

In June of 1969, I pledged a withdrawal of 25,000 troops. They came home. In September of the same year I said I would bring home an additional 35,000. They came home. In December I said an additional 50,000 Americans were coming out of Vietnam. They, too, have come home.

There is one commitment yet to be fulfilled. I have pledged to end this war. I shall keep that promise. But I am determined to end the war in a way that will promote peace rather than conflict throughout the world. I am determined to end it in a way that will bring an era of reconciliation to our people and not an era of furious recrimination.

In seeking peace, let us remember that at this time only this administration can end this war and bring peace. We have a program for peace—and the greater the support the administration receives in its efforts, the greater the opportunity to win that just peace we all desire.

Peace is the goal that unites us. Peace is the goal toward which we are working. And peace is the goal this Government will pursue until the day that we reach it.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in his office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

An inventory of captured or destroyed enemy equipment and enemy casualties was released on the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 725).

176 Remarks to the Presidential Scholars of 1970. *June* 4, 1970

Dr. Wallis, Presidential Scholars, and our guests:

I appreciate this opportunity to come over and personally to congratulate you for the awards you have received. As you can imagine in a day in the life of a President, he has many meetings of this kind and each time I get a little folder telling me about the group that I am to receive. Usually it indicates that those who are being honored are being honored in a very material way, I mean by that a prize of money or some fancy gift or something like that.

So, I looked over this group and I saw that it was the elite of all of the high school and secondary graduates for the year 1970. Out of 3 million the 119 that are here, according to Dr. Wallis, these are the best. So, I thought, of course, that since you were selected as the best out of 3 million, that you would be receiving something that was something you could take home with you.

I find you get a medallion. I find, on the other hand, that there is no award in the material sense that we usually think of awards, no money prize, no grand state

gift, such as Presidents just exchanged, as with the President of Venezuela whom I just escorted out of the White House a few moments ago. But then it occurred to me that to you, the graduates of this class of 1970, what you have received and the recognition you receive is more important than a prize of material value.

The medallion, the fact that a very distinguished group of educators have selected you from all this Nation as the top scholars in the country, this is something that money cannot buy. It is something that money cannot reward. It is something also that you will carry with you the rest of your lives, I hope very proudly, because we expect a great deal from you. I very much expect that several in this room will enter public life. Some of you will run for office. Some of you will win, some of you will lose. I have done both, so I know what can happen.

Some of you will end up in the Congress and maybe the Senate and, who knows, you may be standing here some day. I am not sure. But, whatever the case may be, the fact that you have been selected as Presidential Scholars means that the Nation has a stake in you, a stake in you as the leaders of the future, as those who, 10, 15, 20 years from now, will be affecting the great decisions for this Nation and the world.

I would like to tell you what the world is going to look like and what the Nation is going to look like 10 years from now, 15 years from now. I can only say that we are trying, as we can in our generation, to make this Nation and this world a better place for you to live in.

The war, the very difficult war in which we are presently engaged, that will be concluded, of course. We trust that we can conclude it in a way that will provide a better opportunity to avoid not only that war, but others like it in the future.

But beyond that, I think of the divided world that we live in, the world divided between—we think of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. I think of the talks that are now going on in Vienna, where we are trying to limit the escalation of nuclear arms. There is hope that we will have some success in those talks. If we do have success, and I believe there is a good chance we will have success, it means the world you will live in, after you finish college 4 years from now, will be a safer world than it otherwise would be.

Then, further down the road, I think of another part of the whole international scene that often we do not adequately think of in terms of what the future may be. I think not only of the Soviet Union, a superpower like the United States, I think of the other half of the Communist world, Communist China, 700 million people, not yet a superpower, but 700 million people isolated not only from the United States and the free world but isolated from the Communist world. And I think of what a dangerous world it would be and what an unhappy world it would be if those 700 million people, 10 years from now, when you will have been out of college 5 or 6 years, or 20 years from now when you will have been out 15 years, if those 700 million, who will then be 800 million or 900 million, are still living in angry isolation from all the rest of the world.

What can we do about it? Nothing that can be done in a day, a week, a month, or a year. But we can begin. We can begin that process which will, I trust, leave a world, when you come on the scene, come on the scene as active participants in your

communities, your States and your Nation, whether in political life or in private life, that will leave a world in which we will not all have the same political systems, in which we will not all have affection for each other—because it will never be that way—but a world in which we can have reasonable safety and a world in which there can be communication between all peoples in the world.

I think that is possible, looking way down the road, way down the road to the year 2000 when you will not be as old as I am today, but almost. Looking down then, I would hope that all of you would be able to move throughout this whole world and know all of the people in it as you know the people in your own country.

Then, finally, I come back to this country because this is the heart of the whole matter. If we are unable to solve the problems of living together in the United States, it is very difficult for us to be effective in using our enormous influence in affecting other countries in solving the problems that they have.

So, sometimes when people come to see me and they talk about these great international problems and they say, "Well, my interest is: What are you going to do about the problems of the Soviet Union and how are you going to settle the Common Market situation and get Britain in, and what are you going to do about the German problem, and what about the Alliance for Progress in Latin America? What is the future of Africa? What about the Mideast which is bubbling up ready to explode again and all these world-shaking problems?" I sometimes try to bring them back to the problems in the United States and in their own communities because I can tell all of you, and all of you know this, that what happens in your college, in your university, in your city, in your State, can have an enormous effect on the future of this world in which we live.

What I am really trying to say is this: I don't know where each of you will end up, whether in government or out, and if in government, whether local government, State government, or national government, but I do know that everything you do is going to matter. I do know that not because we ask for it, but because the wheel of history turned in such a way that we have it, that the United States of America is the only nation in the free world that has the power and the influence that can determine whether freedom does survive in the world over the next 25 years. Whether it does survive is going to depend on the quality of our leadership and whether it survives does not depend simply on the quality of leadership of the President or Senators, or the rest determining these earth-shaking international problems, but it is going to particularly depend upon the quality of leadership in our communities, each one of them.

Everything you do really matters, because when any part of our country is isolated, when any part of it is torn apart, when there is hatred in any part of the country or prejudice, it hurts the whole country. So, anything that you can do to alleviate that, anything that you can do in a very small way can be very, very big.

There is nothing that is small where the United States is concerned. This is a great nation. It is a strong nation. It has many weaknesses, but with all of its weaknesses, we must remember there are peaceful ways to change them.

As I think of the Presidential Scholars, those who finish high school this year and of the years you have ahead, I can only say, don't have this idea that you some-

times hear, I know, from television and in the columns and maybe even from a few professors, not, of course, from Dr. Wallis, but the idea that, well, this is a terrible time to be alive. We have got a war in Vietnam. We have problems with the Soviet Union; the Mideast is ready to go up. We have racial problems at home—our universities, the alienation of youth, and all that.

I don't want to sound Pollyannaish. I would be the last to suggest our problems are not enormous; they are on my desk and on my mind every day, every hour that I am awake. But I do say this and I say it because I deeply believe it. You are very fortunate to be born and to be living in the United States of America, because what you do, the life you live does matter, because the United States does matter and that it what really counts.

At this time in history, the United States, and its leadership, is going to have an enormous impact on the future of the world for the next century. That is why I think the Presidential Scholars of 1970, while they will look back on a year of turmoil, and they will look forward to what they think are years of uncertainty, will also say, what a fortunate time to be alive because the challenges are great. And what a fortunate time to be alive and to be recognized as the top scholars of your class, as those that we are counting on.

I simply congratulate you for being selected. I wish you the very best. I wish you success in everything that you undertake in the future and I know that the country is going to be better off because this Commission had the good sense to select you. I hope these meetings have given you some inspiration, have lifted you a bit so that when you go back you will go on through college and then give the leadership which America needs, needs from its youth, and needs from its older people who will remember that they also once were young.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. Dr. W. Allen Wallis, president of the University of Rochester, was Chairman of the Commission on Presidential Scholars. An announcement, dated May 21, 1970, listing the 119 scholars and the membership of the Commission is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 672).

177 Statement on Signing Executive Order Establishing the National Council on Organized Crime. *June* 4, 1970

ORGANIZED CRIME in the United States has three goals: exploitation, corruption, and destruction. What it cannot directly exploit, it seeks to corrupt; what it cannot corrupt, it seeks to destroy. Its degrading influence can be felt in every level of American society, sometimes in insidious, subtle ways, but more often in direct acts of violence and illegality. It is a malignant growth in the body of American social and economic life that must be eliminated.

Today I am establishing a National Council on Organized Crime, under the chairmanship of the Attorney General, to formulate an effective, coordinated national strategy for the elimination of organized crime.

The creation of such a council is the inevitable result of the success of the

Federal Strike Forces—or organized crime field offices—in metropolitan areas where the organized crime problem is most concentrated. These Strike Forces consist of attorneys trained by the Department of Justice and agents and investigators from other departments and agencies.

This program requires a unique cooperative effort on the part of several Federal departments and agencies having diverse primary responsibilities. Up to this time, however, working relationships between representatives of these various departments and agencies have been developed on a regular basis only at the operating level.

With the creation of the National Council on Organized Crime, composed of representatives of all the Federal departments and agencies having major responsibilities affecting or affected by the activities of organized crime, the fight against this evil will have the necessary strategic as well as tactical planning.

I wish the Council and its distinguished and able membership an early success.

NOTE: The Council was created by Executive Order 11534.

178 Memorandums About the Combined Federal Campaign. *June* 4, 1970

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

Secretary of Transportation Volpe has agreed to serve again this year as Chairman of the Combined Federal Campaign for the National Capital Area. He did an outstanding job as campaign chairman last year and I am pleased that he is willing to serve again.

As in past years, this fall's campaign will combine into one single drive the campaigns of the United Givers Fund, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. In this one drive we will be seeking to do our share to meet the needs of more than 150 local, national, and international health, welfare, and social service agencies.

The voluntary charitable organizations perform services that are vital to our community, our nation and the world. The Combined Federal Campaign offers Federal personnel a unique opportunity to help hundreds of voluntary organizations by one gift once a year, a gift made easier by the availability of payroll deductions. I know that Secretary Volpe will have your wholehearted support in this endeavor and I hope you will commend the campaign with its payroll deduction feature to Federal employees and military personnel in your organization.

I request that you serve personally as Chairman of the combined campaign in your organization and appoint a top assistant as your Vice Chairman. Please advise Secretary Volpe of the person you designate as your Vice Chairman.

RICHARD NIXON

Memorandum for All Federal Employees and Military Personnel:

The concept of voluntary action, of community action, of people banding together in a spirit of neighborliness to do those things which they see must be done is deeply rooted in America's charac-

ter and tradition.

Through the Combined Federal Campaign we have the opportunity, which comes only in a free society, to show our individual concern for those who need help. This campaign combines in one annual on-the-job drive the campaigns of the local united fund, the American Red Cross, the National Health Agencies, and the International Service Agencies. These agencies help make our community a better place in which to live; they alleviate pain and suffering and seek cures from dreaded diseases; they bring help and hope to those in overseas lands.

Generosity and concern for others has always been a proud tradition of all who serve in the United States Government. I feel confident you will continue this tradition and welcome the opportunity to be of service through your contributions to the Combined Federal Campaign.

RICHARD NIXON

179 Statement Announcing the Membership of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. *June* 4, 1970

ON MARCH 16, I approved a bill establishing a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, and appointed John D. Rockefeller 3d as Chairman. I am pleased to announce the full membership of this most important Commission.

The mandate of the Commission is both large and challenging. The Commission will tell us what we should anticipate in the way of population growth in the United States, where we can expect that population to settle, and how we can most properly deal with it. It will then consider what steps the Nation should take to best meet the problem of excessive population density and too rapid growth.

The Congress made a substantial contribution to my proposal through amendments calling upon the Commission to consider how population is affecting our environment and natural resources, and further stating that in setting forth a population level best suited to the Nation's assets and resources, the Commission would consider appropriate ethical values and principles.

This approach to the population problem—both in the formulation of my proposal and the support demonstrated by the Congress—has been clearly bipartisan. In appointing Commission members, I have kept this bipartisan spirit very much in mind. And because this Commission will be so vitally concerned with charting a steady course for this Nation as we move toward the year 2000, I have made certain that the Commission will have youthful representation and participation.

NOTE: The list of Commission members, released by the White House, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 730). The transcript of a news briefing on the functions of the Commission by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President, was also released.

180 Letter to Senator Hugh Scott About a Proposed Amendment to the Foreign Military Sales Bill. *June* 4, 1970

Dear Hugh:

You have requested my views on an amendment offered by Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia to the Cooper-Church amendment to the Foreign Military Sales bill now being considered by the Senate.

As you know, I am opposed to the language of the Cooper-Church provision in its present form. Nevertheless, I fully appreciate the concerns of many Senators anxious that the Cambodian expedition not involve our Nation in another Vietnam-type conflict. As I reported to the American people last night, this has been the most successful operation of this long and difficult war and will be completed by June 30. The results will be fewer casualties and continued withdrawals from Vietnam—objectives that Senators share with me.

The Byrd amendment reaffirms the Constitutional duty of the Commander in Chief to take actions necessary to protect the lives of United States forces and is consistent with the responsibilities of my office. Therefore, it goes a long way toward eliminating my more serious objections to the Cooper-Church amendment.

You will recall that last year in Guam I outlined the Nixon doctrine establishing a policy for Asian nations to defend themselves, with American material assistance and technical help. If a stable lasting peace is to emerge in that beleaguered region, it is important that we promote regional cooperation. Therefore, I should hope that the Senate would also adopt an amendment supporting the Nixon doctrine of American material and technical assistance toward self-help.

I appreciate your continued deep interest in this subject and the untiring effort you and your colleagues have made in an effort to achieve meaningful legislation in the best interest of the American people.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[The Honorable Hugh Scott, The United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

NOTE: The letter was posted for the press.

On May 19, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Senator Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford on this and other amendments to the foreign military sales bill.

181 Remarks Announcing Changes in the Cabinet and the President's Staff. *June* 6, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am announcing today the first change in our Cabinet. This change involves two of my very close associates over the years, and I have them both here and each of them will make a statement after I indicate the nature of the change.

As all of you who have followed my career since 1947 know, my oldest and closest friend and associate within the administration is Bob Finch, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He has

served with me as my Administrative Assistant when I was Vice President and during the campaign of 1960 and through the years, also, when I was out of office in a voluntary capacity.

For some time, I have been discussing with Mr. Finch the possibility of having more of his time, in terms of his counsel, on matters not involving simply the operations of his huge and extremely important department but on general problems, problems in the domestic field and also in some foreign areas.

I had hoped that it would be possible for him to do both: to continue to be a personal adviser and counselor, as he has been through the years, and to operate the department. This cannot be done. That department requires full time operational responsibility and I have not had the benefit of his advice and counsel on many other matters as I would have liked.

Consequently, I have asked him to come to the White House on a full time basis as Counsellor to the President. His duties will be general. He will be advising me, of course, in the various areas in which he has special experience from HEW, in the problems of education particularly, in the problems of youth, and also in other areas in the political arena in which he has, through the years, been my closest associate and adviser.

I regret losing him at HEW, but I need him here. I have asked him to come here and he has accepted that responsibility.

He will be, incidentally, a member of the Domestic Council and I think we will have here then a team that will work very closely together. John Ehrlichman, Bob Haldeman, Bob Finch, Dr. Moynihan, Bryce Harlow, all are old friends. They are team players and I feel we will strengthen our White House team.

As far as I personally am concerned, I will strengthen my own staff because I will have a man with me who has contributed so much in the past to my general discussions and will in the future.

Incidentally, he will be traveling with me both on my foreign and domestic trips and on those weekends when I go to Florida or California and the rest for general preparation of speeches and other statements.

To replace Bob Finch as Secretary of HEW was a very difficult assignment. We examined, with Bob Finch and others within our White House team, a number of people who might be qualified. The best qualified man in the country—Bob Finch thought this, I thought this, and Secretary Rogers who has sat with us on these discussions, agreed—is Elliot Richardson. All of you who again go back a few years, as I do, will remember that he was Under Secretary of HEW, was also Acting Secretary for a period of 2½ months between Secretary Folsom and his successor, Arthur Flemming, and you will also remember that at the State level he has been the Attorney General of Massachusetts and before that was a U.S. Attorney.

SECRETARY FINCH. Lieutenant Governor, too, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Lieutenant Governor. You were Lieutenant Governor, too. We have two Lieutenant Governors here and we believe in promoting Lieutenant Governors upward one way or another.

Having mentioned Lieutenant Governor, I should have remembered that because he may have forgotten that while he is doing something for me by taking this new assignment, I once did something for him. I came to Boston and helped raise the money to get rid of his deficit after you

ran for Lieutenant Governor.

MR. RICHARDSON. We did get rid of it, too.

THE PRESIDENT. That is right.

Well, in any event, Elliot Richardson, as you know, has held the position of Under Secretary of State. When I first broached this subject to Secretary Rogers, he said, "It is like taking my right arm," because the relationship between the Secretary and the Under Secretary has been one of the best that has ever existed in that department.

On the other hand, Secretary Rogers recognizes that the opportunity of a man who has proved himself within the administration to go up must never be denied.

I reminded Secretary Rogers that he had been through that because he, as you know, was Deputy Attorney General and went from Deputy Attorney General to Attorney General.

And so, after thorough discussion, we have decided that Under Secretary Richardson would be offered the post of Secretary of HEW and he will assume that responsibility as soon as the Senate confirms him, which I would expect would not be a particular problem in this particular area.

I would like to say finally that I believe that this change is in the best interest of the whole administration. It will bring to the White House a man that I need in a special capacity that has not been filled adequately for my purposes before.

It will bring to HEW a man who has great administrative experience and it also is a happy, it seems to me, move in the sense that Bob Finch and Elliot Richardson will be working together in the fields of health and education, family assistance, and others, because even though Elliot Richardson has been Under Secretary of State, when we had the conference I remember on family assistance at Camp David, that he had some very good suggestions to make.

That concludes my statement. And Bob, would you like to say a word?

SECRETARY FINCH. The only thing you left out was that it is a higher calling but a lower salary. I am very honored, very flattered. It is like coming home, to be with John and Bob and my fellow Counsellors, Dr. Moynihan and Mr. Harlow.

It is a wrench to leave HEW. I am proud of what we have accomplished there. But I do feel I can be of great value in the White House working for the President as he directs me.

And I am very confident, very pleased, that we have somebody of Elliot Richardson's stature. I tried to get him as my Under Secretary when I first came in. Bill Rogers beat me.

And I know the Department will be very pleased to have him there and I know he will do an outstanding job.

Elliot?

MR. RICHARDSON. Thank you, Mr. President, and Mr. Secretary.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted, stunned, and sad all at once. I have been very happy in the Department of State. It has been a great privilege for me to have had a part in the development and execution of foreign policy under President Nixon's administration. I have enjoyed my association there with Secretary Rogers and with my other colleagues.

On the other hand, in leaving new friends in the Department of State, I will be rejoining old friends in the Department of HEW.

There will be, I know, Bob, many occasions in which, through the Council on

Domestic Affairs and otherwise, I will want to call on you for advice, counsel, and, I am sure on occasion, sympathy.

THE PRESIDENT. Leave a little time for me, too, will you, Elliot. [*Laughter*]

MR. RICHARDSON. Mr. President, I can only add that in seeking to fill Bob Finch's shoes I hope that I can fulfill your confidence in me.

I look forward to the assignment because it is a demanding one and because I know how important are the contributions it can make to the welfare and the well-being of millions of people.

I know also, Mr. President, that in taking over this assignment from Bob Finch it must mean a great deal to you to look forward to having his counsel and advice and association close to you here in the White House.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:07 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Biographical data on Secretaries Finch and Richardson were also released.

182 Statement About the Earthquake in Peru. *June* 8, 1970

ON BEHALF of the people of the United States, I am taking this means of expressing our deeply felt grief and distress concerning the major catastrophe which has befallen our sister nation of Peru. The earthquake which struck northern Peru on May 31st destroyed entire villages and brought death to tens of thousands. Hundreds of thousands are now homeless and survivors face the prospects of widespread hunger and disease. This event is described as the worst natural calamity in Peru's history and perhaps the history of South America.

The people of this hemisphere and of the entire world share a deep concern for what the Peruvian people are suffering—for the plight of the homeless and injured and orphaned. They know that a monumental effort is urgently required to gain access to the stricken area, and to provide transportation for needed medical personnel and supplies, food, clothing, and shelter.

The people of the United States stand ready with the peoples of all the American nations to respond to the requests of our sister Republic of Peru in this time of its great need. We are prepared not only to help with what Peru may need today, but also to aid in the long and arduous task of rebuilding an entire region of that nation.

The United States has already begun to move emergency assistance and supplies to Peru. Several airplanes and ships carrying disaster relief supplies and personnel have already been dispatched. An AID grant of $10 million for immediate relief and rehabilitation has been authorized. Private United States organizations are also contributing significant amounts of supplies and assistance of various kinds.

I am taking this opportunity to announce other actions to assist the Government of Peru in meeting its emergency relief needs:

1. I am directing the establishment of a Special Steering Group, under the direction of Secretary Finch to plan and coordinate all United States Government participation in Peruvian relief efforts

and to assure close liaison with the Peruvian Government. The Special Steering Group will include representatives of the State Department, HEW, AID, the Department of Defense, and the Peace Corps.

2. I have asked the Director of the Peace Corps, Joseph Blatchford, working under the guidance of Secretary Finch and the Special Steering Group, to coordinate and organize a program which would provide an opportunity for American citizens, particularly young Americans, to participate in relief and long-term reconstruction efforts to the extent their services can be effectively utilized by the Peruvian Government.

3. I have asked Secretary of State Rogers and AID Administrator Hannah to consider additional ways in which we might cooperate with Peru in meeting the longer-term problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

It is our fervent hope that a great common effort of the American nations can limit and relieve the suffering which this earthquake has brought to our sister republic and can help Peru make a speedy recovery from this calamity.

NOTE: On June 11, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on U.S. relief assistance by Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Joseph H. Blatchford, Director of the Peace Corps.

183 Statement Announcing Extensions of Welfare Reform Proposals. *June* 10, 1970

PAST PROGRAMS to aid the poor have failed. They have degraded the poor and defrauded the taxpayer. The family assistance plan represents the most comprehensive and far-reaching effort to reform social welfare in nearly four decades. Today, I am announcing significant extensions of the administration's welfare reform proposals.

Basic Principles

The family assistance plan is based on four fundamental principles:

—Strong incentives to encourage work and training;

—Equity to provide assistance to working poor families;

—Respect for individual choice and family responsibility; and

—Administrative efficiency to earn the trust of the taxpayer.

Administration officials have worked recently to identify ways to extend the principles of this income strategy to other domestic programs such as Medicaid, food stamps, and public housing.

On the basis of this review, I have made my decision to propose basic amendments to the Family Assistance Act of 1970.

Health Insurance for Poor Families

The most important proposal I make today is to reform the Medicaid program.

Medicaid is plagued by serious faults. Costs are mounting beyond reason. Services vary considerably from State to State. Benefits are only remotely related to family resources. Eligibility may terminate abruptly as a family moves off welfare, often losing more in medical benefits than it gains in income.

In short—just like the existing welfare

system—Medicaid is inefficient, inequitably excludes the working poor, and often provides an incentive for people to stay on welfare.

I will propose legislation at the beginning of the next Congress to establish a family health insurance program for all poor families with children. This insurance would provide a comprehensive package of health services, including both hospital and outpatient care.

Final decisions on the specifications of the family health insurance proposal must await further review by the new Domestic Council. We are satisfied that the basic principles will work. This proposal will constitute the second legislative stage of the administration's income strategy against poverty.

Unified Administration of Food Stamps and Family Assistance

The administration has already made extensive changes in the food stamp program to improve benefits, make them more equitable, and help even the very poorest families to receive assistance. We will propose that the Congress build on these executive reforms to integrate food stamps with family assistance and other income support programs.

Therefore, I plan to:

—Submit a reorganization plan at the beginning of the next Congress to transfer the food stamp program from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare;

—Make it possible for a family to "check off" its food stamp purchase and receive its stamp allotment automatically with its family assistance check; and

—Revise the food stamp price schedule to make it rise evenly with increases in income.

Assisted Housing

Present subsidized housing programs are marked by inconsistencies and inequities. Many families pay the same rent despite wide differences in income. A small increase in earnings may force the family to move, losing much more housing assistance than is gained in income.

We have proposed a solution to many of these problems in the Housing Act of 1970. Rents would vary directly with income. A family would not be forced to move at some arbitrary income limit. We will offer this provision of the Housing Act to the Senate Finance Committee for its consideration.

Reform of Individual and Family Services

In other amendments, we are proposing significant changes in social services for the poor. This proposal has been developed in recent months and will be ready for submission to the Congress next week.

These amendments will:

—Encourage accountability and program results;

—Strengthen the role of Governors, mayors, and county executives;

—Seek to eliminate duplication and overlap.

Other Major Changes

Other administration amendments to the Family Assistance Act make important changes. For example:

—Phasing out the special program for

unemployed fathers, thus eliminating one of the most serious disincentives noted by the Senate Finance Committee;

—Limiting the welfare burden of the States by placing a ceiling on their financial obligations under the program;

—Strengthening the work requirement; and

—Reducing areas of administrative discretion.

Nowhere has the failure of government been more tragically apparent in past years than in its efforts to help the poor. The 91st Congress has an historic but rapidly vanishing opportunity to reverse that record by enacting the Family Assistance Act of 1970. Let there be no mistake about this administration's total commitment to passage of this legislative milestone this year.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on welfare reform proposals by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture; George P. Shultz, Secretary of Labor; Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President; and John G. Veneman, Under Secretary, and Robert E. Patricelli, Special Assistant for Urban Affairs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

184 Remarks Announcing Appointments in the Executive Branch. *June* 10, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have an announcement today with regard to major appointments within the executive branch. As you know, for many years all commissions studying the organization of the Federal Government have unanimously recommended a reorganization of the Office of the President. Those recommendations, unfortunately, in previous years, have not been able to be implemented. This year the reorganization of the Office of the President. Congress has not disapproved it. It was presented to the Congress and, as a matter of fact, the Congress, the majority of the House that did take it up voted in effect for it.

The plan will go into effect on July 1. Under that plan, as you know, a new office is set up, the Office of Management and Budget. This Office is one that will have major responsibilities in a number of fields and particularly in what I would describe as how the Government operates. The domestic policy council, for example, will make decisions with regard to what the Government does, but the question of how the Government operates, how much we can spend for this program and that, the evaluation of programs, the management of programs—in these vitally important areas we are making a new and, we think much needed approach.

To find the man who could assume this new responsibility has been a very difficult problem, difficult because finding one who exactly would fit all of the qualifications is not always possible. We think, however, that we have in the Secretary of Labor, George Shultz, the man who best fits the needs of this time for setting up this new Office and administering it.

He is, as you know, a former dean of the School of Business Administration of the University of Chicago. He is a dis-

tinguished economist and he has demonstrated very clearly in his months as Secretary of Labor that he is one of the best administrators of a department within the executive branch at this time.

He has agreed to accept the post as Director of this Office.

One of those with whom I consulted and who strongly recommended him, as a matter of fact who said that if he was making the choice it would be his first recommendation, is our present Budget Director Bob Mayo. Mr. Mayo said that, based on the needs of the Office and the qualifications of George Shultz, that he felt that he was the best qualified man to take over this new Office.

Robert Mayo, as you know, has been our Budget Director. He has, in my opinion, made a record that will for many years be looked upon as one of the most distinguished records, one of the best records, as Budget Director that this Government has ever had.

When he came on as Budget Director he indicated that he would stay through two new budget cycles. However, with the new Office coming on July 1, he felt that it was important that the new team begin on July 1. But, Director Mayo has agreed to come into the White House as a Counsellor to the President and in this capacity he will advise the new Office and help in its implementation and also give advice to the President in other fields, economic fields, where his advice previously has been invaluable.

In this Office, also, there is the Office of Deputy Director with specific responsibility for the budget. Here we have gone to the State of California, to Caspar Weinberger. He has a distinguished record there, first as an attorney, then, as you know, as Director of Finance for the State of California, and since that time has been in Washington as Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, and in that office has just completed a major reorganization there.

We are moving him from the Commission earlier than I would have hoped, but the need here, we thought, was such and his qualifications so unique, that he was the man to serve as Deputy Director of the Office of Executive Management and Budget with specific responsibilities for the budget.

Then we turn to the successor for Secretary Shultz. Here, following the practice that I like to follow whenever it seems consistent with the needs of proper service for the people, I have looked within the department at a man who was recommended by Secretary Shultz for his successor, his Under Secretary, Mr. James Hodgson, also from California.

Mr. Hodgson is one who has a rather unique reputation in labor circles and business circles. He has the respect of business and management people; he also has the respect of labor people, all of whom I consulted prior to making this announcement today.

I believe that this new team that I have announced today in each of the offices that they will be filling will do a very distinguished job. I will just say one final thing before Secretary Shultz and Director Mayo and Caspar Weinberger will answer questions. Mr. Hodgson will answer no questions, because he has Senate confirmation coming up for his position and will save the questions for them.

The real test now comes in how this Office of Executive Management and Budget operates. The question that many will ask: Is this just another layer of government on top of too much government

already? That is the question that this new team will find an answer to. If it is that, it will have been a great mistake. However, we believe that as a result of the new procedures that will be put into effect by this new Office we will be able rather than adding another layer, to remove some layers of government, to streamline, if I may use that overworked term—to streamline our Government offices so that we may more effectively serve the Nation in the many areas where the Federal Government has responsibility.

I only hope that perhaps a year from now, or 2 years from now, we can look back at this moment and say it was not just another layer, but it resulted, because of this new Office and the new men that take over these responsibilities, in accomplishing what commission after commission have recommended through the years, finally bringing real business management at the very highest level into the executive branch of the Government.

And with that I will turn the questioning over to Mr. Shultz, Mr. Mayo, Mr. Weinberger.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The transcript of the news conference that followed the President's remarks and biographical data on Secretary Shultz, Director Mayo, Chairman Weinberger, and Under Secretary Hodgson, were also released.

185 Remarks to Delegates Attending the Annual United States Attorneys' Conference. *June* 11, 1970

Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Deputy Attorney General, and ladies and gentlemen:

I think you will agree we are giving you a very warm welcome to Washington today. [*Laughter*]

You are here in the historic Rose Garden at this point. You will wonder where the roses are. They come later in the summer. But for all the ladies who I know will be interested in how these are done: A little earlier we had tulips and now we have what you see here, and the roses will be planted later on. So year around, whatever it is, we have a very historic and a very beautiful site for meetings of this type.

I hope you have enjoyed your tour of the White House and I want you to know that I feel that to welcome you and to say a few words to you is very important in what is sometimes a very busy day for whoever occupies this office.

The Attorney General said you were the local lawyers for the President. You are the local lawyers for all the people of this country. I know that the great majority of you are Republicans. Traditionally, that is the case where the U.S. Attorneys are concerned.

On the other hand, you realize that your jobs do not involve partisanship. They involve the interests of all the people. You are enforcing not a Republican law or a Democratic law, you are enforcing the law of the United States. And you are enforcing it in an even-handed way for all the people. We want you to feel that way; we want you to act that way.

I met recently, as the Attorney General will recall, with the leaders of the American Bar Association when they were here. We were discussing the problem of re-

storing some respect for law, something that is very close to the hearts and minds of all of us throughout this country regardless of our partisanship.

I made a point that I think we should always keep in mind; that if we are to have respect for law in this country, we must have laws that deserve respect.

Now this means not only that the laws that are passed by the Congress and the State legislatures and the city councils must be evenhanded and fair to all but it means that those who administer the law, those who enforce the law, must deserve respect.

When a law is not enforced that creates disrespect for law. But a law that is unfairly enforced also creates disrespect for law.

So I say to you: We want you to enforce the laws; we want you to enforce them fairly; we want you, as the Federal lawyers, to give leadership in your local communities to all of those who have this responsibility, so that we can establish throughout this country respect for our courts, respect for the law, law which is fair and even for all people. This is the goal of this administration and it is the goal, I trust, of those who are the President's and the people's lawyers, who you are.

One other point that I would like to make: You are going to be here for a few days and you are going to find that in a number of fields, particularly the field of narcotics and dangerous drugs, we need a message to get back to the communities.

We have done a lot of studying of these subjects here at the Federal level and we find over and over again that there is a need for information to get back to the communities to deal with these problems.

I trust you will listen to the briefings that I have heard. They are very, very impressive. I always learn something new in every one of them. I hope then you will go back and carry this message, not only in terms of enforcing the laws but again of informing the people.

Speak in the high schools, because it is there, or the junior high schools or in the colleges and get the message through to our young people about the dangers that are involved here because you can tell them that I feel—this will be helpful in getting the message across—that this is one of the major problems confronting all Americans today, and particularly young Americans, the tremendous growth in the use of narcotics without knowledge as to what it can do to the mind, let alone to the body and the physical condition of men and women.

One other point I would make: You have done a good job with the tools you have. You will have noted that the rate of crime in this country went up 16 percent in 1967. It went up at the rate of 19 percent in 1968. That rate of increase of crime has been turned around in 1969, turned around, I should point out, partly by the leadership that you provide.

We realize that crime is local and State as well as Federal as far as responsibilities for dealing with it are concerned. But it is turned around because of newer, and I think, more effective leadership coming from the Attorney General, coming from you.

We want you to continue to give that leadership but you need some new tools. You need them and, throughout the country, our local law enforcement officials need those tools. The Federal Government needs to act in many areas.

This administration, for a year and a half, has had pending before the Congress of the United States, 13 pieces of legislation dealing with organized crime, dealing with narcotics, dealing with pornography, dealing with dangerous drugs, dealing also with the use of explosives.

You saw, for example, the problem that was referred to in New York by Mayor Lindsay, in which he pointed to the bomb that was used against the police department in New York in one of the precincts there, which indicates how dangerous this problem has become.

Here we have this legislation, 13 pieces of legislation, before the Congress. For 18 months most of the legislation has been there and not one of those bills has reached the President's desk for signature.

Now let me say, I am a Republican. Most of you are. I understand partisan politics. I understand it in an election year. I can understand the Congress dragging its feet about some things. After all, that is the way the political game is played.

But crime, respect for law, dealing with crime, these are issues that are above partisan politics and I think it is time for the Congress to get off the dead center on which it presently has been operating, to get these bills out of committee, to give the Members of the House and Senate a chance to operate, to get them down here on the President's desk for signature so that you out in the field can have the tools to do the job.

I promise you that if we get the tools from the Congress, we will use them and we will reduce this rate of crime. We have done a good job without having new legislation. We will do a better job with more legislation.

But let's remember where the responsibility is: It is right down there in the Congress. They need to provide those tools for us and then we will do the job. And to me, I think, perhaps the major failure of this Congress has been its failure to act on any of the crime legislation that has been before them for 18 months.

Partisanship is no excuse for it, and I do not charge partisanship in this instance. What is involved here is that in this very important area where Democrats write me as much as Republicans about their concern about narcotics, about organized crime, about dangerous drugs, about street crime, where I get letters from all over the country, where according to polls this is the number one issue that concerns people of all parties in their homes and in their communities—for the Congress to fail to act and go back to the people will be something that the people will remember.

So we ask for the Congress to act. We hope you can use your influence with both your Democratic and Republican friends in Congress to get action while you are here, within, of course, all of the rules that you have to follow.

Thank you very much. We wish you well.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:38 a.m. following a brief introduction by Attorney General John N. Mitchell. The Deputy Attorney General was Richard G. Kleindienst.

186 Special Message to the Congress Urging Legislation To Avoid Further Pollution in the Santa Barbara Channel. *June* 11, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In 1955 the State of California took steps to protect a particularly beautiful area of its coastline by creating a State Sanctuary extending sixteen miles along the Santa Barbara Channel and closing it to all petroleum exploration. About a decade later, however, the Federal Government issued leases for petroleum exploration immediately seaward from the State Sanctuary. Oil platforms were soon constructed and petroleum drilling began. In January 1969, a blowout in the Channel resulted in widespread oil pollution of the Sanctuary.

The twenty Federal leases seaward from the Sanctuary which were granted by the previous Administration should be cancelled. Legislation being submitted today would terminate these leases and create a Marine Sanctuary. Compensation to the lessees would be funded by revenue from oil production at the Elk Hills Naval Petroleum Reserve which is also located in California.

To avoid further marine pollution, however, it will be necessary to continue pumping oil from three leases in the area. The oil beneath the Channel where the 1969 blowout occurred is contained in a geological formation which was damaged by oil drilling. If not bled off this high pressure oil would escape through zones of structural weakness causing further pollution. The legislation I am proposing would, therefore, allow production on these three leases under strict management controls.

This proposal for Santa Barbara illustrates our strong commitment to use offshore lands in a balanced and responsible manner. It recognizes the earlier decision made by the people of California to set aside a part of their coastline as a sanctuary, and it extends the protected area across the Channel to Santa Cruz Island.

This recommendation is based on the belief that immediate economic gains are not the only, or even the major, way of measuring the value of a geographic area. The ability of that area to sustain wildlife and its capacity to delight and inspire those who visit it for recreation can be far more important characteristics. This proposal recognizes that technology alone cannot bring national greatness, and that we must never pursue prosperity in a way that mortgages the nation's posterity.

I urge the Congress to give this legislation early and careful consideration. It represents another way in which the Federal Government can clearly demonstrate its commitment to the quality of life in America.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 11, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's message by Senator George Murphy and Representative Charles M. Teague, both of California, and Dr. William T. Pecora, Director, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior.

56-087—71——35

187 Remarks Urging Prompt Congressional Action on Housing Finance Legislation. *June* 12, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

On February 2 I sent to the Congress a message asking for enactment of the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970. You will note that I described this as the "Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970."

Four months have passed and the Congress has as yet failed to act. A bill has passed the Senate. It now is tied up in the House Rules Committee. We are hopeful that next week the House Rules Committee will act and that the House itself may act.

In presenting Secretary Romney to you today, I should point out that he recommended to me 4 months ago that this legislation be sent to the Congress. He then said that there was an emergency insofar as housing finance was concerned.

For 4 months on this emergency legislation there has been no action and now we have what I would describe as a crisis insofar as financing for housing needed by hundreds of thousands of people across the country.

It is time to act, even at this late date. Secretary Romney has talked to me on several occasions since February 2, urging action. He will be glad to answer your questions with regard to the provisions of the legislation, what we hope it will accomplish, even at this late date.

We hope that the Emergency Act of 4 months ago now will become legislation within the next 2 weeks or so, as it well might.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Also released was the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George W. Romney.

188 Statement on Establishing the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. *June* 13, 1970

THE UNITED STATES has the greatest system of higher education ever developed by man. But in the past academic year, the integrity of this system—involving more than 2,500 colleges and universities and nearly 8,000,000 students—has been threatened. While the overwhelming majority of those who live and work in the academic community are dedicated to nonviolence, there have nevertheless been over 100 campuses on which violent acts have recently occurred. The tragic results have included loss of life, vast property damage, and serious disruption of the educational process. This situation is a matter of vital concern to all Americans.

Today I am appointing a Commission on Campus Unrest to study this serious situation, to report its findings and make recommendations to me. William Scranton, the former Governor of Pennsylvania, will be the Chairman.

The following are among the purposes of the Commission:

—To identify the principal causes of campus violence, particularly in the specific occurrences of this spring.

—To assess the reasons for breakdown in the processes for orderly expression of dissent.

—To suggest specific methods and procedures through which legitimate grievances can be resolved.

—To suggest ways to protect and enhance the right of academic freedom, the right to pursue an education free from improper interference, and the right of peaceful dissent and protest.

It is my hope that the Commission will help us discover what practical steps can be taken by all levels of government—including law enforcement agencies—to alleviate the dangers involved in this situation. I hope, too, that the Commission will explore ways in which university administrations and student leaders can contribute more effectively to the control and elimination of campus violence. There is nothing that any of us can do now to restore the lives that have been lost or to undo the other effects of past campus violence. But the Commission can help us to avoid future incidents of the sort which occurred this past spring, the most appalling of which were the tragedies at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State College in Mississippi.

The Commission will receive assistance and support from its own staff and from the investigative facilities of the various Federal departments. I will ask the Congress to provide the Commission with the power of subpena.

I have asked the Commission to begin its work immediately and to report to me before the beginning of the coming academic year.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

The Commission was established by Executive Order 11536. An announcement of the membership is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 753).

189 Statement Appealing to Americans To Assist the Victims of the Earthquake in Peru. *June* 13, 1970

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, there are few times in the lives of all of us when we are called upon as we are this Sunday, to extend the spirit of humanity and brotherhood to a fellow nation.

The country of Peru, a neighbor nation in this hemisphere, has undergone the worst catastrophe ever suffered by a people of the Americas. An earthquake which struck Peru 2 weeks ago has taken over 50,000 lives. One out of every 12 Peruvians has been left without a home, without warm clothing, without food. Thousands of children have been orphaned. To them and their families we extend our prayers and sympathy.

As President of the United States, I appeal to you—as individuals and as a nation—to express our concern and grief through actions that will help to relieve the suffering that tragedy has brought to Peru.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

A White House announcement, dated June 24, 1970, on the establishment and membership of the Peru Earthquake Voluntary Assistance Group, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 810).

On September 8, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Counsellor to the President Robert H. Finch on the final report on U.S. relief assistance to Peru.

An announcement, dated October 8, listing total U.S. aid, both private and Federal, and total international aid, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1353).

190 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program. *June* 15, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the annual report on the international educational and cultural exchange program conducted during the Fiscal Year 1969 under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Public Law 87–256, the Fulbright-Hays Act).

This program, in Fiscal Year 1969, exchanged more than 6,500 teachers, scholars, students and distinguished leaders between the United States and 132 countries and territories. More than 2,000 of these were leaders, potential leaders and professionals from other lands who came to observe and study the United States, its people and institutions. Cumulatively, from 1949 through 1969, 132,380 United States and foreign grantees have been exchanged under this State Department program.

This exchange has directly contributed to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives. Observing and working with colleagues here on mutual problems, our visitors have established personal and institutional relationships which persist through the years. They have realized what they have in common with us, as well as our differences. Together with American grantees studying and teaching abroad, they have contributed greatly to the store of knowledge and understanding of our respective cultures, penetrating below the surface news and impressions of the mass media.

This report for the Fiscal Year 1969 educational and cultural exchange program is largely devoted to an aspect of the program too often overlooked—that is, the extraordinary extent to which it receives the cooperation and assistance, including financial assistance, from United States private groups, private individuals, private educational institutions and business corporations. This private cooperation not only indicates the high level of citizen interest in exchange but gives the program its essential character and effectiveness.

Perhaps in no other way have the American people made so direct a contribution to our foreign policy objectives for the 1970s which I defined in my February 18 message to Congress.

I commend this report to the thoughtful attention of the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 15, 1970

NOTE: The report, entitled "International Exchange, 1969" (25 pp. plus addenda), was published by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State.

191 Statement Announcing Membership of the Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation. *June* 16, 1970

IN MY ECONOMIC REPORT last February, I pointed out that our economy must have strong and innovative financial institutions if our national savings are to be utilized effectively. At that time I announced that I would appoint a commission to study our financial structure and make recommendations to me for needed changes. On April 22, I appointed Mr. Reed O. Hunt, formerly chief executive officer of Crown Zellerbach, to head the Commission. Today I am announcing its formal organization and the names of the outstanding citizens who have agreed to serve as members.

The Commission has a broad mandate: to review and study the structure, operation, and regulation of the private financial institutions in the United States for the purpose of formulating recommendations which would improve the functioning of the private financial system. Just as the mandate is broad, no rigid timetable for interim or final reports has been set. We would hope to receive the final report, however, before the beginning of the second session of the 92d Congress—or by December 1971.

Since the announcement of his appointment in April, Mr. Hunt has been working with administration officials and private economists in planning the Commission's study. The recommendations that have resulted from this study will be presented to the Commission at its first meeting, in the latter part of June.

A great deal of top-level study and planning has gone into the formation of this Commission. I am optimistic that the result will be a series of constructive and achievable legislative proposals—proposals which will advance our basic goal of shaping the financial system so as to meet the credit needs of the U.S. economy and its people in the decades ahead.

The members of the Commission on Financial Structure and Regulation are:

REED OLIVER HUNT, *Chairman,* former chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation.

MORRIS D. CRAWFORD, JR., chairman, The Bowery Savings Bank, New York, N.Y.

JAMES HOWARD EDGERTON, president, California Federal Savings and Loan Association, Los Angeles, Calif.

RICHARD G. GILBERT, president, Citizens Savings, Canton, Ohio.

ALAN GREENSPAN, president, Townsend-Greenspan and Company, New York, N.Y.

WALTER S. HOLMES, JR., president, C.I.T. Financial Corporation, New York, N.Y.

LANE KIRKLAND, secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

REX J. MORTHLAND, president, Peoples Bank and Trust Company, Selma, Ala.

WILLIAM H. MORTON, president, American Express Company, New York, N.Y.

DONALD S. MACNAUGHTON, chairman, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, N.J.

ELLMORE C. PATTERSON, president, Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, New York, N.Y.

K. A. RANDALL, vice chairman, United Virginia Bankshares, Inc., Richmond, Va.

RALPH S. REGULA, attorney, Navarre, Ohio.

DR. R. J. SAULNIER, professor of economics, Barnard College, New York, N.Y.

ROBERT H. STEWART III, chairman, First National Bank in Dallas, Dallas, Tex.

192 Address to the Nation on Economic Policy and Productivity. *June* 17, 1970

Good afternoon, my fellow Americans:

Today I would like to share with you my thoughts on three subjects that reach into the homes and the pocketbooks of every family: your job, your income, and your cost of living.

Specifically, I shall announce actions that will help to move us ahead more quickly towards our goal of full employment, economic growth, and reasonable price stability in peacetime.

Let us begin by recognizing these facts:

The American economy is the strongest in the world. This year, the number of Americans who have jobs is the highest in our history. Even allowing for taxes and inflation, the average real income of Americans is higher this year than ever before, in part because of the increase in social security benefits and the reduction of the tax surcharge which will end entirely this month.

Because of that basic economic strength, we can honestly and confidently face up to our current problems:

Unemployment has increased; the price index continues to rise; profits have gone down; the stock market has declined; interest rates are too high.

Today I am presenting a program to deal with these problems.

First we should recognize the causes of our economic difficulties. What we are doing here is to deal with the problems of a nation in transition from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy.

Our economy must consequently make adjustments to two great changes at the same time.

One change is that defense spending is on the way down. For the first time in 20 years, the Federal Government is spending more on human resource programs than on national defense.

This year we are spending $1.7 billion less on defense than we were a year ago; in the next year, we plan to spend $5.2 billion less. This is more than a redirection of resources. This is an historic reordering of our national priorities.

The cuts in defense spending mean a shift of job opportunities away from defense production to the kind of production that meets social needs. This will require adjustment by many employees and businesses.

For example, over 400,000 military and civilian employees have been released in this past year by our Armed Forces. In that time, cutbacks in defense spending have reduced jobs in defense plants by about 300,000. Taken together, that's almost three quarters of a million people affected by the reduction in defense spending. Now, while many of these workers have found new jobs, it is not hard to see where much of the current increase in total unemployment has come from.

Despite the difficulties of this transition, progress toward a peacetime economy is a good sign for the labor force and for the business community. Reduction in defense spending gives us more room in the Federal budget to meet human needs at home. It makes it possible to build a much more enduring prosperity in this country.

With its trials and with its hopes, a peacetime economy is clearly on the way. We have already brought home 115,000 from Vietnam. Our success in destroying

enemy supply bases in Cambodia has made it possible for us to go forward with the program for withdrawal of 150,000 more men which I announced in my speech of April 20, without jeopardizing the lives of our men who would be brought home after that.

Our scheduled withdrawal of forces from Cambodia by June 30 will be kept. Our scheduled transition from a wartime economy to a peacetime consumer economy will be kept.

While our economy adapts to the reordering of our national priorities and resources, we are undergoing a second great change. We are trying to do something that never has been done before: to avoid a recession while we bring a major inflation to an end.

This administration took office after a long period in which this Nation lived far beyond its means. In the decade of the sixties, Federal deficits totaled $57 billion, and the American consumer was forced to pay the piper in terms of a rising spiral of prices.

Seventeen months ago, when this administration took office, we stood at a crossroads of economic policy. There were actually four roads open to us.

One was the road of runaway inflation: to do nothing about Government spending and rising prices, to let the boom go on booming until the bubble burst. That was the road the Nation was taken on in the sixties, and the people who suffer most along that road are the millions of Americans living on fixed incomes.

The road headed in the opposite direction from that one was a possible choice as well: Let the economy "go through the wringer," as some suggested, and bring on a major recession.

Well, that would stop inflation abruptly, but at a cost in human terms of broken careers and broken lives that this Nation must never again have to pay.

A third choice was the route of wage and price controls. That would lead to rationing, black marketing, total Federal bureaucratic domination, and it would never get at the real causes of inflation.

That left a fourth choice: to cut down the sharp rise in Federal spending and to restrain the economy firmly and steadily. In that way, prices would slow their rise without too great a hardship on the workingman, the businessman, and the investor. That was the road of responsibility, that is the road we chose, and that is the road we are continuing on today.

Because we are concerned with both prices and jobs, we have put the brakes on inflation carefully and steadily.

This did not mean that inflation could end without some slowdown in the economy. But we were willing to make a trade—to sacrifice speed in ending inflation in order to keep the economic slowdown moderate.

At the outset of our fight against inflation, we pointed out that it would take time to relieve the heavy spending programs and pressures on the economy; after that beginning, it would take more time to see that those reduced pressures result in a slowdown in price rises.

Now many people wonder why we are easing some of the restraints on the economy before we have seen dramatic results in slowing down the rise in the cost of living. Why, they ask, don't we keep on with all of our measures to hold down the economy until price rises stop completely?

Let me put it this way: It is a little like trying to bring a boat into a dock. You

turn down the power well before you get to the dock and let the boat coast in. Now if you waited until you reached the dock to turn down the power, you'd soon have to buy a new dock or a new boat.

In the same way, we're heading for the dock of price stability: We have to ease up on the power of our restraint and let our momentum carry us safely into port.

That's why our independent central banking system has seen fit to ease up on the money supply. That is why I relaxed the cutback on federally-assisted construction projects and why I have not asked for a new surtax.

These actions are not a signal that we are giving up our fight against inflation. On the contrary, they mean that there was already enough power applied to reach the dock and now we'd better make sure that we don't damage the boat.

The Federal Reserve's monetary policy, which permitted no growth in the money supply at all in the second half of 1969, has now been relaxed. In the past 6 months, the money supply has grown at a rate of about 6 percent a year.

The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board has assured the Nation that there will be enough money and credit to meet future needs, and that the orderly expansion of the economy will not be endangered by a lack of liquidity.

Now I'm not asking anyone to put on rose-colored glasses. We are well aware of the forces working against us.

To make sure the coming upturn in the economy will not be of the kind that brings on a new surge of inflation, we have gained control of the runaway momentum of Federal spending—the spending that triggered the rise in prices in the first place.

In the 3 years before this administration took office, Federal spending rose an average of 15 percent a year—the sharpest rate of increase since the Korean war. In the current fiscal year, we slashed that rate of increase in half, to 7 percent. And in the coming year, we intend to cut that rate of increase in spending by half again.

Now this required some hard decisions—including, as you may recall, the veto of a popular appropriations bill—but it was vital to win the battle to hold down spending so that we could ultimately hold down prices. We are winning that battle but we cannot let up now.

I am convinced that the basic economic road we have taken is the right road, the responsible road, the road that will curb the cost of living and lead us to orderly expansion.

However, we have to face some difficult problems. The momentum of 4 years of inflation was stronger than had been anticipated. The effect on unemployment is greater than we foresaw. The pace of our progress toward price stability and high employment has not been quick enough.

Now this does not mean that we should abandon our strategy. It does mean that we must pay heed to economic developments as we move along and adjust our tactics accordingly.

While relying basically on continued moderation in general fiscal and monetary policies, I think it is necessary and timely to supplement them with several more specific measures.

Here are the actions I am taking to

speed up the fight against inflation:

First, I shall appoint a National Commission on Productivity [1] with representatives from business, labor, the public, and government.

In general, productivity is a measure of how well we use our resources; in particular, it means how much real value is produced by an hour of work. In the past 2 years, productivity has increased far less than usual.

In order to achieve price stability, healthy growth, and a rising standard of living, we must find ways of restoring growth to productivity.

This Commission's task will be to point the way toward this growth in 1970 and in the years ahead. I shall direct the Commission to give first priority to the problems we face now; we must achieve a balance between costs and productivity that will lead to more stable prices.

Productivity in the American economy depends on the effectiveness of management; the investment of capital for research, development, and advanced technology; and most of all on the training and progressive spirit of 86 million working Americans.

To give its efforts the proper base of understanding, the Commission will this summer bring together leaders of business, labor, government, and the general public to meet in a special President's Conference on Productivity.

Second, I have instructed the Council of Economic Advisers to prepare a periodic Inflation Alert.[2] This will spotlight the significant areas of wage and price increases and objectively analyze their impact on the price level. This Inflation Alert will call attention to outstanding cases of price or wage increases and will be made public by the productivity commission.

Third, I am establishing a Regulations and Purchasing Review Board [3] within the Federal Government. All Government actions will be reviewed to determine where Federal purchasing and regulations drive up costs and prices; our import policy will be reviewed to see how supplies can be increased to meet rising demand, without losing jobs here at home.

Now let me specifically spell out what I will do and what I will not do. I intend to help focus the attention of business and labor on the need for increased productivity. This is the way for them to serve their own interest while they serve the public interest. This is the only way to make sure that increases in earnings are not wiped out by the rising cost of living.

This administration, by its spending restraint, has set the example in this past year; we believe we have now earned the credentials to call for similar restraint from business and labor to slow down inflation.

Now is the time for business at every level to take price actions more consistent with a stable cost of living, and now is the time for labor to structure its wage de-

[1] Appointments to the Commission were announced on July 10, 1970, and are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 924). On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a related news briefing by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

[2] Inflation Alerts were issued on August 7 and December 1, 1970. Transcripts of news briefings on these alerts were released by the White House.

[3] An interagency board chaired by Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget.

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mands to better achieve a new stability of costs.

The fight against inflation is everybody's business. If you act against the national interest, if you contribute to inflation in your price or wage demands, then you are acting against your own best interests and your customers' best interests, and that is neither good business nor good bargaining.

If businessmen and workingmen are willing to raise their sights by lowering their demands, they will help themselves by helping to hold down everybody's cost of living.

I believe there is a new social responsibility growing up in our economic system on the part of unions and corporations. Now is the time for that social concern to take the form of specific action on the wage-price front.

Now, here is what I will not do:

I will not take this Nation down the road of wage and price controls, however politically expedient that may seem.

Controls and rationing may seem like an easy way out but they are really an easy way into more trouble—to the explosion that follows when you try to clamp a lid on a rising head of steam without turning down the fire under the pot.

Wage and price controls only postpone a day of reckoning, and in so doing they rob every American of a very important part of his freedom.

Nor am I starting to use controls in disguise. By that I mean the kind of policy whereby Government makes executive pronouncements to enforce "guidelines" in an attempt to dictate specific prices and wages without authority of law.

Now I realize that there are some people who get satisfaction out of seeing an individual businessman or labor leader called on the carpet and browbeaten by Government officials. But we cannot protect the value of the dollar by passing the buck. That sort of grandstanding distracts attention from the real cause of inflation and it can be a dangerous misuse of the power of Government.

The actions I have outlined today are well within the powers of the President. But there are other actions that the President cannot take alone.

This is not the time for the Congress to play politics with inflation by passing legislation granting the President standby powers to impose wage and price controls. The Congress knows I will not impose controls because they would do more harm than good.

This is the time, however, for Congress and the President to cooperate on a program specifically addressed to help the people who need help most in a period of economic transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

Now here is that program:

To provide more help now to those workers who have lost jobs, I urge the Congress to pass the legislation I have proposed to expand and strengthen our unemployment insurance system. This legislation would cover almost 5 million more people who lack this protection now, and the system would be made more responsive to changing economic conditions.

I submitted this legislation to the Congress almost a year ago. It is time for the Congress to act.

To help those in need of job training, I urge the Congress to pass the Manpower Training Act which provides an automatic increase in manpower training funds in times of high unemployment. I

submitted this proposal to the Congress 10 months ago. It is time for the Congress to act.

I ask for full appropriation for the Office of Economic Opportunity and I request the Congress to provide at once a supplemental budget of $50 million to provide useful training and support to young people who are out of school in the summer months.

To further protect the small investor, I support the establishment of an insurance corporation with a Federal backstop to guarantee the investor against losses that could be caused by financial difficulties of brokerage houses. While this would not affect the equity risk that is always present in stock market investment, it will assure the investor that the stability of the securities industry itself does not become cause for concern.

To relieve the worries of many of our older citizens living on fixed incomes, I urge the Congress to pass my proposal to tie social security benefits to the cost of living. This proposal, passed by the House, awaiting Senate action for the past month, will keep the burden of the fight against inflation from falling on those least able to afford it.

To stimulate an industry bearing the brunt of high interest rates, I urge enactment of the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970. This would attract as much as $6 billion into the housing market in the coming fiscal year. More than a third of a million families need this legislation for home financing now; and the resulting new construction of more than 200,000 houses will also help provide many new jobs.

This housing bill was passed unanimously by the Senate. It has been awaiting action for 3 months in the House. It is time for the Congress to act.

To help the small businessman who finds it difficult to get necessary credit, I have asked the Congress for greater authority for the Small Business Administration to stimulate banks and others to make loans to small businesses at lower interest rates. I submitted this legislation to the Congress 3 months ago. It is time for the Congress to act.

To strengthen our railroad industry, I am asking for legislation that will enable the Department of Transportation to provide emergency assistance to railroads in financial difficulties. I am also urging the independent Interstate Commerce Commission to give prompt attention to the urgent financial problems of this industry.

And finally, to curb inflationary pressures throughout our economy, I call upon the Congress to join me in holding down Government spending to avoid a large budget deficit. This requires a new restraint on spending programs and the passage of the revenue-producing measures that I have already made.

There is an old and cynical adage that says that in an election year, the smart politician is one who votes for all bills to spend money and votes against all bills to raise taxes.

But in this election year of 1970, that old adage cannot apply. The American people will see through any attempt by anyone to play politics with their cost of living. And whenever a Member of Congress displays the imagination to introduce a bill that calls for more spending, let him display the courage to introduce a bill to raise the taxes to pay for that new program.

Long before the art of economics had a

name, it was called "political arithmetic." The American people expect their elected officials to do their political arithmetic honestly.

The actions I have taken today, together with the proposals I have made, are needed now to help us through this time of transition.

I believe this is the right program at the right time and for the right purpose. There is no more important goal than to curb inflation without permitting severe disruption. This is an activist administration, and should new developments call for new action in the future, I shall take the action needed to attain that goal.

Before I close today, I would like to give you a broader view of the significance of what is happening in the American economy.

We have more at stake here than a possible difference of one or two tenths of a percentage point in the price level in 1970. All of us have to make decisions now which will profoundly affect the survival of a free economic system throughout the world.

Industrial countries around the world all face the problems of inflation. By solving our problems here without throwing away our freedom, we shall set an example that will have great impact on the kind of economic systems others may choose.

Our free economic system has produced enormous benefits for the American people. The United States, with 10 percent of the free world's people, produces 40 percent of the free world's output. We did not gain that production power by shackling our free economic system.

The average American has the highest real disposable income in the world, and it is higher today than ever before in our history. We did not reach that height by turning over economic freedom to government.

In the next 5 years, and in real terms, the American consumer will be able to buy almost 20 percent more than he does today. To reach that attainable goal we need no artificial dependence on the production of the weapons of war—on the contrary, we will all share much more fully in a peacetime prosperity.

As I see it, prosperity is not a period of good times between periods of hard times—that's false prosperity, with people riding high but riding for a fall.

Nor is prosperity a time when the well-to-do become better off while everyone else stays the same or falls behind—that's partial prosperity. It only widens the gap between our people.

The true prosperity that I envision offers a new fairness in our national life.

We are working toward a system that will provide "job justice"—open and equal opportunity for every man and woman to build a good career.

We are working toward a system that replaces the old ups and downs with a new steadiness of economic growth within our capacity to produce efficiently.

And we are working toward a system that will deliver a higher standard of living to a people living in peace.

That is the hope offered by a modern free enterprise system—not managed by government and not ignored by government, but helped by a government that creates the climate for steady, healthy growth.

As we move forward into a peacetime economy, I am confident that we will achieve the only kind of prosperity that

counts—the prosperity that lasts, the prosperity that can be shared by every American.

Thank you and good afternoon.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in his office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television. An advance text of his remarks was also released.

193 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the Food for Peace Program. *June* 18, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The annual report on activities under Public Law 480—which I transmit herewith—reflects the efforts and progress made during 1969 toward the Food for Peace Program's dual goals of agricultural trade development and assistance.

Food for Peace, which completed its fifteenth year of operation during 1969, is a landmark among humanitarian efforts to improve diets in the developing areas of the world. It plays an important part in the work of developing nations to improve their own agricultural production, marketing, and distribution. Although many of these countries are becoming better able to feed their people, the need for substantial food assistance continues.

The Food for Peace Program enables the United States to pursue its food assistance goals and development objectives in a number of ways: bilaterally, through concessional sales programs and government-administered donations programs; privately, through religious and charitable voluntary agencies such as CARE; multilaterally, through institutions such as the World Food Program.

In addition, local currencies generated through Title I concessional sales and received through repayments of earlier loans continue to provide balance of payments benefits to the United States by permitting expenditures of U.S.-owned currencies rather than dollars in many countries. Such currencies have also been used to finance projects undertaken to increase our commercial sales of agricultural commodities, and thereby helped to develop an increased market for U.S. agricultural products. These projects helped in 1969 to reverse the downward trend of U.S. farm exports in recent years.

The Food for Peace Program enables the enormous technological capability and productive capacity of American agriculture to be utilized to assist low income countries in developing their agricultural sectors, and in feeding their citizens while they still require outside help in doing so. This Administration pledges to continue its efforts toward achieving the goals of this program.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 18, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Annual Report on Activities Carried Out Under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, As Amended, During the Period January 1 Through December 31, 1969" (146 pp. and appendixes).

194 Statement About the Report of the Task Force on Softwood Lumber and Plywood. *June* 19, 1970

I HAVE RECEIVED from the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy the findings and recommendations of the Task Force on Softwood Lumber and Plywood. The Task Force reports that a substantial increase in the supply of softwood timber products will be needed to meet the Nation's growing requirements, especially in order to attain our goal of providing adequate housing for all our people by the end of this decade. It stresses also that this increase in supply can and must be achieved in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the quality of our environment. I fully endorse these findings.

The Task Force report includes a number of specific recommendations designed to meet these objectives. While some of these recommendations require further intensive study and continuous reassessment in the light of changing conditions, I am directing that the following initial steps be taken promptly.

1. The Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior should formulate plans to improve the level and quality of management of forest lands under their jurisdiction in order to permit increased harvest of softwood timber consistent with sustained yield, environmental quality, and multiple use objectives. As recommended by the Task Force, such plans should take cognizance of the increased requirements for timber to meet our housing goals. They should be developed in consultation with the Council on Environmental Quality with the aim of not only protecting but also enhancing the quality of the environment in our forest lands. Any additional funding required for the execution of these plans will be reviewed by the Bureau of the Budget in relation to overall national priorities.

2. In determining the level of timber to be offered for sale in any given year, the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior should provide reasonable flexibility to take account of anticipated swings in demand. Such adjustments may be upward or downward, and should be compensated as promptly as feasible to keep within the constraints of long-term sustained yield objectives.

3. The Secretary of Agriculture should press ahead with the development of programs designed to increase the production and harvesting of timber on State and private lands, consistent with maintaining environmental quality.

4. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the Secretaries of Agriculture and Commerce, should continue the development of programs and standards looking toward improved and more economical wood products utilization, including encouragement of the development and utilization of substitute materials.

The Task Force has recommended that a panel of outstanding citizens be invited to study the entire range of problems involved in ensuring that the achievement of our housing goals is not constrained by an inadequate supply of softwood lumber and plywood, while fully protecting and enhancing the quality of our environment. I concur in the need for such a panel, and hereby direct that the necessary steps be taken to select its members,

who should be persons of outstanding ability and broad experience, with no ties or commitments that might prejudice objective judgment.

I am releasing the full report of the Task Force at this time so that the public may be fully informed of the issues involved in this important problem.

NOTE: The task force report, dated June 18, 1970, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 788). On June 19, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the report by Saul Nelson, a staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers.

195 Statement Announcing a New International Air Transportation Policy. *June* 22, 1970

LAST AUGUST I asked the responsible agencies of the Government to conduct a systematic review of our policies in the field of international air transportation. Such a review had not been carried out in this country since 1963. During those 7 years international aviation had grown dramatically in traffic volume, improved equipment, and fuller schedules of services.

With this growth, international aviation in the 1960's made a unique and valuable contribution to our commerce and contacts abroad and, consequently, to our national life. At the same time, as in most human activity, this rapid expansion brought some complications along with its undoubted benefits. Traffic outstripped our airport facilities and produced serious problems of congestion and delay. Differences developed concerning the appropriate roles of types of carriers in serving the expanding markets and exploring new markets. Questions arose in some quarters as to whether our basic pattern of bilateral agreements with other countries, or the nature of our supervision over international rates and fares, were suited to the changed circumstances.

All these questions needed fresh analysis. More important, it was apparent that technological developments already foreseeable would make these questions, and others like them, significant for the 1970's. Thus, a full review was essential both to meet current difficulties and to assure that our present high standards of international air service will be maintained through the next decade.

The review I requested has now been completed by a broadly representative committee under the leadership of the Department of Transportation. The committee membership included the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, Treasury, and Defense, as well as the Bureau of the Budget, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Council of Economic Advisers. In its proceedings, this committee investigated in detail a very wide range of international air transport matters: our aviation agreements with other countries, the relationship of scheduled and supplemental carriers, the way in which fares are established, our policies concerning competition among carriers, and how best to expedite the movement of passengers and cargo as demands upon facilities increase. The study also dealt with such issues as carrier liability, insurance, user charges for aviation facilities, and the implications of international aviation for our balance of payments.

In the course of its work on these ques-

tions, the committee sought and weighed the views of interested parties from within and without the aviation industry, including carrier and airport officials, shippers, consumers' representatives, and governmental authorities from all levels.

I have now received and studied the report of that committee, in the form of a Statement of International Air Transportation Policy. This statement confirms that many of our past guidelines are still useful and relevant. In other cases, to meet current and foreseeable problems, new approaches have been proposed. The policy is carefully framed to conserve the opportunities of all carriers for continued growth. It is directed realistically at making a new variety of services available to passengers and shippers. It recognizes that our international air services, by their very nature, must be organized on the basis of cooperation with other nations.

In my judgment, the statement sets forth a soundly balanced policy for the future. Accordingly, I have approved it to supersede the statement of international air transport policy adopted in 1963. I am directing that this new statement of policy guidance be used henceforth by responsible officials of the Government in dealing with international aviation problems.

NOTE: The full text of the "Statement of International Air Transportation Policy" was made available with the President's statement.

On the same day, the White House Press Office released a summary of the policy statement's conclusions, which is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 804), and the transcript of a news briefing on the policy by John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, and Dr. Paul W. Cherington, Chairman of the Committee that prepared the "Statement of International Air Transportation Policy."

196 Statement on Signing the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970. *June* 22, 1970

ON WEDNESDAY, Congress completed action on a bill extending and amending the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and sent it to me for signature. As passed, the bill contained a "rider" which I believe to be unconstitutional: a provision lowering the voting age to 18 in Federal, State, and local elections. Although I strongly favor the 18-year-old vote, I believe—along with most of the Nation's leading constitutional scholars—that Congress has no power to enact it by simple statute, but rather it requires a constitutional amendment.

Despite my misgivings about the constitutionality of this one provision, I have today signed the bill. I have directed the Attorney General to cooperate fully in expediting a swift court test of the constitutionality of the 18-year-old provision.

An early test is essential because of the confusion and uncertainty surrounding an act of doubtful constitutionality that purports to extend the franchise. Until this uncertainty is resolved, any elections—including primary elections and even local referenda on such questions as school bond issues—could have their results clouded by legal doubt.

If I were to veto, I would have to veto the entire bill—voting rights and all. If the courts hold the voting-age provisions unconstitutional, however, only that one section of the act will be affected. Be-

cause the basic provisions of this act are of great importance, therefore, I am giving it my approval and leaving the decision on the disputed provision to what I hope will be a swift resolution by the courts.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has opened participation in the political process. Although this bill does not include all of the administration's recommendations, it does incorporate improvements which extend its reach still further, suspending literacy tests nationwide and also putting an end to the present welter of State residency requirements for voting for President and Vice President. Now, for the first time, citizens who move between elections may vote without long residency requirements.

In the 5 years since its enactment, close to 1 million Negroes have been registered to vote for the first time and more than 400 Negro officials have been elected to local and State offices. These are more than election statistics; they are statistics of hope and dramatic evidence that the American system works. They stand as an answer to those who claim that there is no recourse except to the streets.

The time has also come to give 18-year-olds the vote, as I have long urged. The way to do this is by amending the Constitution. Because of the likelihood that the 18-year-old vote provision of this law will not survive its court test, the constitutional amendment pending before the Congress should go forward to the States for ratification now.

I therefore call upon the Congress to act now upon the constitutional amendment to avoid undue delay in its approval by the States should this provision of the new law be held unconstitutional.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 4249) is Public Law 91-285 (84 Stat. 314).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the statement by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President.

On December 21, 1970, in *Oregon* v. *Mitchell* and related cases (400 U.S. 112) the Supreme Court held the 18-year-old vote provisions of the act unconstitutional with respect to State and local elections.

197 Veto of the Medical Facilities Construction and Modernization Amendments of 1970. *June* 22, 1970

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning without my approval H.R. 11102, the Medical Facilities Construction and Modernization Amendments of 1970. My reason for this veto is basic: H.R. 11102 is a long step down the road of fiscal irresponsibility, and we should not take that road.

This bill authorizes direct grants which are more than $350 million in excess of the budget which I presented to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971. More than that it would 1) significantly restrict Presidential options in managing Federal expenditures, 2) isolate the financing of one group of Federal programs as untouchable without assessing its merits against the financial needs for other programs, and 3) encourage pressures to extend this provision to other areas—thereby further complicating management of the Federal budget.

One of the most unacceptable provisions of the bill is in Section 601. Here, the

Congress insists that funds appropriated for any fiscal year through 1973 to carry out the programs involved must be spent. In addition to restricting flexibility in management of Federal expenditures, this provision would interfere with my ability to comply with the limitation on total 1971 spending that has already passed the House of Representatives and has been reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee. The amount of money involved is large; Section 601 would affect $2.5 billion of my budget request for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for 1971. This kind of provision puts the Congress in the position of withdrawing with one hand the authority necessary to do what it requires with the other. I ask the Congress to eliminate Section 601.

Looking to other deficiencies in H.R. 11102, I ask the Congress to remove the authorization for hospital construction grants and to reduce the remaining excessively high authorizations in the bill which are not designed to meet contemporary needs.

The major requirements today are to modernize existing but obsolete hospitals, particularly in the inner cities, and, in the face of sky-rocketing medical costs, to expand other types of medical facilities which can serve as more efficient and economic alternatives to hospital care.

Given these factors, I proposed in April, 1969, that the medical facilities construction program be redirected—away from emphasis on additional hospital beds through direct Federal grants-in-aid. Instead, I proposed Federal guarantees for loans obtained in the private sector to modernize obsolete hospitals and construct additional hospital beds where population pressures so require. I further proposed a bloc grant to the States to help construct facilities for ambulatory care, long-term care and rehabilitation—alternatives to hospitalization.

My proposal clearly faced the need to determine priorities in the use of limited Federal dollars. H.R. 11102 avoids facing up to the choice that has to be made. It would add the new program of guaranteed loans on top of an expanded program of grants for construction and modernization of medical facilities. This bill authorizes grants totalling $402 million in 1971; $422 million in 1972 and $437 million in 1973. The public and the medical care industry interpret authorization levels as an appropriation commitment. Yet it is certain that we shall not be able to appropriate such large sums.

The health needs of the nation and the imminent expiration of the existing authorizations make it imperative that the Congress act quickly to correct the shortcomings of this measure. There are many excellent provisions in this bill and I shall be happy to approve a financially responsible bill without delay.

Let no one interpret this veto as in any way lowering the high priority that this Administration has placed on the very important field of health. Health outlays for 1971 will be almost 28 percent higher than in 1969.

We have proposed:

—a new program concept of Family Health Insurance which will benefit more than four million poor families as part of the family assistance program.

—substantial increases in high priority areas of biomedical research; such as heart and cancer.

—revision of Medicare to enable the aged to take advantage of the more

comprehensive and efficient operation of pre-paid group practice arrangements.

—significant expansion of programs to alleviate the major national problems of alcoholism and drug abuse.

—expansion of family planning programs to provide counselling and assistance to millions of women who want but cannot afford such services.

—major increases in funds to curb air pollution.

In these times there is no room in this massive program—or in any other program—for the kind of needless and misdirected spending represented in H.R. 11102. I again call upon the Congress to join me in holding down government spending to avoid a large budget deficit in Fiscal Year 1971.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
June 22, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the veto by Richard P. Nathan, Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget.

H.R. 11102 was enacted over the President's veto on June 30, 1970, as Public Law 91-296 (84 Stat. 336).

198 Remarks on Receiving Report of the Public Land Law Review Commission. *June* 23, 1970

Chairman Aspinall, members of the Commission, and guests:

I am very happy to receive this report and also it is a privilege to express appreciation to the members of the Commission for the work that you have contributed.

I know that as far as that $7 million budget is concerned, that some of it, of course, necessarily went to staff, but as far as the members of the Commission were concerned, those appointed by the President, those appointed by the President of the Senate and by the Speaker of the House, and also the Chairman who was selected by the 18 other members of the Commission, that this was a labor that was added to the duties you otherwise had. And our grateful appreciation goes to all of you for the work that you have done.

I think this will be noted, after 5 years, as being one of the most extensive, perhaps the most extensive study of this subject in the history of the Republic. I believe that as we enter the 1970's it will have, without question, a very great effect on the policy of this country.

I note, for example, on the flyleaf, adding to what you said about the 755 million acres, it says "one-third of the nation's lands." We think of one-third of America which is public land. We think of what that public land will be, what it will contribute to the future generations who will be living in America in the years ahead. And it is essential to plan now for the use of that land, not to do it on simply a case-by-case basis but to have an overall policy, a strategy rather than simply the tactics dealing with case-by-case matters when they come up.

I think this will provide for this administration and for all of us who have worked with you, for the Governors and for others, it will provide for us a great deal of very helpful information and, also, recommendations, many of which, of course, will be accepted and we trust implemented.

I would like to mention all the mem-

bers of the Commission who are here, in addition to the distinguished Chairman who has given his entire public life, at least his life in Congress, to this particular field. But I do understand that among those who are here as guests is one former Member of the Senate who retired undefeated in 1934 after 4 years in the House and 12 years in the Senate. He was the author of the bill creating the Federal Communications Commission. He was also the author of the bill which provided for the Grand Coulee Dam. And I think Mr. Clarence Dill is here. Would you come over so they can all see you?

[At this point the President introduced former Senator Clarence C. Dill of Washington, then resumed speaking.]

I would also like to say to the ladies and gentlemen here—many of you, of course, have already seen the White House—this is part of your public land. But it is a special bit of public land that belongs to all of us. We happen to be the present occupants of the house—a very nice house, as a matter of fact. We would like for you to share with us, however, the house to the extent that you have the time to do so.

For the Senators and Congressmen and many others it will not be a new experience, but for many of you even who have been here before, to walk through those rooms, not in a huge tour and not even at one of the great dinners when so many other people are there, to get the sense of history of where this country has come—from the time that it was 3 million people and 13 States along the Atlantic seaboard and has now become a great continental world power—to think also of the history that you feel in those rooms and the history that you have made and contributed to through this study.

I might say in conclusion that when we think of public lands, perhaps one of the greatest programs, in terms of influencing the future of America and, particularly, the development of the West, was the homestead law which had to do with the use of public lands.

And I trust that history will record one day that this program—about one-third of the Nation's remaining land—will have the same vision and make the same contribution to the greater America that we all want for our children.

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I know that in this report you recommend selling some of our public lands. You are not going to sell the White House, are you?

CONGRESSMAN ASPINALL. No, we will not sell the White House, not without a Presidential mandate.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke shortly after noon in the Rose Garden at the White House following the presentation of the report by the Commission's Chairman, Representative Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, whose remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 807). The report is entitled "One-Third of the Nation's Land—A Report to the President and to the Congress by the Public Land Law Review Commission" (Government Printing Office, 342 pp.).

199 Remarks at the Swearing In of Secretary Richardson and Counsellor Finch. *June* 24, 1970

Mr. Chief Justice, Secretary Finch, Secretary Richardson, Members of the House, Members of the Senate, and our guests:

This is an occasion that is very meaningful to the families that are here of those who will be sworn in, and particularly meaningful to the White House family and the administration family.

We have already announced the change that has occurred and that will be consummated in this ceremony. I have noted there has been considerable speculation in the press about that change and interpretation of it.

Before the swearing in takes place, I would simply like to reiterate and reemphasize points that I have made previously with regard to the qualifications of those who are assuming these responsibilities.

The new Secretary of HEW is one who has had experience in that position. He was Under Secretary of the Department and for 4 months served as Acting Secretary of the Department. Then he moved to State government where he had the opportunity to serve as Attorney General and as Lieutenant Governor, with particular responsibilities in this field. Then after a sabbatical as Under Secretary of State, moving in those areas, he now returns to the problems at home, the problems of health, education, and welfare, as Secretary in that Department.

In looking into his background I found out something that I didn't mention when I announced him a few days ago. I found that he, during the time he was a fighter pilot, was given the name "Lucky" by his colleagues in his fighter squadron.[1] I can only say that I hope he is lucky and that we are lucky when he is head of HEW. I am sure that that will be the case because he brings qualifications that are certainly superb for this position and I am sure that he will carry on the excellent work that has been done by Secretary Finch in the Department of HEW as he undertakes his new responsibilities.

Mr. Chief Justice, if you would now swear Secretary Richardson in?

[Following the administration of the oath of office, Secretary Elliot L. Richardson spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

As all of you are aware, in the entire White House and administration family, the man who has been my closest and longtime friend is Bob Finch, for 23 years.

I should add, incidentally, that in my first campaign he was still attending school at the University of Southern California and participated in it even before he could vote.

But for 23 years we have worked together in campaigns. We have celebrated victories and we have also had to go through, sometimes, the problems of defeat. I have needed his counsel and his advice here at the White House.

He has served this country admirably in the position of Secretary of HEW, a position which Secretary Richardson now undertakes, and as a result of his move to the White House, he now assumes the re-

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[1] Mr. Richardson was nicknamed "Lucky" in World War II, but served in the infantry rather than as a fighter pilot.

sponsibilities of Counsellor to the President with broader responsibilities, and, again, that close, personal relationship, politically and otherwise, resumed, that we have had through the years.

We are glad to have him back in our close family and he will now be sworn in as a Counsellor to the President and as a member of the Cabinet in that capacity, by the Chief Justice.

[Following the administration of the oath of office, Robert H. Finch spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Bob has to be prepared now for some trips of the kind I take. We have scheduled a Cabinet meeting, but I look out over this group and I see so many distinguished Members of the Senate and the House, that I do believe if they have the time, these new appointees in these positions would like to meet you, so we will defer the Cabinet meeting so you can pay your proper respects—and you better pay your respects—to the Members of the House and particularly the Senate.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:56 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The remarks of Secretary Richardson and Counsellor Finch are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 809 and 810, respectively).

200 Remarks on Arrival at Belleville, Illinois. *June* 25, 1970

I WANT to tell you how very much we appreciate your very warm welcome as we arrive here for a meeting in St. Louis.

Are we in Illinois? I brought some very distinguished guests with me. Of course, first, Mrs. Nixon, and my daughter, Patricia.

Mrs. Nixon, incidentally, is going to be traveling next week to Peru where, as you know, they had a terrible earthquake where 40,000 people were killed. She is going to take down medical supplies that the people of America have contributed to the people of Peru.

So she is going with me to California, where I, of course, am going to spend a few days on some matters that have arisen that involve people there and people in other parts of this country.

Also, we have a couple of other distinguished guests: Senator George Murphy, of California, and Congressman Doc Hall, from Missouri.

If I could just say a word to all of you, first I know that in this crowd are primarily people who are with the Air Force. I want to thank you. I want to thank the men, the officers, who are in the Air Force, for the service you have rendered and are rendering to our country.

I want to thank you families, too. I know that sometimes there may be occasions when you wonder whether or not the Air Force career—if your husband is a career man—was the right one. I can tell you that it certainly is one that is serving the cause that we all want and which, incidentally, in our country we can give great thanks for this fact: It is the cause of peace.

We are involved in a war. We are bringing that war to an end. And we are going to bring it to an end in a way that the younger brothers and the sons of those that have fought in Vietnam will not have to fight, we hope, someplace else

in the future. That is the kind of peace we want.

Also, speaking in very personal terms, I would like to say that I look back to the times when, many, many, many years ago in World War II, when my wife and I were married. We were married just before the war. This is before Tricia was born. Of course you can tell that by looking at her.

And I remember, too, the men that I met in the armed services. I was going to say the women, too, but that was not the case. I meant the men. There were many fine women, too, in the various women's service organizations.

I am always proud of having had the opportunity. I think it was an opportunity and a privilege to serve in the armed service of the United States. I hope all of you can be proud of this country and proud of serving your country in the way that you are.

Now, it happens only by coincidence that the outfit I was with in World War II was an outfit called SCAT. By SCAT, that means the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command that used to operate up through the Solomons.

It was one of those combined commands that existed so much in World War II. The top command was Marine. The ground officers and personnel were Navy. I happened to be one of those, a Navy operations officer. And the wings that flew—and they flew DC-3's up through the Solomons, Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Vella Lavella, Green Island, and the rest—were Army troop carrier squadrons, and that would be Air Force today, of course, and also Marine squadrons.

I am very happy and proud to be here at the command post for 100,000 Americans who serve in the Airlift Command. You can be very proud of the work that you have done. I feel, really, very close to you in a way, because I rather felt I was in that kind of a command during the period of 3½ years that I was in the armed services.

Finally, one other point, I notice so many young people here, in fact some very young. Some are in high school, some in grade school, some are not even in school yet and some are in college.

I just want you to know that as we look at this great country of ours, and it is a great country, we have many problems. There are problems at home and problems abroad.

I want you to know I have traveled to virtually every country of the world and I have met many wonderful people abroad and I urge all of you who have the opportunity to also go, if you can some day, to visit other countries.

But I want you to know that what really distinguishes America is this: We have problems but America has the capacity, because of our strength, our economic strength, because in terms of income the average American earns twice as much as the people in any other country in the world, because of that we are able to do something about those problems.

Let me just say this: There are things wrong with this country, but the great thing about America is that we have the capacity to make those things right. This is a good country and don't you ever forget it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:54 a.m. at Scott Air Force Base.

201 Remarks at the 50th Anniversary Convention of the United States Jaycees in St. Louis, Missouri. *June* 25, 1970

Mr. President, all the candidates for president of this organization, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, and the delegates to this 50th anniversary convention, your wives, your girl friends, and your guests:

I know that you can understand how deeply moved I am, and my wife and daughter are, by this wonderful reception. You probably wonder what Tricia said to me while the very great applause was running up through the rafters. She said, "Why, Daddy, this is better than our convention in Miami." And, of course, my answer was, "Why, there is a reason for it. They are young."

I am honored to address the 50th anniversary convention of the Jaycees. There are a number of reasons why this honor means a great deal to me: because I was a member of the Jaycees, because I was honored to be made a JCI senator. Incidentally, when they chose that number 72,[1] I had no idea I'd be in this office. There were no political connotations whatever at that time.

When your president extended the invitation to me, I asked him, "When do you want me to speak, at noon or at night?" I chose noon. I want to tell you why. Twenty years ago when I was a Congressman and then a candidate for the Senate in California, I, for the first time, had the honor of addressing a convention of the Jaycees of America. It also happened to be in Miami, Florida.

A friend of mine—I thought he was a friend—told me, "You know, Dick, we have a great spot for you, the night they elect officers. Everybody will be there. You will have a great, enthusiastic crowd."

Well, of course, I could not choose my spot then, so I accepted the invitation. I arrived on time. I was scheduled to speak at 8:00. But that was quite a contest in Miami that year. I don't know whether there has been one since or whether this one will be like it. But there was ballot after ballot after ballot and I finally went on at 1:45 a.m. in the morning.

By that time, the delegates and their guests were so worn out by politicking and partying, that no one to this day who attended that convention to whom I talked can remember a thing that I said. I don't remember what I said.

There is only one thing I remember about that convention. Does Indiana still have those whistles?

That just proves that the more things change, the more they remain the same.

Now it is customary on an occasion like this to look to the past, to talk about the grave and serious problems that we have at the present, and, perhaps, to take a quick look into the future. It is particularly customary in these times to talk about America and its admittedly very serious problems.

Some believe the Nation is coming apart at the seams; that we are gripped with fear and repression and even panic.

[1] The President was made JCI (Junior Chamber International) senator number 72 and a life member of JCI in 1953.

I am not going to talk to you in that vein today.

I believe that at this time instead of talking only about, and primarily about, what is wrong about America, it is time to stand up and speak about what is right about the United States of America. Because, you see, what is right about America enables us to correct those things that are wrong about America. To do something, if I may borrow a phrase, about those things that are wrong about America.

What is right about America? Look back over the 50 years that this organization has been in being. Our population has almost doubled. But putting it in other terms, while the population has only doubled, the production of the United States, the income of the United States, has gone up tenfold.

The number of Americans who are in high school has gone up 10 times. The number of Americans in college has gone up twentyfold. I could go on with the statistics with regard to the progress that this Nation has made in the 50 years that this organization has been in being.

We can summarize it very simply by saying that never in human history have more people shared more wealth and had more opportunity with better jobs than in the United States of America. We should be proud of that, and I believe that we are.

I realize that there is a fashion these days—and I understand this attitude and we must all try to understand it—that says that we should not dwell on America's material accomplishments, that what really counts are problems of people. And they do. And what really counts is the spirit and the idealism and that certainly does count.

But let us look at it in another way: Because America is the richest country in the world, because America has such enormous productive capacity, we can do things about our problems that no other country in the world can do.

Let me give you an example. You know about the problem of poverty in America. You also know about our welfare system. Let me give you my views on that system in just a word. I say that when any system makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when any system has the effect of encouraging a man to desert his family rather than to stay with it, it is time to abolish that system and to get one that's better.

Now what can we do about it? Because America is rich—and we could not do this unless we had the wealth that we have—I have been able to recommend to the Congress of the United States the most historic, and I think most objective observers would agree, the most revolutionary program in this field in a period of 50 years.

Let me summarize what that program is. It provides first a program of job incentives and job opportunities and job training so that we can move people off the welfare rolls and onto payrolls in the United States of America.

But it goes beyond that. It provides for a family assistance program, and under that program we will place a floor—and we can do this—under the income of every family in America.

What does this mean? It means that a man and his wife and, most important, his children can stand on that floor with dignity. That is what we can do in America because we have what we have.

Consider the problem, the one so deeply

dividing our country at the present time: the war in Vietnam. When we consider this war, it has gone on many years. It has cost lives. It has deeply troubled our people. So as we consider it, let us look at what we are doing about it.

Since coming into office, finally after 5 years of more and more men going to Vietnam, we are bringing them home. One hundred and fifteen thousand had returned home by April 20, and because of the success of our efforts to destroy enemy sanctuary areas in Cambodia and their supplies, we can continue with the program of withdrawal and replacement so that during the spring of next year a total of 265,000 Americans who were there will be home, back in the United States of America.

I realize that is not the total answer. It is a plan, a plan that will end the war and a plan that will replace Americans with the South Vietnamese as they are able to take over the defense of their own country.

But I have seen, as you have seen, those deeply troubled people, and I understand why they feel as they do, carrying their signs and shouting their slogans, "Peace Now." Why not? The day that I came into office, I could have had peace now.

Let me tell you what I vowed when I came into this office. When I came here 17 months ago, 40,000 Americans had lost their lives in Vietnam and I made two pledges: One, I pledged to end this war, and two, I pledged to end it in a way that their younger brothers and their sons might not have to fight in another Vietnam sometime in the future.

So, I would say to all of you, let it be written that this generation had the courage and the character to end this war, and win a peace that the next generation will have a chance to keep. It is not just peace now, but peace in the years ahead and that is what we shall have as we bring our policy in Vietnam to its conclusion.

Let us turn to the problem of the economy. As we look at the economy of this country, we see troubles. And as we look at the cause of those troubles, one of them primarily is that we are having the difficult transition which must always take place when you move from a wartime to a peacetime economy. Seven hundred thousand men who were in the armed services or in defense plants have now had to find civilian employment. This has meant more unemployment than we would want. It has meant some dislocations in the economy.

But it is a cost that is worthwhile, because I say to you this economy is strong, this economy is sound, and it is time—and I believe this is the time—when America can demonstrate that we can have prosperity without war, prosperity with peace in the United States of America. That is our goal.

Now, here again, of course, there are those very well intentioned who say, why not an instant solution, why don't we have Government wage and price controls to stop the inflation of wages and prices?

That is an instant answer and an easy answer. But you know what it is? It is like a doctor telling you when you have got a sore finger that the cure for it is to cut off your arm—because never forget how America got where it got today.

We became the envy of the whole world. We are an economic miracle for the whole world with the average American earning almost twice as much in real wages as that of the next highest nation in the world. How? Not by government restrict-

ing free men, but by providing greater freedom and greater opportunity for Americans.

And in this period of transition, let's not make the mistake of replacing that system which got us where it has with one that will restrict that freedom, and also reduce the tremendous productive power, this engine of progress, that has made America what it is.

A word about the problem of inflation. It is a difficult one. One of the major causes, as you know, is the fact that our Government has been spending more than it has taken in for too many years. So now the question comes in an election year: What do we do about it?

It is so tempting for a Congressman or Senator to vote for this spending bill or that spending bill that will help these people or those people in his constituency or in a special group in the Nation.

Let me say this: This is not a partisan subject.

I would simply urge the young men and young women in this audience that when you go home, look at the records of the various candidates and give support to those candidates, be they Democratic or Republicans, who have the courage and the character to vote against a spending program by Government that would help some people but that would raise prices for all people. That is the kind of support that we need.

Consider the problem that has been so much on the minds of many of our young people and older ones who have any sense of the perspective of history and what could happen in the years ahead, the problems of the environment.

As I flew by helicopter from Scott Field in here today, I looked down on the tremendous economy that surrounds this great city of St. Louis. I saw smoke coming from some of the factories, and I remembered, in my time, that when you had smoke coming from factories that was a good sign, it was a sign of progress, it was a sign of jobs, it was a sign of production.

But times have changed. If I can put it in symbolic terms, as far as the factory is concerned, what we need to do is to improve the jobs and increase them, increase the production and eliminate the smoke.

My friends, that is why, as we look ahead 10, 15, 20 years from now, unless we act now, we can have the most productive economy in the world but we will have cities that are choked with traffic, suffocated by smog, poisoned by water, and terrorized by crime.

It doesn't need to be that way. That is why we have presented to the Congress an historic new program to clean up our water and our air and to provide the open spaces which are the heritage, and should be, of every generation of Americans.

Consider another problem, one that deeply divides this Nation, one that sometimes is not, perhaps, discussed as frankly and candidly as it should be, the problem of the relations between the races in America.

As we consider this problem, it is certainly not the answer simply to say that a majority of the people do not favor action which would attempt to solve the problem, because for Americans to be deeply divided is not in our tradition and certainly not in the best interest of America's future.

Now a great deal has happened insofar as our race relations are concerned, looking at what is right about America. I was talking to a very distinguished Negro educator from Columbia University, Dr.

Charles Hamilton, recently. He pointed out that in the last 10 years the numbers of Negroes who had moved above the poverty line was 35 percent, a greater percentage than whites who moved above the poverty line in that same period.

He pointed out another historic fact, the fact that in America today there are more Negro Americans in college than there are Englishmen in college in England or Frenchmen in college in France. And we have, of course, reduced the legal barriers for voting rights, for jobs and opportunities in housing. All of these things have occurred.

What I am saying simply is this: We have come a long way, but we have a long way to go. And I would urge this group of young Americans to recognize that you will be living in the future in which this problem will become more and more in the public mind, as it should be.

But it can be solved and it needs the devotion and the dedication of men and women of good will on both sides. I think you have the spirit to find solutions to it. I could go on. But I think these examples prove the point.

Because America is strong and rich, because it is so productive, we are able to do things about poverty. We have the strength to do things about our environment. We have the strength to do things about our economy that no other people in the history of the world have been able to do and that no other people in the world today can afford to do.

Now let me come to you. I have spoken of problems in which government has a special interest. Government has the responsibility to end a war and win the peace. We shall meet that responsibility. Government has the responsibility for programs in the field of cleaning up the air and the water and providing for the open spaces. We will meet that responsibility. Government has the responsibility to break down the legal barriers which divide the races and we will meet and are meeting that responsibility. Government has the responsibility to provide the climate in which Americans, all Americans, have an opportunity for good jobs and not only for good jobs but an opportunity if they have the ability and the desire, to be owners and managers, to have a piece of the action, because when they have a piece of the action, then they believe in this system rather than fighting against it.

But there are some areas in which government cannot do the job. Could I give you three examples? I turn first to the area of race relations. Here government can pass laws. Government can enforce laws. But as government passes the law and enforces the law, there needs to be added an extra element that can come only from the hearts and the minds of the people of the United States of America, because there is one thing that government cannot provide, the healing power of mutual respect for the individual dignity of every person in this country.

Let me say to you, my friends, go back to your communities, wherever they may be—because the problem is not sectional, it is national—go back to your communities, and rather than having America be torn apart let's bring Americans together.

Remember this: Speaking in personal terms, I believe in the American dream. I have seen it come true in my own life. But speaking also in broader terms, we can fulfill the American dream only when every American has an equal opportunity to fulfill his own dream. Let that be the goal of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

A second area of concern in which you can help: The problem of crime, the problem of law enforcement and respect for law. Here government can pass laws. Government can enforce the law. We will meet that responsibility. But the missing ingredient and what is needed all over this country is something that can only come from people, individuals who respect the law, and that respect for law does not exist in many areas. I want to tell you why I believe we need a new approach. If we ask people to respect the laws we must have laws and those who enforce the laws who deserve respect. That means that in every community in this Nation—and it is primarily a local problem rather than a national problem—we need to provide those programs for laws and the enforcement of laws and the personnel that will deserve the respect.

Let me put it another way. I believe in obedience to the law and I know that you do. But let our proud claim be that we ask Americans to obey the law, not because they fear it, but because they respect it. That should be the goal of America.

Then finally, a problem that I should discuss with this great organization of young men and young women: the alienation between young Americans and older Americans, the generation gap. We must bridge that gap. You can do better than we can because the bridge you have to build is not as long as the bridge we have to build. You are closer to that younger generation.

I charge you, I urge you, to do everything that you can not to make the gap bigger, not to set up a hostile confrontation but to give to young people the understanding of our system that they need.

I would urge every club of the Jaycees throughout America to invite young Americans, high school age, college age, regularly to your meetings. Let them hear the speakers. Let them get the feel of your organization and perhaps they will have a different attitude than they would otherwise have.

But now, what do you tell them? This is the great question. It is not enough—and it is certainly no comfort to me, and I am sure no comfort to you—that a majority of Americans overwhelmingly disapprove of student demonstrations and student strikes. Because when any group of Americans, be they young Americans particularly, feel so alienated from our system and our society, have lost faith in it to the extent that they resort to other means than the orderly means, then we should do something about it and not allow that division to become something that eventually could erupt and destroy a society.

So what do you tell them? I will tell you what will not be enough. "We are going to win peace." They will want that, as they should, and that will come. "We are going to clean up the environment." They want that and they should because that environment is the one they will be living in. They will want an opportunity for at least a good job and an opportunity for advancement. They will want that. It will be provided. They will be concerned about the problems of poverty and they will support those programs that I have mentioned that will provide a floor under the income of those who are unable to work and unable to provide for their families.

But let me leave you with one fundamental truth, and I believe this very deeply and unless we understand this we will fail to bridge this generation gap: Young America today, particularly those

in college and high school years, are not going to be satisfied simply by an absence of war and by having good jobs. Young Americans think in idealistic and spiritual terms, and that is to their credit.

Could I put it in historical perspective? One hundred and ninety years ago when this country was founded it was very poor and it was very weak. Yet, Thomas Jefferson was able to say, when this country was founded, when the Declaration of Independence was drafted and proclaimed—listen to his words: "We act not just for ourselves alone, but for all mankind."

What a presumptuous thing to say about a weak and poor country. But it was true. America, when it was weak and poor, meant something more than military might and economic strength. It had the lift of a driving dream that caught the imagination of millions of people in this world.

As we think back to those days, let us remember that that driving dream, that idealism, is what is important today. Let us tell young Americans, all Americans, that we should love America. But let us love her not because she is rich and not because she is strong, but because America is a good country and we are going to make her better.

One hundred and ten years ago, in one of the bloodiest and most tragic instances in this world's and this Nation's history, John Brown, after the bloody raid on Harper's Ferry, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged.

When he was on his way to the gallows he rode in a wagon with his own coffin right beside him. And as he rode through the Virginia countryside that day, speaking to no one in particular, he said aloud these words: "This is a beautiful country."

Today, when America has all its blessings and admittedly has many problems, let us never forget that if John Brown could say that just before the tragic War Between the States, with his own death imminent, then we, too, can say: This is a beautiful country and we are privileged to be the generation that has the responsibility to make it even more beautiful for the generations ahead.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. in Kiel Auditorium following an introduction by André E. LeTendre, president of the Jaycees.

202 Statement on Signing Bill Concerning Prisoners of War of the Vietnam Conflict. *June* 26, 1970

IN SIGNING this measure which affects our servicemen who are prisoners of war in Southeast Asia, I wish to reemphasize the determination of this Government to do all in its power to secure their earliest possible release from captivity.

For the families of these men, no other effort on our part can or should be an acceptable substitute for this goal. Recognizing this fact, there is, of course, no monetary payment that I, as President, or this Government might authorize which would compensate adequately for the sufferings and hardships endured by these men and their families. It can only be my fervent hope that the payments provided in this act will in a small way serve as a symbolic gesture on the part of the

U.S. Government, expressing its recognition and appreciation for the sacrifices that these men have made and continue to make in the service of their country.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 4204) is Public Law 91–289 (84 Stat. 323), approved June 24, 1970.

203 Remarks of the President and Mrs. Nixon on the First Lady's Departure for Peru. *June* 28, 1970

MRS. NIXON. I am really excited about it. I have been looking forward to representing all of the American people who are so interested in the welfare of the people of Peru.

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very fine symbolic gesture to point up the fact that while our Government, of course, has provided aid to the Peruvian people, that the people of the United States, individually in their various volunteer capacities, also wanted to participate. I think that something that comes directly from people to the people of another country, particularly when they have suffered such a terrible disaster, means far more than when it comes from the government.

Our Government has done a great deal and we will always, as a government, be willing to help in such cases. But what really distinguishes America is that when something like this happens anyplace in the world, and particularly here in what we call the American family, that all over the country organizations, individuals, want to help.

These two planes are only a small portion of the enormous amount of help that is coming from individuals and it is a message of sympathy and affection and respect from the people of America to the people of Peru and the people of the whole hemisphere.

I think Mrs. Nixon's going down there symbolizes that. I think it is actually better that she is going than if I did because that leaves all of the official context out of it. This is a people-to-people operation. As you know, Mrs. Nixon has been very active in that kind of work here in the United States, and therefore she is the representative of our country in this field. She knows more about it than I do.

NOTE: The President and Mrs. Nixon spoke at approximately 7:30 a.m. at El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, Calif. A transcript of their remarks was posted for the press.

On June 24, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, on Mrs. Nixon's trip.

204 Informal Exchange of Remarks With Reporters on the First Lady's Return From Peru. *June* 30, 1970

MRS. NIXON. I bring grateful thanks from the people of Peru for the generous contributions of the American people.

The destruction there was much worse than what we read about. But I think that the emergency plan is working very well and now we have to help them rebuild.

Q. What were your impressions of the damage that had actually taken place there?

MRS. NIXON. It was the worst damage I had ever seen or even read about. Whole towns were leveled. Others were covered with mud. The people were destitute. There are 800,000 homeless at this moment, but they have a lot of courage and will, and they're going to recover, I know, with the help of all the people in this country and throughout the world.

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to add that I noted a piece by Helen Thomas of UPI [United Press International] to the effect that this was one of the most successful diplomatic trips that had ever been taken. I am very proud that Mrs. Nixon was able to represent the United States and particularly the American people in this.

I would also like to mention the fact that the Senate unanimously passed a resolution, just as the House has unanimously passed a resolution, expressing sympathy for the people of Peru.

We have divisions in the Senate on other matters and in the House, but all of the American people, through their elected representatives, share the deep feelings of sympathy for people in the American family in the country of Peru.

I am glad that Mrs. Nixon was able to carry that message directly to the people in the way that she did.

Q. Mr. President, the leaders of Peru were very happy that you sent your wife to be your personal emissary on this. How do you feel about that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the only problem is that we now will have invitations for her to represent us in other places, too. One advantage of her going is that it avoids some of the political problems that we do have with other countries. But I think also it is important for us to remember that while nations have political differences, that people in various nations, when their children are injured or when their relatives or friends are killed, that people have a deep sense of affection and sympathy and concern for each other.

This was, in effect, people speaking to people, despite differences between governments. And I think we should have more of it. I hope that all of us can participate more in this kind of activity.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it was a very nice gesture on his part[1] and I think it underscores the point that we often forget, that while there are differences between governments, there are some differences between the Government of the United States and the Government of Peru, that where people are concerned, particularly in this continent, it has been said we are one American family. When members of that family suffer in any kind of disaster, the whole heart of this continent, this hemisphere, goes out to the members of that family.

I think the fact that Mrs. Nixon was there, while it was true in her capacity as First Lady, but more in her capacity as an individual American expressing concern for the plight of people who had suffered a great disaster, that this touched the hearts of the people of Peru and it did so because it came from our hearts.

NOTE: The President and Mrs. Nixon spoke with reporters at 4:30 p.m. at El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, Calif. A transcript of their remarks was posted for the press.

[1] The President was referring to President Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru, who welcomed Mrs. Nixon at Lima airport on her arrival.

205 Report on the Cambodian Operation. *June* 30, 1970

TOGETHER with the South Vietnamese, the Armed Forces of the United States have just completed successfully the destruction of enemy base areas along the Cambodian-South Vietnam frontier. All American troops have withdrawn from Cambodia on the schedule announced at the start of the operation.

The allied sweeps into the North Vietnamese and Vietcong base areas along the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border:

—will save American and allied lives in the future;

—will assure that the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam can proceed on schedule;

—will enable our program of Vietnamization to continue on its current timetable;

—should enhance the prospects for a just peace.

At this time, it is important to review the background for the decision, the results of the operation, their larger meaning in terms of the conflict in Indochina—and to look down the road to the future.

It is vital to understand at the outset that Hanoi left the United States no reasonable option but to move militarily against the Cambodian base areas. The purpose and significance of our operations against the Cambodian sanctuaries can only be understood against the backdrop of what we are seeking to accomplish in Vietnam—and the threat that the Communist bases in Cambodia posed to our objectives. Nor can that military action of the last 2 months be divorced from its cause—the threat posed by the constant expansion of North Vietnamese aggression throughout Indochina.

A Record of Restraint

America's purpose in Vietnam and Indochina remains what it has been—a peace in which the peoples of the region can devote themselves to development of their own societies, a peace in which all the peoples of Southeast Asia can determine their own political future without outside interference.

When this administration took office, the authorized strength of American troops in South Vietnam was 549,500—the high water mark of American military presence in Southeast Asia. The United States had been negotiating at Paris for 10 months but nothing had been agreed upon other than the shape of the bargaining table. No comprehensive allied peace proposal existed. There was no approved plan to reduce America's involvement in the war—in the absence of a negotiated settlement.

Since January of 1969, we have taken steps on all fronts to move toward peace. Along with the Government of South Vietnam, we have put forward a number of concrete and reasonable proposals to promote genuine negotiations. These proposals were first outlined by me 13 months ago on May 14, 1969 and by President Thieu on July 11, 1969. Through both public and private channels, our proposals have been repeated and amplified many times since.

These proposals are designed to secure the removal of all foreign military forces from South Vietnam and to establish

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conditions in which all political forces can compete freely and fairly in the future of the country. Our principal goal has been to enable the people of South Vietnam to determine their future free of outside interference.

To indicate our good faith, to improve the climate for negotiations, we changed the orders to our commanders in South Vietnam. This has helped to reduce casualties. We have cut tactical air operations in South Vietnam by more than 20 percent. We initiated a troop withdrawal program which, during the course of next spring, will bring American troop strength 265,000 men below the level authorized when this administration took office.

These are not the actions of a government pursuing a military solution. They are the decisions of a government seeking a just peace at the conference table.

But Hanoi has ignored our unilateral gestures and rejected every offer of serious negotiations. Instead it has insisted that—as a precondition to talks—we pledge unconditionally to withdraw all American forces from South Vietnam and to overthrow the elected government.

These proposals are not a basis for negotiation; they are a demand for surrender. For the United States to accept these conditions would make the negotiations meaningless. Acceptance of such conditions would assure in advance Communist domination of South Vietnam.

With Hanoi's intransigence on the negotiating front, this administration was faced with essentially three options.

We could have continued the maximum existing level of American involvement in Vietnam. But this was incompatible with the Nixon Doctrine of increasing responsibilities for the Asian countries; and it was unacceptable to the American people.

We could have begun the immediate withdrawal of all our forces. We rejected this course of capitulation which would have only won temporary respite at the price of graver crises later. We also rejected that course as both incompatible with America's commitments and tradition, and disastrous in terms of its long-range consequences for peace in the Pacific and peace in the world.

We selected instead a third option—that of gradually shifting the total combat burden to the South Vietnamese.

Since the beginning of this administration 17 months ago, it has been our policy to train and equip the South Vietnamese to take over the burden of their own defense from American troops. Even in the absence of progress at the peace table in Paris, and despite continued enemy pressures in South Vietnam, this policy of "Vietnamization" has permitted us to carry out repeated withdrawals of American troops.

As our policy has been tested, more and more Americans have been brought home. By June of 1969, we could announce the pullout of 25,000 American troops. They came home. In September of 1969, we announced the withdrawal of an additional 35,000 American troops. They came home.

In December of 1969, we announced the withdrawal of 50,000 more American troops. They were home by spring of this year. On April 20, I announced the forthcoming withdrawal of an additional 150,000 Americans to be completed during next spring—50,000 of them will be home or on their way home by the 15th of October.

A Policy in Transition

This transfer of primary responsibility for self-defense from American forces to Asian forces reflects our approach to foreign policy. Increasingly, the United States will look to the countries of the region to assume the primary responsibility for their own security—while America moves gradually from a leading to a supporting role.

To be successful this policy requires the striking of a careful balance—whether in South Vietnam or elsewhere in Asia. While the growing strength of our allies and the growing measure of their regional cooperation allows for a reduction in American presence, they could not survive a sudden and precipitous American withdrawal from our responsibilities. This would lead to a collapse of local strength in the transition period between the old era of principal U.S. involvement to the new era of partnership and emphasis on local and regional cooperation.

Doing too much for an allied people can delay their political maturity, promote a sense of dependency, and diminish that nation's incentive to stand on its own feet. But doing too little for an ally can induce a sense of despair, endanger their right of self-determination and invite their defeat when confronted by an aggressor.

As we have proceeded with Vietnamization it has been with these principles in mind.

Looking at American policy in Vietnam these 17 months, this administration—in the generosity of its negotiating offers, in the limitations on its military actions, and in the consistency of its troop withdrawals—has written a record of restraint. The response from the enemy over those same 17 months has been intransigence in Paris, belligerence from Hanoi, and escalation of the war throughout Indochina.

Enemy attacks in Vietnam increased during April.

This past winter Hanoi launched a major offensive against the legitimate government of Laos which they themselves had helped to establish under the 1962 Geneva accords. For years, in violation of those accords, North Vietnamese troops have occupied Laotian territory and used its eastern regions as a highway for the export of aggression into South Vietnam.

In March and April of this year, Communist troops used their long held bases in Cambodia to move against the Government of Cambodia in a way which increased the long-term threat to allied forces in South Vietnam as well as to the future of our Vietnamization and withdrawal programs. These new violations, too, took place against a backdrop of years of Communist disregard of the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia—guaranteed in the 1954 Geneva agreements to which Hanoi was a signatory.

Background of the April 30 Decision

In assessing the April 30 decision to move against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong sanctuaries in Cambodia, four basic facts must be remembered.

It was North Vietnam—not we—which brought the Vietnam War into Cambodia.

For 5 years, North Vietnam has used Cambodian territory as a sanctuary from which to attack allied forces in South Vietnam. For 5 years, American and allied forces—to preserve the concept of Cambodian neutrality and to confine the conflict in Southeast Asia—refrained from moving against those sanctuaries.

It was the presence of North Vietnamese troops on Cambodian soil that contributed to the downfall of Prince Sihanouk. It was the indignation of the Cambodian people against the presence of Vietnamese Communists in their country that led to riots in Phnom Penh which contributed to Prince Sihanouk's ouster—an ouster that surprised no nation more than the United States. At the end of Sihanouk's rule, the United States was making efforts to improve relations with his government and the Prince was taking steps against the Communist invaders on his national soil.

It was the government appointed by Prince Sihanouk and ratified by the Cambodian National Assembly—not a group of usurpers—which overthrew him with the approval of the National Assembly. The United States had neither connection with, nor knowledge of, these events.

It was the major expansion of enemy activity in Cambodia that ultimately caused allied troops to end 5 years of restraint and attack the Communist base areas.

The historical record is plain.

Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops have operated in Eastern Cambodia for years. The primary objective of these Communist forces has been the support of Hanoi's aggression against South Vietnam. Just as it has violated the 1962 Geneva Accords on Laos, North Vietnam has consistently ignored its pledge, in signing the 1954 Geneva Accords, to respect Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity.

In a May 1967 Phnom Penh radio broadcast, Prince Sihanouk's following remarks were reported to the Cambodia people:

"I must tell you that the Vietnamese communists and the Vietcong negotiated with us three or four times but that absolutely nothing comes out of the negotiations . . . After I expelled the French and after the French troops left Cambodia, Viet Minh [1] remained in our country in order to conquer it. How can we have confidence in the Viet Minh? . . . If we side with the Viet Minh we will lose our independence."

Late in 1969, Prince Sihanouk ordered Cambodia's underequipped and weak armed forces to exercise some measure of control over North Vietnamese and Vietcong Communist forces occupying Cambodian territory.

At the same time, the Communist forces were actively preparing in their base areas for new combat in South Vietnam. These areas—on the Cambodian side of the Vietnam-Cambodian border—have for years served as supply depots and base camps for enemy troops infiltrated through Laos into South Vietnam. They have also served as sanctuaries for North Vietnamese and Vietcong headquarters elements and for combat troops to rest, refit, and resupply on their return from South Vietnam.

Our screening of more than six tons of documents captured in the Cambodian operations has provided conclusive proof of Communist reliance on Cambodia as a logistic and infiltration corridor and as a secure area from which Communist designs on Vietnam as well as in Cambodia itself could be carried out.

On January 6, 1970, Prince Sihanouk departed on vacation in France. His Prime Minister, Lon Nol, and Deputy Prime Minister, Sirik Matak, were left

[1] A Communist-led national coalition of Vietnamese fighting within Cambodia against the French during the early fifties.

in charge. In early March, with Sihanouk still in power, there were public demonstrations, first in the eastern provinces of Cambodia and later in Phnom Penh, against flagrant North Vietnamese violation of Cambodia's territorial integrity.

On March 13, Prince Sihanouk left Paris for Moscow and Peking, avowedly to seek Soviet and Chinese assistance in persuading the Vietnamese Communists to reduce the presence of North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces in Cambodia.

Then, on March 18, the Cambodian National Assembly by unanimous vote declared that Prince Sihanouk was no longer Chief of State. Cheng Heng was retained as Acting Chief of State. Lon Nol and Sirik Matak kept their positions. Reasons for Sihanouk's ouster included growing objections to his mishandling of the economy and to his bypassing of the Cabinet and National Assembly; but resentment over North Vietnam's flagrant misuse of Cambodian territory certainly contributed. Sihanouk arrived in Peking the same day and met with the Peking leadership as well as with the North Vietnamese Prime Minister who had hastened to Peking to greet him. Thereafter Sihanouk has increasingly identified himself with the Communist cause in Indochina.

This Government had no advance warning of the ouster of Sihanouk, with whom we had been attempting to improve relations. Our initial response was to seek to preserve the status quo with regard to Cambodia and to try to prevent an expansion of Communist influence. The immunity of the Cambodian sanctuaries had been a serious military handicap for us for many years. But we had refrained from moving against them in order to contain the conflict. We recognized both the problems facing Sihanouk and the fact that he had exercised some measure of control over Communist activities, through regulation of the flow of rice and military supplies into the sanctuaries from coastal ports. We considered that a neutral Cambodia outweighed the military benefits of a move against the base areas.

This is why diplomatically our first reaction to Sihanouk's overthrow was to encourage some form of accommodation in Cambodia. We spoke in this sense to interested governments. And we made clear through many channels that we had no intention of exploiting the Cambodian upheaval for our own ends.

These attempts ran afoul of Hanoi's designs. North Vietnam and the Vietcong withdrew their representation from Phnom Penh. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces began to expand their base areas along the border.

By April 3, they were beginning to launch attacks against Cambodian forces in Svay Rieng Province. Later these attacks were extended to other outposts in Eastern Cambodia, forcing Cambodian troops to evacuate border positions in the Parrot's Beak area by April 10. Communist attacks were also directed against Mekong River traffic.

By April 16, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops began to launch isolated attacks deep into Cambodia including an attack on the capital of Takeo Province south of Phnom Penh.

Despite escalating Communist activity in Cambodia, we continued to exercise restraint. Though the implications of the Communist actions for our efforts in Vietnam were becoming increasingly ominous, Communist intentions in Cambodia were still not absolutely clear. The military moves by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong in Cambodia could still be

interpreted as temporary actions to secure their base camps in light of the uncertainties following Sihanouk's removal.

When I made my April 20 speech announcing the withdrawal of 150,000 troops over the next year, I knew that we might be at a crossroads in Cambodia. I nevertheless made the announcement because it would leave no doubt about our intention to deescalate the conflict.

I also used the occasion to restate very forthcoming political principles for a negotiated peace. At the same time I described the pattern of North Vietnamese aggression in Indochina, and acknowledged that my withdrawal decision involved some risks when viewed against this enemy escalation. I therefore reiterated my determination to take strong and effective measures if increased enemy action in Laos, Cambodia, or South Vietnam jeopardized the security of our remaining forces in Vietnam.

Within days of my April 20 speech, Communist intentions became painfully and unambiguously clear. In the face of our restraint and our warnings, the North Vietnamese continued to expand their territorial control, threatening to link up their base areas. From a series of isolated enclaves, the base areas were rapidly becoming a solid band of self-sustaining territory stretching from Laos to the sea from which any pretense of Cambodian sovereignty was rapidly being excluded.

—On April 20, North Vietnamese forces temporarily captured Saang, only 18 miles south of Phnom Penh.

—On April 22, Communist forces assaulted the town of Snuol east of Phnom Penh.

—On April 23, they attacked the town of Mimot and an important bridge linking the town of Snuol and the capital of Kratie Province on Route 13.

—On April 24, they moved on the resort city of Kep.

—On April 26, they attacked some ships on the Mekong and occupied the town of Angtassom, a few miles west of Takeo.

—They then attacked the city of Chhlong, on the Mekong River north of Phnom Penh, and the port city of Kampot.

—During this same period, they cut almost every major road leading south and east out of Phnom Penh.

The prospect suddenly loomed of Cambodia's becoming virtually one large base area for attack anywhere into South Vietnam along the 600 miles of the Cambodian frontier. The enemy in Cambodia would have enjoyed complete freedom of action to move forces and supplies rapidly across the entire length of South Vietnam's flank to attack our forces in South Vietnam with impunity from well-stocked sanctuaries along the border.

We thus faced a rapidly changing military situation from that which existed on April 20.

The possibility of a grave new threat to our troops in South Vietnam was rapidly becoming an actuality.

This pattern of Communist action prior to our decision of April 30 makes it clear the enemy was intent both on expanding and strengthening its military position along the Cambodian border and overthrowing the Cambodian Government. The plans were laid, the orders issued, and already being implemented by Communist forces.

Not only the clear evidence of Communist actions but supporting data

screened from more than 6 tons of subsequently captured Communist documents leaves no doubt that the Communists' move against the Cambodian Government preceded the U.S. action against the base areas.

Three Options

On April 30, before announcing our response, I outlined the three basic choices we had in the face of the expanding Communist threat.

First, we could do nothing. This would have eroded an important restraint on the loss of American lives. It would have run the risk of Cambodia's becoming one vast enemy staging area, a springboard for attacks on South Vietnam without fear of retaliation. The dangers of having done nothing would not have fully materialized for several months and this government might have been commended for exercising restraint. But, as withdrawals proceded, our paralysis would have seriously jeopardized our forces in Vietnam and would have led to longer lists of American casualties. The United States could not accept the consequences of inaction in the face of this enemy escalation. The American men remaining in South Vietnam after our withdrawal of 150,000 would have been in severe jeopardy.

Our second choice was to provide massive assistance to Cambodia. This was an unrealistic alternative. The small Cambodian army of 30,000 could not effectively utilize any massive transfusion of military assistance against the immediate enemy threat. We also did not wish to get drawn into the permanent direct defense of Cambodia. This would have been inconsistent with the basic premises of our foreign policy.

After intensive consultations with my top advisers, I chose the third course. With the South Vietnamese, we launched joint attacks against the base areas so long occupied by Communist forces.

Our military objectives were to capture or destroy the arms, ammunition, and supplies that had been built up in those sanctuaries over a period of years and to disrupt the enemy's communication network. At the least, this would frustrate the impact of any Communist success in linking up their base areas if it did not prevent this development altogether.

I concluded that, regardless of the success of Communist assaults on the Cambodian Government, the destruction of the enemy's sanctuaries would:

—remove a grave potential threat to our remaining men in South Vietnam, and so reduce future American casualties.

—give added assurance of the continuance of our troop withdrawal program.

—insure the timetable for our Vietnamization program.

—increase the chances of shortening the war in South Vietnam.

—enhance the prospects of a negotiated peace.

—emphasize to the enemy whether in Southeast Asia or elsewhere that the word of the United States—whether given in a promise or a warning—was still good.

The Military Operations

Ten major operations were launched against a dozen of the most significant base areas with 32,000 American troops and 48,000 South Vietnamese participating at various times. As of today, all

Americans, including logistics personnel and advisers, have withdrawn, as have a majority of the South Vietnamese forces.

Our military response to the enemy's escalation was measured in every respect. It was a limited operation for a limited period of time with limited objectives.

We have scrupulously observed the 21-mile limit on penetration of our ground combat forces into Cambodian territory. These self-imposed time and geographic restrictions may have cost us some military advantages, but we knew that we could achieve our primary objectives within these restraints. And these restraints underscored the limited nature of our purpose to the American people.

My June 3 interim report pointed up the success of these operations and the massive amounts of supplies we were seizing and destroying. We have since added substantially to these totals. A full inventory is attached as an appendix to the report.[2] Here are some highlights.

According to latest estimates from the field, we have captured:

—22,892 individual weapons—enough to equip about 74 full-strength North Vietnamese infantry battalions, and 2,509 big crew-served weapons—enough to equip about 25 full-strength North Vietnamese infantry battalions;

—More than 15 million rounds of ammunition or about what the enemy has fired in South Vietnam during the past year;

—14 million pounds of rice, enough to feed all the enemy combat battalions estimated to be in South Vietnam for about 4 months;

—143,000 rockets, mortars, and recoilless rifle rounds, used against cities and bases. Based on recent experience, the number of mortars, large rockets, and recoilless rifle rounds is equivalent to what the enemy shoots in about 14 months in South Vietnam;

—Over 199,552 anti-aircraft rounds, 5,482 mines, 62,022 grenades, and 83,000 pounds of explosives, including 1,002 satchel charges;

—Over 435 vehicles and destroyed over 11,688 bunkers and other military structures.

And while our objective has been supplies rather than personnel, the enemy has also taken a heavy manpower loss—11,349 men killed and about 2,328 captured and detainees.

These are impressive statistics. But what is the deeper meaning of the piles of enemy supplies and the rubble of enemy installations?

We have eliminated an immediate threat to our forces and to the security of South Vietnam—and produced the prospect of fewer American casualties in the future.

We have inflicted extensive casualties and very heavy losses in material on the enemy—losses which can now be replaced only from the North during a monsoon season and in the face of counteraction by South Vietnamese ground and U.S. air forces.

We have ended the concept of Cambodian sanctuaries, immune from attack, upon which the enemy military had relied for 5 years.

We have dislocated supply lines and disrupted Hanoi's strategy in the Saigon area and the Mekong Delta. The enemy capacity to mount a major offensive in this vital

[2] The inventory is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 856).

populated region of the South has been greatly diminished.

We have effectively cut off the enemy from resupply by the sea. In 1969, well over half of the munitions being delivered to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong in Cambodia came by sea.

We have, for the time being, separated the Communist main force units—regular troops organized in formal units similar to conventional armies—from the guerrillas in the southern part of Vietnam. This should provide a boost to pacification efforts.

We have guaranteed the continuance of our troop withdrawal program. On June 3, I reaffirmed that 150,000 more Americans would return home within a year and announced that 50,000 would leave Vietnam by October 15.

We have bought time for the South Vietnamese to strengthen themselves against the enemy.

We have witnessed visible proof of the success of Vietnamization as the South Vietnamese performed with skill and valor and competence far beyond the expectation of our commanders or American advisers. The morale and self-confidence of the Army of South Vietnam is higher than ever before.

These then are the major accomplishments of the operations against the Cambodian base areas. Americans can take pride in the leadership of General Abrams and in the competence and dedication of our forces.

There is another way to view the success of these operations. What if we had chosen the first option—and done nothing?

The enemy sanctuaries by now would have been expanded and strengthened. The thousands of troops he lost, in killed or captured, would be available to attack American positions and with the enormous resources that we captured or destroyed still in his hands.

Our Vietnamization program would be in serious jeopardy; our withdrawals of troops could only have been carried out in the face of serious threat to our remaining troops in Vietnam.

We would have confronted an adversary emboldened by our timidity, an adversary who had ignored repeated warnings.

The war would be a good deal further from over than it is today.

Had we stood by and let the enemy act with impunity in Cambodia, we would be facing a truly bleak situation.

The allied operations have greatly reduced these risks and enhanced the prospects for the future. However, many difficulties remain and some setbacks are inevitable. We still face substantial problems, but the Cambodian operations will enable us to pursue our goals with greater confidence.

When the decision to go into Cambodia was announced on April 30, we anticipated broad disagreement and dissent within the society. Given the divisions on this issue among the American people, it could not have been otherwise.

But the majority of the Americans supported that decision and, now that the Cambodian operation is over, I believe there is a wide measure of understanding of the necessity for it.

Although there remains disagreement about its long-term significance, about the cost to our society of having taken this action—there can be little disagreement now over the immediate military success that has been achieved. With American ground operations in Cambodia ended, we shall move forward with our plan to

end the war in Vietnam and to secure the just peace on which all Americans are united.

The Future

Now that our ground forces and our logistic and advisory personnel have all been withdrawn, what will be our future policy for Cambodia?

The following will be the guidelines of our policy in Cambodia:

1. There will be no U.S. ground personnel in Cambodia except for the regular staff of our Embassy in Phnom Penh.

2. There will be no U.S. advisers with Cambodian units.

3. We will conduct—with the approval of the Cambodian Government—air interdiction missions against the enemy efforts to move supplies and personnel through Cambodia toward South Vietnam and to reestablish base areas relevant to the war in Vietnam. We do this to protect our forces in South Vietnam.

4. We will turn over material captured in the base areas in Cambodia to the Cambodian Government to help it defend its neutrality and independence.

5. We will provide military assistance to the Cambodian Government in the form of small arms and relatively unsophisticated equipment in types and quantities suitable for their army. To date we have supplied about $5 million of these items principally in the form of small arms, mortars, trucks, aircraft parts, communications equipment, and medical supplies.

6. We will encourage other countries of the region to give diplomatic support to the independence and neutrality of Cambodia. We welcome the efforts of the Djakarta group of countries* to mobilize world opinion and encourage Asian cooperation to this end.

7. We will encourage and support the efforts of third countries who wish to furnish Cambodia with troops or material. We applaud the efforts of Asian nations to help Cambodia preserve its neutrality and independence.

I will let the Asian Governments speak for themselves concerning their future policies. I am confident that two basic principles will govern the actions of those nations helping Cambodia:

—They will be at the request of, and in close concert with the Cambodian Government.

—They will not be at the expense of those nations' own defense—indeed they will contribute to their security which they see bound up with events in Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese plan to help. Of all the countries of Southeast Asia, South Vietnam has most at stake in Cambodia. A North Vietnamese takeover would, of course, have profound consequences for its security. At the same time, the leaders of South Vietnam recognize that the primary focus of their attention must be on the security of their own country. President Thieu has reflected these convictions in his major radio and TV address of June 27. Our understanding of Saigon's intentions is as follows:

1. South Vietnamese forces remain ready to prevent reestablishment of base areas along South Vietnam's frontier.

2. South Vietnamese forces will remain

*Representatives of Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, New Zealand, The Philippines, Singapore, South Vietnam, and Thailand comprised the Djakarta Conference of Foreign Ministers.

ready to assist in the evacuation of Vietnamese civilians and to respond selectively to appeals from the Cambodian Government should North Vietnamese aggression make this necessary.

3. Most of these operations will be launched from within South Vietnam. There will be no U.S. air or logistics support. There will not be U.S. advisers on these operations.

4. The great majority of South Vietnamese forces are to leave Cambodia.

5. The primary objective of the South Vietnamese remains Vietnamization within their country. Whatever actions are taken in Cambodia will be consistent with this objective.

In this June 27 speech President Thieu emphasized that his government will concentrate on efforts within South Vietnam. He pledged that his country will always respect the territory, borders, independence, and neutrality of Cambodia and will not interfere in its internal politics. His government does not advocate stationing troops permanently in Cambodia or sending the South Vietnamese Army to fight the war for the Cambodian Army.

Under the foreign policy guidelines first outlined at Guam a year ago, I stressed that a threatened country should first make maximum efforts in its own self-defense. The Cambodian people and soldiers are doing that against the superior force of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong invaders. The majority of the Cambodian people support the present government against the foreign intruders. Cambodian troops have remained loyal and have stood up well in the face of great pressures from a better-armed and experienced foe.

Secondly, our policy stresses there should be regional cooperation where a country is not strong enough to defend herself. Cambodia's neighbors are providing that cooperation by joining with her in a collective effort. Each of them is a target of Communist aggression; each has a stake in Cambodia's neutrality and independence.

Third, the U.S. will assist such self-help and regional actions where our participation can make a difference. Over the long term, we expect the countries of Asia to provide increasingly for their own defense. However, we are now in a transitional phase when nations are shouldering greater responsibilities but when U.S. involvement, while declining, still plays an important role.

In this interim period, we must offset our lower direct involvement with increased military and economic assistance. To meet our foreign policy obligations while reducing our presence will require a redirection—both quantitatively and qualitatively—in our assistance programs.

Prince Sihanouk wrote in December 1969 about the Communist threat to his country and the balance presented by American forces in Southeast Asia. In a generally anti-American article in the official Cambodian Government Party newspaper he stated:

"On the diplomatic and political plane, the fact that the U.S. remains in our region and does not yet leave it allows us maneuverings. . . . to assure on the one hand our more than honorable presence in the concert of nations. . . . this presence (and this is an irony of fate for the anti-imperialists that we are) is an essential condition for the 'respect,' the 'friendship' and even for the aid of our socialist

'friends.' When the U.S. has left these regions, it is certain that the Cambodia of the Sangkum [3] will be the objective of the shellings of the heavy Communist guns: unfriendliness, subversion, aggressions, infiltrations and even occupations."

The Search for Peace

In our search for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia, we are applying the three basic principles of our foreign policy which are set forth in the Foreign Policy Report to Congress last February: partnership, strength and willingness to negotiate.

—The partnership of our Vietnamization program and of our support for regional defense efforts.

—The strength of our action against the Communist bases in Cambodia and the steadfastness of the American people to see the war through to an honorable conclusion.

—The willingness to negotiate expressed in our generous proposals for a settlement and in our flexibility once Hanoi agrees to serious negotiations.

All three elements are needed to bring peace in Southeast Asia. The willingness to negotiate will prove empty unless buttressed by the willingness to stand by just demands. Otherwise negotiations will be a subterfuge for capitulation. This would only bring a false and transitory peace abroad and recrimination at home.

While we search for genuine negotiation we must continue to demonstrate resolution both abroad and at home and we must support the common defense efforts of threatened Asian nations.

To the leaders in Hanoi, I say the time has come to negotiate. There is nothing to be gained in waiting. There is never an ideal moment when both sides are in perfect equilibrium.

The lesson of the last 2 months has reinforced the lessons of the last 2 years—the time has come to negotiate a just peace.

In Cambodia, the futility of expanded aggression has been demonstrated. By its actions in Cambodia, North Vietnam and the Vietcong provoked the destruction of their sanctuaries and helped to weld together the independent states of Southeast Asia in a collective defense effort which will receive American support.

The other side cannot impose its will through military means. We have no intention of imposing ours. We have not raised the terms for a settlement as a result of our recent military successes. We will not lower our minimum terms in response to enemy pressure. Our objective remains a negotiated peace with justice for both sides and which gives the people of South Vietnam the opportunity to shape their own future.

With major efforts the North Vietnamese can perhaps rebuild or readjust Cambodia supply areas over a period of months. They can pursue their war against South Vietnam and her neighbors. But what end would a new round of conflict serve? There is no military solution to this conflict. Sooner or later, peace must come. It can come now, through a negotiated settlement that is fair to both sides and humiliates neither. Or it can come months or years from now, with both sides having paid the further price of protracted struggle.

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[3] The Sangkum Reastr Niyum, or People's Socialist Community, a political unification movement founded by Prince Sihanouk on March 24, 1955.

We would hope that Hanoi would ponder seriously its choice, considering both the promise of an honorable peace and the costs of continued war.

We repeat: all our previous proposals, public and private, remain on the conference table to be explored, including the principles of a just political settlement that I outlined on April 20.

We search for a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people, and allows them to determine their future without outside interference.

We recognize that a fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces.

We pledge to abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon by the South Vietnamese.

For our part, we shall renew our efforts to bring about genuine negotiations both in Paris and for all of Indochina. As I said in my address last September to the United Nations General Assembly:

"The people of Vietnam, North, and South alike, have demonstrated heroism enough to last a century. . . . The people of Vietnam, North and South, have endured an unspeakable weight of suffering for a generation. And they deserve a better future."

We call on Hanoi to join us at long last in bringing about that better future.

NOTE: The report was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released a summary of the report which is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 841).

Previously, on June 10, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Governors John A. Love of Colorado, Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania, and Robert E. McNair of South Carolina; Senators Howard W. Cannon of Nevada and Thomas J. McIntyre of New Hampshire; Representative Melvin Price of Illinois; and Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, following a report to the President on their fact-finding trip to South Vietnam and Cambodia. Their 7-page report on the trip from June 5 through June 8, was made available to the press following the briefing.

206 Statement About the Special Milk Program Authorization. *June* 30, 1970

ELEVEN DAYS ago, the Congress sent to me H.R. 5554, which would extend the authorization for the special milk program. I have not signed this measure. But, today—without my signature—it becomes law.

H.R. 5554 authorizes appropriations of $120 million in fiscal year 1971 and subsequent years. The administration's 1971 budget did not include funds for this program. In a special message to the Congress February 26, 1970, I urged that this and similar lower-priority Federal subsidy programs be discontinued. As I said then, no time-honored program is sacrosanct if it cannot be justified on the grounds of high priority.

The funds authorized in H.R. 5554 subsidize the purchase of milk, in the great majority of cases subsidizing families able to pay the full cost. Less than 10 percent of the milk served goes to children from poverty families.

I am mindful of the vital importance of milk for all of our schoolchildren and also of the genuine need to keep our dairy industry strong. But I firmly believe the major portion of the funds authorized in

this bill should have been authorized for more effective nutritional programs to benefit children from poor families and on a basis which includes milk as part of the balanced, nutritious school lunch program.

I have already acted on this conviction. On May 14, 1970, I signed into law H.R. 515 which improved the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act. The effect of this legislation is to assure that *every* child from a family whose income falls below the poverty line will receive a free or reduced-price lunch. These lunches include milk.

To properly fund this legislation, a budget amendment of $217 million additional is being transmitted to the Congress *today* for the school lunch and child nutrition programs in fiscal 1971, bringing the total Federal funding for these programs to $900 million. That amount is by no means the whole story of this administration's determined efforts to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in America. Total requests for food assistance programs in fiscal '71 exceed $2.5 billion, more than twice the amount expended on these programs 2 years ago and $900 million more than I requested and obtained last year.

Thus there should be no doubt about this administration's commitment to the fight against hunger. If this effort is to be successful, it must be carried on in a way that is clearly recognized as responsible. We must avoid wasting the taxpayers' money on overlapping and unnecessary programs. Therefore, it should be clearly understood that whatever funds I use from this program I intend to use for the school lunch and child nutrition and milk programs for children from poverty families, and not for those who are in no need of such a subsidy. I have allowed this measure to become law with these objectives in view.

In its future actions on spending, I urge the Congress to join me in the constant and crucial effort to hold down Federal spending and prevent another wave of inflation.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, H.R. 5554 is Public Law 91–295 (84 Stat. 336).

207 Letter to the President of the Senate Requesting Budget Amendments for Fiscal 1971 School Lunch and Child Nutrition Programs. *June* 30, 1970

Sir:

I ask the Congress to consider an amendment to the requests for appropriations in the budget for fiscal year 1971 in the amount of $216,579,000 for the Department of Agriculture for the Child Nutrition Programs to carry out Public Law 91–248.

As I stated on approving this legislation on May 14, "This legislation will help the Administration achieve its goal of expanding the school lunch program for all

children and providing free or reduced price lunches for every needy child."

Further details of this proposal and the necessity therefore are set forth in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, with whose comments and recommendations I concur.

Respectfully yours,

RICHARD NIXON

[The President of the Senate]

NOTE: The text of the letter was released at San Clemente, Calif.

208 A Conversation With the President About Foreign Policy. *July* 1, 1970

APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF OF U.S. DELEGATION TO PARIS TALKS

THE PRESIDENT. Good evening. Before turning to our panel for their questions, I have a brief announcement. After consultation with the Secretary of State and other senior advisers, I decided to name Ambassador David Bruce as chief of our delegation to the Paris talks.

Ambassador Bruce, as all of those who have studied our foreign policy know, is one of America's most distinguished diplomats. He is a Democrat, but he has served five Presidents, Democrat and Republican, with great devotion and great ability. He is the only ambassador in our history who has been Ambassador to Germany, Ambassador to England, and Ambassador to France.

He will meet me in San Clemente along with Ambassador Habib, who is chief of our delegation, acting at this time, and the Under Secretary of State Alexis Johnson on Saturday, July 4.

There, along with Dr. Kissinger, we will discuss the situation with regard to the talks as they presently exist. Then on July 11th, he will meet with Secretary of State Rogers, in London, as Secretary Rogers completes his Asian trip and will stop briefly in Britain on his way back to the United States.

Ambassador Bruce will have the opportunity then to meet with the National Security Council in the middle of this month, perhaps about the 15th of July, and is arranging his affairs so that he will be able to go to Paris and take over as chief of the delegation on the 1st of August or shortly before that time.

We believe that in appointing Ambassador Bruce we have selected a man who is superbly qualified to conduct these negotiations. He will have great flexibility in the conduct of his talks. We hope that this move on our part will be reciprocated by a similar move on the part of the North Vietnamese in attempting to find a peaceful solution to the war in Vietnam.

Now, with that brief announcement we will go to the questions.

QUESTIONS

HOWARD K. SMITH (American Broadcasting Company). Mr. President, in your report on the Cambodian operation yesterday, you said you were going to emphasize the route of negotiated settlement again, and I gather this is the first step.

About other steps, (a) have you had

any signal from Hanoi that they are more willing to talk than they have been in the past, and (b) do you have any new proposals to put to them to make a negotiated settlement more attractive?

THE PRESIDENT. We have had no signals from Hanoi directly or indirectly that their position of intransigence has changed. They still insist that their condition for a negotiated settlement is complete withdrawal of our forces and the throwing out of the government in South Vietnam as we leave.

On the other hand, we believe that they will be interested in the fact that we are appointing a new chief of delegation, because on several occasions, not particularly from them but from third parties who have talked to them, they have indicated that they felt that we should appoint a new chief of delegation.

We have now appointed one and we hope that they act. As far as new proposals are concerned, I think it is important for us to know what our proposals are, because we have made some very forthcoming proposals.

First, we have offered to withdraw all of our forces if they withdraw theirs, and to have that withdrawal internationally supervised.

Second, we have offered to have cease-fires throughout the country, and have those cease-fires again internationally supervised.

Third, and most important, we have offered to have free elections throughout the country, internationally supervised. We have offered to have the supervisory bodies be ones in which the Communists can participate as well as those representing the present government in South Vietnam; and we have offered on our part, and the South Vietnamese Government has offered on its part, to accept the results of that election, even though those results might include Communists in some positions, or Communists in some power.

We believe that these offers are very forthcoming, and I should also say that in private channels we have elaborated on these offers.

Finally, I should also point out that we have not made our proposals on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. Ambassador Bruce will be in that position. He will be in a position with his new instructions to tell the opposition that we have laid these proposals out; we believe they are the formula that should provide the basis for a negotiated peace, but that we are willing to see whether we can narrow the gap between their position and ours.

There is only one matter that is not subject to negotiation, and that is the right of the South Vietnamese to determine their own future.

That is one of the reasons, for example, that the speculation with regard to our having changed our position and agreeing possibly to now offer a coalition government, a negotiated settlement imposing a coalition government, that speculation is not correct.

It is not correct, because if we were to negotiate with the North Vietnamese and decide that we would have a coalition government and impose it on the South Vietnamese, that is a government without their choice.

If the South Vietnamese on the other hand in the free political process should choose Communists as well as non-Communists and out of that should come a government that is mixed, that is up to them.

But we will not impose a coalition government against the will, and without the

consent, of the people of South Vietnam. But except for those two conditions, Ambassador Bruce will be free to negotiate in a very flexible manner on our proposals or on theirs.

JOHN CHANCELLOR (National Broadcasting Company). Mr. President, we are all pleased to be here with you tonight. As you know, the networks have standing requests for interviews of this kind with you. I'd like to know why you have chosen this technique at this particular time.

THE PRESIDENT. We have, as you know, Mr. Chancellor, numbers of requests to do everything from press conferences to individual interviews, and the like. I noted, of course, that in the previous administrations that this technique was used first by President Kennedy, and I thought very effectively, you remember, after his first year in office. President Johnson used it twice and I thought also in a very interesting and effective way.

I have not yet used this technique. It seemed to me that this would be useful now and, incidentally, it is useful for another reason. I have followed some of what has been referred to as the instant commentary and I do know—after my press conferences—and I do know that one of the difficulties with press conferences—and some of you have been very kind in referring to the style of the conferences, not always to the replies—but one of the difficulties is that an individual does not get to follow up a question.

Now this allows that. So by taking the subject of foreign policy, by picking the anchormen of the three networks, by having a chance for a little bit longer answer and a chance to follow up, I thought we could give our television audience a chance really to get to the depths of our foreign policy thinking which you can't do when you are up there trying to, in 28 minutes, answer 24 times.

ERIC SEVAREID (Columbia Broadcasting System). Sir, a lot of things have been happening in the last few days and some in the United States Senate.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I know.

MR. SEVAREID. Do you feel that you can give categorical assurances now that we will not send ground troops back into Cambodia no matter what?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sevareid, as you recall, I indicated when this operation was begun 2 months ago—incidentally, it seems much longer, a lot has happened in those 2 months and a very great deal has been achieved, in my opinion—but I indicated then that once we had completed our task successfully of cleaning out the sanctuaries that then it would not be necessary, and I would not consider it advisable, to send American ground forces back into Cambodia.

I can say now that we have no plans to send American ground forces into Cambodia. We have no plans to send any advisers into Cambodia. We have plans only to maintain the rather limited diplomatic establishment that we have in Phnom Penh and I see nothing that will change that at this time.

MR. SEVAREID. But you can't foreswear in a final way——

THE PRESIDENT. I realize that anybody listening to an answer——

MR. SEVAREID. That is what the Senate seems to want.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that anybody hearing the answer that I have just given would certainly get the impression, and would incidentally be justified in having the impression, that the President of the United States has no intention to send ground forces back into Cambodia, and I

do not believe that there will be any necessity to do so.

When you say can I be pinned down to say that under no circumstances would the United States ever do anything, I would not say that, but I will say that our plans do not countenance it, we do not plan on it, and under the circumstances, I believe that the success of the operation which we have undertaken, as well as what the South Vietnamese will be able to do, will make it unnecessary.

MR. SMITH. Mr. President, one of the things that happened in the Senate last week was the rescinding of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution by the Senate. Mr. Katzenbach,[1] in the previous administration, told the Foreign Relations Committee that resolution was tantamount to a congressional declaration of war. If it is rescinded, what legal justification do you have for continuing to fight a war that is undeclared in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. First, Mr. Smith, as you know, this war, while it was undeclared, was here when I became President of the United States. I do not say that critically. I am simply stating the fact that there were 549,000 Americans in Vietnam under attack when I became President.

The President of the United States has the constitutional right—not only the right, but the responsibility—to use his powers to protect American forces when they are engaged in military actions, and under these circumstances, starting at the time that I became President, I have that power and I am exercising that power.

MR. SMITH. Sir, I am not recommending this, but if you don't have a legal authority to wage a war, then presumably you could move troops out. It would be possible to agree with the North Vietnamese. They would be delighted to have us surrender. So that you could——

What justification do you have for keeping troops there other than protecting the troops that are there fighting?

THE PRESIDENT. A very significant justification. It isn't just a case of seeing that the Americans are moved out in an orderly way. If that were the case, we could move them out more quickly, but it is a case of moving American forces out in a way that we can at the same time win a just peace.

Now, by winning a just peace, what I mean is not victory over North Vietnam—we are not asking for that—but it is simply the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own future without having us impose our will upon them, or the North Vietnamese, or anybody else outside impose their will upon them.

When we look at that limited objective, I am sure some would say, "Well, is that really worth it? Is that worth the efforts of all these Americans fighting in Vietnam, the lives that have been lost?"

I suppose it could be said that simply saving 17 million people in South Vietnam from a Communist takeover isn't worth the efforts of the United States. But let's go further. If the United States, after all of this effort, if we were to withdraw immediately, as many Americans would want us to do—and it would be very easy for me to do it and simply blame it on the previous administration—but if we were to do that, I would probably survive through my term, but it would have, in my view, a catastrophic effect on this country and the cause of peace in the years ahead.

Now I know there are those who

[1] Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State from 1966 to 1968.

say the domino theory is obsolete. They haven't talked to the dominoes. They should talk to the Thais, to the Malaysians, to the Singaporans, to the Indonesians, to the Filipinos, to the Japanese, and the rest. And if the United States leaves Vietnam in a way that we are humiliated or defeated, not simply speaking in what is called jingoistic terms, but in very practical terms, this will be immensely discouraging to the 300 million people from Japan clear around to Thailand in free Asia; and even more important it will be ominously encouraging to the leaders of Communist China and the Soviet Union who are supporting the North Vietnamese. It will encourage them in their expansionist policies in other areas.

The world will be much safer in which to live.

MR. SMITH. I happen to be one of those who agrees with what you are saying, but do you have a legal justification to follow that policy once the Tonkin Gulf Resolution is dead?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, sir, Mr. Smith, the legal justification is the one that I have given, and that is the right of the President of the United States under the Constitution to protect the lives of American men. That is the legal justification. You may recall, of course, that we went through this same debate at the time of Korea. Korea was also an undeclared war, and then, of course, we justified it on the basis of a U.N. action. I believe we have a legal justification and I intend to use it.

Mr. SEVAREID. Mr. President, you have said that self-determination in South Vietnam is really our aim, and all we can ask for. The Vice President says a non-Communist future for Indochina, or Southeast Asia. His statement seems to enlarge the ultimate American aim considerably. Have we misunderstood you or has he or what is the aim?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sevareid, when the Vice President refers to a non-Communist Southeast Asia that would mean of course, a non-Communist South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. That is the area we usually think of as Southeast Asia.

This is certainly something that I think most Americans and most of those in free Asia and most of those in the free world would think would be a desirable goal.

Let me put it another way: I do not think it would be in the interest of the United States and those who want peace in the Pacific if that part of the world should become Communist, because then the peace of the world, the peace in the Pacific, would be in my opinion very greatly jeopardized if the Communists were to go through that area.

However, referring now specifically to what we are doing in Vietnam, our aim there is a very limited one, and it is to provide for the South Vietnamese the right of self-determination. I believe that when they exercise that right they will choose a non-Communist government. But we are indicating—and incidentally, despite what everybody says about the present government in South Vietnam, its inadequacies and the rest, we have to give them credit for the fact that they also have indicated that they will accept the result of an election, what the people choose.

Let us note the fact that the North Vietnamese are in power not as a result of an election, and have refused to indicate that they will accept the result of an election in South Vietnam, which would seem

to me to be a pretty good bargaining point on our side.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, I am a little confused at this point because you seem in vivid terms to be describing South Vietnam as the first of the string of dominoes that could topple in that part of the world and turn it into a Communist part of the world, in simple terms.

Are you saying that we cannot survive, we cannot allow a regime or a government in South Vietnam to be constructed that would, say, lean toward the Communist bloc? What about a sort of Yugoslavia? Is there any possibility of that kind of settlement?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chancellor, it depends upon the people of South Vietnam. If the people of South Vietnam after they see what the Vietcong, the Communist Vietcong, have done to the villages they have occupied, the 40,000 people that they have murdered, village chiefs and others, the atrocities of Hue—if the people of South Vietnam, of which 850,000 of them are Catholic refugees from North Vietnam, after a blood bath there when the North Vietnamese took over in North Vietnam—if the people of South Vietnam under those circumstances should choose to move in the direction of a Communist government, that, of course, is their right. I do not think it will happen. But I do emphasize that the American position and the position also of the present Government of South Vietnam, it seems to me, is especially strong, because we are confident enough that we say to the enemy, "All right, we'll put our case to the people and we'll accept the result." If it happens to be what you describe, a Yugoslav type of government or a mixed government, we will accept it.

MR. CHANCELLOR. What I am getting at, sir, is, if you say on the one hand that Vietnam—South Vietnam is the first of the row of dominoes which we cannot allow to topple, then can you say equally, at the same time, that we will accept the judgment of the people of South Vietnam if they choose a Communist government?

THE PRESIDENT. The point that you make, Mr. Chancellor, is one that we in the free world face every place in the world, and it is really what distinguishes us from the Communist world.

Again, I know that what is called cold war rhetoric isn't fashionable these days, and I am not engaging in it because I am quite practical, and we must be quite practical, about the world in which we live with all the dangers that we have in the Mideast and other areas that I am sure we will be discussing later in this program.

But let us understand that we in the free world have to live or die by the proposition that the people have a right to choose.

Let it also be noted that in no country in the world today in which the Communists are in power have they come to power as a result of the people choosing them—not in North Vietnam, not in North Korea, not in China, not in Russia, and not in any one of the countries of Eastern Europe, and not in Cuba. In every case, communism has come to power by other than a free election, so I think we are in a pretty safe position on this particular point.

I think you are therefore putting, and I don't say this critically, what is really a hypothetical question. It could happen. But if it does happen that way we must assume the consequences, and if the people of South Vietnam should choose a Communist government, then we will have to accept the consequences of what

would happen as far as the domino theory in the other areas.

MR. CHANCELLOR. In other words, live with it?

THE PRESIDENT. We would have to live with it, and I would also suggest this: When we talk about the dominoes, I am not saying that automatically if South Vietnam should go the others topple one by one. I am only saying that in talking to every one of the Asian leaders, and I have talked to all of them. I have talked to Lee Kuan Yew—all of you know him from Singapore of course—and to the Tunku [2] from Malaysia, the little countries, and to Suharto from Indonesia, and of course to Thanom and Thanat Khoman, the two major leaders in Thailand—I have talked to all of these leaders and every one of them to a man recognizes, and Sato of Japan recognizes, and of course the Koreans recognize that if the Communists succeed, not as a result of a free election—they are not thinking of that—but if they succeed as a result of exporting aggression and supporting it in toppling the government, then the message to them is, "Watch out, we might be next."

That's what is real. So, if they come in as a result of a free election, and I don't think that is going to happen, the domino effect would not be as great.

MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, what caused the change in plans about the South Vietnamese troops remaining in Cambodia? On April 30th you said they would come out about when ours came out, and they are apparently building big bases and intend to stay. What happened in the meantime to change this?

THE PRESIDENT. When I spoke on April 30th, Mr. Sevareid, I pointed out that we would be out, as you recall, and we have kept that promise, despite—there is some speculation to the effect that we would have advisers in, or this, that, and the other. All Americans are out and, answering your earlier questions, we have no plans and have no expectation that any Americans would go back in.

With regard to the South Vietnamese, I pointed out on April 30th that our air support would stop and there would be no advisers with the South Vietnamese, that any activities of the South Vietnamese after we left would have to be on their own.

Now what they are doing in South Vietnam, and I checked this just before the program tonight as to the numbers, there are approximately 40,000 North Vietnamese in Cambodia at the present time. There are approximately 8,000 South Vietnamese. What they are doing is cleaning out some of the sanctuary areas that were not completed when we left.

They are not building substantial bases. What they are really doing is simply providing the basis on which they can stop the North Vietnamese from coming back into the sanctuary areas, and I think that is their responsibility and their right.

MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, to what extent are we really committed to preserving this new government in Cambodia, which is a rather shaky one? What would we do, for example, if the capital city of Cambodia is in imminent danger of getting into Communist hands?

THE PRESIDENT. It is well for us to understand exactly what our relationship to Cambodia is. Let me compare it with Thailand.

With Thailand we have a treaty, and

[2] A Malaysian title meaning Prince or My Lord; Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj was Prime Minister.

if Thailand comes under attack, that treaty comes into force. The same is true, of course, of Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines. Cambodia is in the same category as Indonesia. It is a neutral country. It is a nonaligned country. We have no treaty with it.

As far as Cambodia is concerned, our only commitment to Cambodia is the commitment that the United States for 190 years has had to the principle of international law that a country that chooses to be neutral should have its neutrality respected.

Now that means that we are furnishing, as you know, small arms to them for their own defense. It means that, in addition to that, we are trying to give them the moral support that we can. We are supporting the initiative of the 11 Asian nations who are attempting to stand with that government in its neutrality, but as far as military support, the United States moving forces into Cambodia for the purpose of helping them defend against enemy attack—that we are not required to do under treaty and that we do not intend to do.

MR. SMITH. Mr. President, also about Cambodia, in your last press conference, I believe you were asked what distinguished this operation from escalations that occurred in past administrations, and you said this is decisive in nature.

Now, when one thinks of a decisive military operation, one thinks of things like the battle of Stalingrad, or D-Day. Do you think that this is really decisive for the Vietnam war, or does it just gain time—or what?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith, I remember your broadcast, as a matter of fact, from England as I recall at the time of Stalingrad and D-Day and the rest, and I think you will agree that as we look at it in the perspective of history, we think Stalingrad was decisive, and also that D-Day was decisive.

However, at the time that they occurred, immediately thereafter, we couldn't be sure. Now, looking at this particular operation, it is in my view the most decisive action in terms of damaging the enemy's ability to wage effective warfare that has occurred in this war to date.

Whether it will be as decisive as Stalingrad was or as D-Day was, I am not prepared to say. Only history will tell.

I do know that any action which captures and destroys over 12 months of the enemy's small arms ammunition supply, over 14 months of their mortars, over 4 months supply of rice, in addition to the very considerable number of enemy personnel that were killed and captured, approximately 15,000, that that is a very effective blow.

How decisive it will be remains to be seen.

I will say it is decisive in a couple of other ways. It does make it possible for us to go ahead with assurance on our withdrawal program of 150,000 more, which will be completed during the spring of next year; and it does give us more assurance that the South Vietnamese now, for the first time tested in battle by themselves against the North Vietnamese, can handle themselves, that Vietnamization can work and will work, and that we can get out, and they can stay in and hold their own.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, can I ask you about the plans for withdrawal far down the road? There are 419,000 American troops now in Vietnam—I be-

lieve that is the figure—and 260,000 will be there in the spring of 1971 according to your withdrawal formula.

But what happens after that? Will we find ourselves in the position where we will have to keep a couple of hundred thousand men there logistically for some period of time or, sir, do you believe that we should pose that threat to the North Vietnamese that they might have to wait another 10 years while we had 200,000 men in South Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose that question becomes particularly apropos when you think of Korea, because in Korea we still have 50,000 men and it has been 17 years since the Korean war was over.

In terms of South Vietnam, I think we could put it, however, in another way. We are prepared by negotiation to bring out all of our forces and have no forces at all in South Vietnam if the enemy will negotiate, if they will withdraw theirs.

We are confident that the South Vietnamese can defend themselves if there is a mutual withdrawal of outside forces.

Now, if they do not agree to it, then we still have a plan which, as for its long-term goal, is to withdraw all of our forces. However, it will be in stages.

As you know, what we are withdrawing now are primarily our ground combat forces, and the majority of our ground combat forces will be out during the spring of next year. The 265,000 will—that number, of course, will be a majority of our ground combat forces.

Now, when it comes to naval forces and air forces which require more sophisticated training and the rest, it will take a longer time to get them out, but I again come back to this proposition: Our long-term goal is to get them all out; and short-term, if the enemy is willing to negotiate with our new Ambassador, we will get them all out within a year, if they are willing to negotiate.

MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, you have always refused to set a definite terminal date for our final withdrawal from Vietnam on the grounds the enemy would just sit and wait and never negotiate at all, as I understand it. But, your advisers always say to us that it would be better for the North Vietnamese to negotiate while we are still there rather than face Saigon alone later on.

If that is the case, then why not set a definite terminal date to encourage them to negotiate, knowing we will leave?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the argument that if we just set a terminal date as to when we are going to get out that this might, in reverse, encourage them to negotiate—I don't think it will stand up. I think it is a good debating point to make and perhaps we could say that the debating point we have made on the other side is just that, but I don't believe it is.

Let me put it this way: Put yourself in the position of the enemy. Also, put yourself in the position of an historian—and all of you are historians; you study these matters and you write about them, you think about them, and you commentate upon them. You will generally find that negotiations occur, negotiations which end war, only when the balance of power changes significantly, only when one party or the other concludes that as a result of the shift in the military balance they no longer have an opportunity to accomplish their goal militarily and therefore, they had best negotiate.

Now, I think one of the positive benefits

of the Cambodian operation is that it has changed the military balance. How much it has changed in the minds of the enemy remains to be seen.

I do not say it has changed it enough so that they will negotiate. I think it might help. Only time will tell. But putting myself—again, looking at the enemy, I am convinced that if we were to tell the enemy now, the North Vietnamese, that within, as for example the McGovern-Hatfield resolution, that by the end of this year all Americans will be gone, well, I can assure you that the enemy isn't going to negotiate in Paris at all. They are not going to talk. They are going to wait until we get out because they know that at the end of this year the South Vietnamese won't be ready to defend the country by themselves.

But if, on the other hand, the enemy feels that we are going to stay there long enough for the South Vietnamese to be strong enough to handle their own defense, then I think they have a real incentive to negotiate, because if they have to negotiate with a strong, vigorous South Vietnamese Government, the deal they can make with them isn't going to be as good as the deal they might make now.

MR. SMITH. Sir, talking about troop withdrawals, American troop withdrawals, on June the 3d you said that if the other side took advantage of our troop withdrawals and intensified their attacks, you would be prepared to take strong effective measures to meet that situation.

Now, in view of the explosions of wrath on the campus at the Cambodian affair, do you think you could reescalate even temporarily the fighting as you seem to say you might if you had to?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Smith, when we talk about reescalating the fighting, I think we have to be precise about what we mean. First, I have already indicated in answer to Mr. Sevareid's first question that we have no plans to go back into Cambodia.

And, incidentally, I am not as bearish as some commentators have been about the future of Cambodia. If I could digress a moment, I think this is a question that our listeners would be interested in—Cambodia's chances of surviving as a neutral country are infinitely better now than they were on April 30th. And they are better, first, because the North Vietnamese have a 600-mile supply line rather than a 40-mile supply line back to the sanctuaries which we have destroyed.

They are better, also, because the Cambodian Government has far more support among the people, and the reporters from Phnom Penh have generally reported that. They are better, too, because the Cambodian Government also has support from the 11 Asian nations, representing 300 million people, and I think also they are better for the reason that the South Vietnamese have been very effective when they have taken on the North Vietnamese in the Cambodian area.

They have posed a rather considerable threat to them. I do not suggest that it is still not a fragile situation. It is difficult. But it is possible for them to survive.

Now coming back to your question, first, when you talk about reescalation, we do not plan to go back into Cambodia. We do plan, however, and I will use this power—I am going to use, as I should, the air power of the United States to interdict all flows of men and supplies which I consider are directed toward South Vietnam.

That is in my role of defending American men.

Now let's look at the other possibilities

of the escalation. For example, we have a bombing pause in the north, as you note. As you also note, one of what was called the understandings when that bombing pause was entered into was that American reconnaissance flights could take place over North Vietnam so that we could determine whether or not they were planning a new attack, and those reconnaissance flights were supposed to be immune from attack.

Now, consistently the North Vietnamese have been shooting at those planes. In fact at the time we embarked on the April 30th operation, I ordered some attacks on some sites in North Vietnam which had been shooting our planes.

If those attacks should now develop again, I will, of course, use our American air power against North Vietnam sites that attack our planes.

That is my responsibility, to defend American boys—American men or boys when they do come under attack.

Now when you talk about reescalation in other terms, I do not see that presently as a possibility, presently in terms of what the North Vietnamese may be able to do and what we would do in action to it.

But I want to leave no doubt on one score: I am concerned, as all of you gentlemen have been concerned, about the dissent on the campuses, and among a great many thoughtful Americans that are for peace, as I am sure all of you are, and as I am. Sometimes people say, "Well, was it really worth it?" Right after I made this report, one of the members of the press said, "Do you think it was all worth it?"

And my answer quite candidly is this: There are no easy choices in the position I hold, as you well know, particularly when it is one like this. I knew there was a risk, the risk of dissent, and I knew that a barrage of criticism would come not only from the campus but from many others as well.

So I had to weigh that risk. I had to weigh the risk of dissent from those who would object if I did act, against the risks to 435,000 American lives who would be in jeopardy if I did not act, and as Commander in Chief, I had no choice but to act to defend those men. And as Commander in Chief, if I am faced with that decision again, I will exercise that power to defend those men.

It will be done, and I believe that the majority of the American people will support me then, as a majority of the American people, even in this difficult period, have seemed to support me.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, in your report on the Cambodian incursions you described again in vivid terms the dangers of a Communist-controlled Cambodia with its long frontier along South Vietnam and the ability that the enemy would have if the Communists controlled it to wreck our program of Vietnamization and many other things in South Vietnam. But some of us I think are more apprehensive than you seem to be this evening about the chances for survival of the Lon Nol government. I surely don't question your information, sir, but people do worry that that government may topple, that Sihanouk may come back, that there are an awful lot of Communist troops in that country.

What will we do then if we have this hundreds of miles of open frontier? Would you then think that we could mount an international rescue operation or would we have to be drawn in again?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Chancellor, the hypothetical question that you have posed

shows, it seems to me, very clearly why as Commander in Chief I had no choice but to move in the sanctuary areas. Just think what the situation would be that we would confront if the Communists were to take Cambodia and if they had—they, rather than we—had the 14 million rounds of small ammunition and the 190,000 rounds of mortars and recoilless rifles, and all the rest. It would mean that the position that we would be in, and our troops would be in, would be extremely difficult and more difficult than was previously the case, because they not only would have the sanctuaries but they would have the back country to back it up and they would also have the port of Sihanoukville open, and over 50 percent of the material in the sanctuaries came in through that port.

Now you come to the second point. Now that we have cleaned out the sanctuaries, let us suppose—and what you are putting is a hypothetical question and a hypothesis I do not accept, although it is a possibility because nobody can be sure, it is a fragile situation—if the Communists despite the support that the present government in Cambodia gets for its neutrality, if they should nevertheless topple it, what do we do? The answer is that we continue in our course in South Vietnam to defeat the enemy there, and the South Vietnamese, who are now a very formidable fighting force, will certainly see to it that the sanctuary areas are not again occupied. That is a very real threat to whatever Communist activities might be engaged in in Phnom Penh.

MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, in view of the Cooper-Church amendment passed yesterday in the Senate, do you feel now obliged to suspend the negotiations with Thailand about our paying and equipping their troops that they were going to send into Cambodia? I think this is forbidden as far as the Senate is concerned.

THE PRESIDENT. Fortunately, our Founding Fathers had great wisdom when they set up two Houses of Congress.

MR. SEVAREID. So, you're going to wait and see what——

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes. Let me say with all due respect to both the House and the Senate—and as you know, I started in the House and also served in the Senate, and I have great respect for the Senate, I served there 2 years as a Senator and presided over the body for 8 years as Vice President—but I think the performance of the Senate over the past 7 weeks, going up and down the hill on Cooper-Church, has not particularly distinguished that august body, and the Cooper-Church that came out was not a particularly precise document, and was somewhat ambiguous.

Now, fortunately, it now goes to the House and the House will work its will on that amendment, and then it goes to conference—and, of course, the conference, which most of our viewers don't think of as being a very important body, that is probably the most important legislative entity that we have in our Government, because there they take the differences between a House and a Senate bill, things that were done, for example, that went too far in one direction or too far in another, and they work them out. And I believe that the conference of the Senate and the House, when they consider all of these factors, will first be sure that the power of the President of the United States to protect American forces whenever they come into attack is in no way jeopardized. Even Cooper-Church recognizes that to an extent. And second, that they will recognize that the Nixon Doc-

trine, which provides that the United States rather than sending men will send arms when we consider it is in our interest to do so, arms to help other countries defend themselves. I believe that the conference will modify Cooper-Church.

MR. SEVAREID. How do you take it yourself, this action of yesterday? The Senate majority. Do you take it as a rebuke, a warning, an expression of mistrust in your word as to what you are going to do in Cambodia? How did it hit you?

THE PRESIDENT. The action of the Senate is one that I respect. I respect, I know, the men in the Senate. Take the two authors, Cooper and Church. They are good men. They are very dedicated to peace. So am I.

There is one difference between us. I have responsibility for 440,000 men. They don't.

And I intend to do what is necessary to protect those men, and I believe that as far as the Senate is concerned that—while I will listen to them, I will pay attention to what they have said—I am going to wait until the House acts, until the conference acts, and I believe that the action, the joint action of the House and Senate, will be more responsible, I will say respectfully, than the action of the Senate was.

I don't consider it a rebuke, and I am not angry at the Senate. It won't pay. They have the last word sometimes—or many words.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Sir, you said in your report [3] that you had unambiguous knowledge of enemy intentions in Cambodia just after April 20, April 21, 22, 23. It has been asked, and I think it is valid to raise it here, could you, in these early days in that week, before you decided to move on the 30th of April, have consulted with certain key Members of Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as a matter of fact, when we talk about consultation, you can do it formally or you can do it informally, and I can assure you, Mr. Chancellor, I consulted with a great number of people between April 20th and April 30th, including Members of the Senate and Members of the House.

Now, let's come to perhaps really the thrust of your question, and I think this is perhaps something that many of our viewers and listeners would ask: Well, in ordering American men to join with the South Vietnamese—and incidentally, this was 60 percent South Vietnamese, 40 percent Americans, but we carried a very important part of the load—in ordering that kind of an action, why didn't I go to the Senate, for example, and the House and ask for their approval?

Well, now let us suppose we had done that. It took them 7 weeks for Cooper-Church. Let's suppose it had taken 7 weeks. What would have happened? Well, first, all of this year's supply of ammunition that we have acquired would have been gone out of the sanctuaries, or even worse, what might have happened is that the rather fearsome defensive barricades that they had in these sanctuaries would have been ready for us, and we would have lost not just 330 men—that is too many to lose in 2 months, and that is all we lost in Cambodia—we would have lost three or four thousand.

As far as I am concerned, I had to think of what was right and what was necessary, what would save American men, and the element of surprise was important.

Now let me also add this. If this had been what some thought it was, an at-

[3] See Item 205.

tempt to expand the war into Cambodia, to launch a war into Cambodia, then of course, I would have gone to the Senate. You can be sure that in my administration we are not going to get involved in any more Vietnams where we do not get the approval of the Congress. I will not do this because I think we need congressional support for our actions, and I trust we do not have to go to the Congress for that kind of support.

But when we have this limited, very precise action which was limited in terms of the time, limited in terms of 21 miles as far as we were going to go, and which had for its purpose the protecting of American lives, I had to take the action when I did, and I did not think it was wise to give the enemy the advance notice, the strategic warning, which would have taken away the surprise and would have cost us lives.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Sir, aren't we at the crux of the argument now that is going on in the country that the executive branch, according to the legislative branch, or at least one body of it, ought to be limited, they say on the Hill, in what it can do in ordering American troops to be used in many different ways around the world? I think we would all benefit, sir, if we could explore your views in a general way on that.

Do you feel that in the modern world there are situations when the President must respond against the very tight deadline or for reasons of security in using American troops crossing a border with them when he cannot, under reasons you yourself have described, consult with the legislative branch? The Constitution says they declare war and you, sir, run it.

THE PRESIDENT. Another good example of course is the Cuban missile crisis. President Kennedy had a very difficult decision there and two hours and a quarter before he ordered—and I thought with great justification and great courage—before he ordered the blockade, the use of American men to blockade Cuba, he told the Senate and the congressional leaders. Now, why didn't he give them more time? For a very good reason he did not give them more time.

It was imperative to move soon with some surprise and some impact or the possibility of a nuclear confrontation might have been greater. That is one example. I trust we don't have another Cuban missile crisis. I trust we don't have another situation like Cambodia, but I do know that in the modern world there are times when the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, will have to act quickly. I can assure the American people that this President is going to bend over backwards to consult the Senate and consult the House whenever he feels it can be done without jeopardizing the lives of American men.

But when it is a question of the lives of American men or the attitudes of people in the Senate, I am coming down hard on the side of defending the lives of American men.

MR. SMITH. Mr. President, I can see a clock on the wall which indicates we haven't got a lot of minutes left. I want to ask you about the Middle East.

Mr. George Ball [4] wrote an article in last Sunday's New York Times Magazine section in which he suggested that the

[4] George W. Ball was Under Secretary of State from 1961 to 1966.

Russians were bold enough to move into the Middle East because we were bogged down in Indochina.

Do you accept that concatenation of the two events?

THE PRESIDENT. As a matter of fact, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ball should know something about that because he was there when we got bogged down in Indochina as you recall, as Under Secretary of State. I did not hear his comments at that time indicating that that was the problem.

Now, the second point that I would make is that if the United States, after this long struggle in Vietnam, if we do what Mr. Ball and some others apparently want us to do—just get out, without regard to the consequences—I do not see the American people and the American Congress then saying that if we couldn't do what was necessary where the lives of American men were involved in Vietnam, that we will do what is necessary because we are concerned about Israel or some other state in the Mideast.

You cannot separate what happens to America in Vietnam from the Mideast or from Europe or any place else. That is why European leaders—some of them don't say it publicly, but privately they all know how much rides on the United States coming out of Vietnam, not with a victory over North Vietnam, but with a just peace, because if the United States is humiliated or defeated in Vietnam, the effect on the United States is what I am concerned about, the people of the United States. And I think we'll see a rampant isolationism in this country in which we will not do what we should do in other parts of the world.

If I can turn to the Middle East briefly, because I think we should spend a moment on it, if you other gentlemen would like. I think, and I say this respectfully, that some of the columnists and commentators—and I read them and listen to them both with respect—and some of us in political life have a tendency to look at the Middle East too much in terms of the Israeli-Arab struggle. We look at Israel, a strong free nation in the Middle East, and we look at its neighbors, its aggressive neighbors, the U.A.R. and Syria, and we see this struggle and we say, "Are we going to give planes to Israel and are the Russians going to give them to the U.A.R.? And how are we going to have a settlement between Israel and the Arab states?"

If that is all there was to it, it would not be as difficult a problem as I am going to put it. I think the Middle East now is terribly dangerous. It is like the Balkans before World War I, where the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, could be drawn into a confrontation that neither of them wants because of the differences there.

MR. SEVAREID. Mr. President, I believe the Russians today at the U.N. are circulating some new ideas about approaching peace negotiations in the Mideast. Is there anything you can tell us about this?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't had a chance to study them yet, but I will say this, that any propositions that the Russians or anybody else circulate that would offer a chance to cool it in the Middle East would be helpful, because when you look at the Middle East, it is not just a case of, as I say, Israel versus the Arab states, but the Soviet Union is now moving into the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Mideast is important. We all know that 80 percent of Europe's oil and 90 percent of Japan's oil comes from the Mideast. We know that the Mideast, this area, this is the gateway to Africa; it's the gateway to the Mediterranean; it's the hinge of NATO; and it is also the gateway through the Suez Canal down into the Indian Ocean.

Now, under these circumstances, when we then look at it in terms of Israelis versus Arabs, moderate Arabs versus radical Arabs, and whoever would think that there would be somebody more radical than the Syrians, within the radical Arab states, fedayeen that are more radical, the super-radicals—when we think of all these factors, we can see what a very difficult situation it is. Now what should U.S. policy be? I'll summarize it in a word. One, our interest is peace and the integrity of every country in the area.

Two, we recognize that Israel is not desirous of driving any of the other countries into the sea. The other countries do want to drive Israel into the sea.

Three, then, once the balance of power shifts where Israel is weaker than its neighbors, there will be a war. Therefore, it is in U.S. interests to maintain the balance of power, and we will maintain that balance of power. That is why as the Soviet Union moves in to support the U.A.R., it makes it necessary for the United States to evaluate what the Soviet Union does, and once that balance of power is upset, we will do what is necessary to maintain Israel's strength vis-a-vis its neighbors, not because we want Israel to be in a position to wage war—that is not it—but because that is what will deter its neighbors from attacking it.

And then we get to the diplomacy. The diplomacy is terribly difficult, because Israel's neighbors, of course, have to recognize Israel's right to exist.

Israel must withdraw to borders, borders that are defensible, and when we consider all those factors and then put into the equation the fact that the Russians seem to have an interest in moving into the Mediterranean, it shows you why this subject is so complex and so difficult.

But we are going to continue to work on it, and I can assure you the fact that we are in Vietnam does not mean that the United States is not going to give every bit of its diplomatic and other energies to this subject as well.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Very briefly, Mr. President, would you say that the situation in the Middle East is as dangerous to the United States as the situation in Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. The situation in Vietnam, fortunately, has reached the point where we are embarked on a plan which will get the United States out, and which will bring a just peace.

It will succeed. That I know.

Second, the situation in the Mideast is more dangerous, more dangerous because it involves, and this is not the case in Vietnam, a collision of the superpowers.

Neither Communist China, in my view, nor the Soviet Union will have a confrontation with the United States about Vietnam, although many have feared that. But it has not happened, and it will not happen, in my opinion.

But in the Mideast, because of the things that I have mentioned earlier, this tremendous power complex, it is not only the cradle of civilization, but it also, as

we have already indicated, this is the area that controls so much of the world's people and the world's resources.

The Mideast, being what it is, is a potentially dangerous spot, and that is why it is in the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union to work together to bring this particular danger spot under control.

MR. CHANCELLOR. Mr. President, I want to thank you very much for being with us tonight.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. I wish we had more time.

NOTE: The interview was broadcast live on television and radio at 7 p.m. from an ABC studio in Los Angeles, Calif.

209 Remarks at the Swearing In of the Secretary of Labor, and the Director, Deputy Director, and Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget. *July* 2, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

Before the swearing-in ceremonies this morning, I thought that particularly for the benefit of our Californians, as well as those from the East who are here with the press corps, you would be interested to know that our staff finds that this is the first time in history that a Cabinet officer has ever been sworn in in California, and the second time in history that a Cabinet officer has been sworn in outside of Washington, D.C. The only other occasion was when Larry O'Brien was sworn in as Postmaster General in Texas.[1]

We are very proud, those of us who are Californians, to have this swearing-in ceremony occur here.

I should also point out that while we are losing a member of the Cabinet in Bob Finch, who is from California, as he moves to the White House, still in the Cabinet but not as a head of a Cabinet department, we are gaining a Californian in the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor.

In referring to James Hodgson, I think perhaps the best thing I can point out is that his experience has been in labor relations on the management side. When he was named Under Secretary and again when I named him as Secretary of Labor, we had, of course, the usual comments.

It was interesting to note that from both labor and management, with very few exceptions, he got very high marks. I think that I can say the reason for that is that he is a fair man, a man who, whether he happened to be negotiating on management side or on the other side, could always be counted upon to be fair.

That is the tradition that George Shultz has established in the Department of Labor. It is a great tradition that we want continued in this administration.

I am very proud, speaking as a Californian, that a Californian takes this enormously important position, because after all, we have the greatest number of em-

[1] Lawrence F. O'Brien was Postmaster General from 1965 to 1968.

ployed workers in the Nation in the State of California, and the Secretary of Labor, I think, for that reason, has every good reason to come from this State. So we will now have his swearing in.

Speaking also on a personal note, the man who will swear in all of our four people today is Judge Thurmond Clarke. Judge Thurmond Clarke is the judge on the Federal bench that I have known longer than any judge on the Federal bench.

Twenty-five years ago, Judge and Mrs. Clarke, who lived then in my district, were very close friends of a congressional candidate who did not have a chance. I was deeply appreciative of that and I am very proud that he is here today to conduct the swearing-in ceremonies.

[Following the oath of office, administered by Judge Thurmond Clarke, Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, central district of California, Secretary Hodgson spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

The second man to be sworn in today, of course, is no stranger to the White House press corps or, I am sure, to those of you who have followed him in his stewardship of the Department of Labor.

I have said a great deal about him on previous occasions when we announced his appointment. I was just thinking of the conversation I had with him in California, as a matter of fact, when I asked him to take the position of Secretary of Labor, and in that very deliberate way of his, with that poker face—and incidentally, I don't know whether he plays poker, but if he does, I don't want to play against him—but in any event, I recall that he thought a long time and he raised one point, and that was he wasn't sure he could afford it.

He said, "I am not a wealthy man, but I am doing rather well where I am." I found in checking that when he came to the position that he held as Secretary of Labor, he took a cut in salary, virtually one half, not only salary but income generally.

Now as he moves from Secretary of Labor to the Director of the new Office of Management and Budget, he takes another cut in salary. Now that must tell us something about him. I think it is a recommendation in a way.

One of the three commentators who interviewed me last night was Eric Sevareid. I remembered an article he wrote before the 1960 elections, and he said what separates the men from the boys in public life is this: that the boys want an office because they want to be somebody, and the men want an office because they want to do something.

Now the Secretary of Labor, Secretary Shultz, was there because he wanted to do something. He would like to have stayed there to continue to do it, but he has a successor who will continue to do those things so well that he was doing.

Now there is this new office. It needs a man who can do something, do something entirely new in the history of government. I think we have the man here who can do something in reorganizing the executive department, the Office of Management and Budget, in George Shultz.

I hope that satisfies you with regard to the money.

MR. SHULTZ. Well, I can only say, Mr.

President, how would you like to play poker with the fellow that talked you into these deals?

[The oath of office was administered by Judge Clarke to Director Shultz. The President then resumed speaking.]

We now come to another Californian. I noted in the papers the last 2 or 3 days that California is having its usual problems with its budget. We, of course, have some problems with the Federal budget.

As all of you know, Caspar Weinberger was the Director of Finance for the State of California under Governor Reagan and earned a very great reputation as a budget manager at that time. He now moves into the position of Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, but with the special responsibility for the Federal budget.

The problems are somewhat different. The size of the budget, however, is somewhat larger. We think, however, that Cap Weinberger, as he is known to all of his many friends who are here in this State, has demonstrated, not only in the State government but has demonstrated in his excellent handling of the Federal Trade Commission Chairmanship, the capacity to, in this new office, find the ways to handle the Federal budget.

I am not going to suggest that he is going to find the method to balance it. That will, of course, be for all of us to work on. But we have a real expert, a devoted public servant in Caspar Weinberger for this new position.

[The oath of office was administered by Judge Clarke to Deputy Director Weinberger. The President then resumed speaking.]

The fourth individual that we have for the assumption of his office today is Arnold Weber. Arnold Weber is not a Californian.

Incidentally, we claim George Shultz because we found him in California, so this has been sort of a California day today.

But Arnold Weber is a man who comes from the scholastic world. He was at M.I.T. with a very distinguished record there in the teaching profession, and also at the University of Chicago. He did, according to George Shultz, who talked me into his appointment—he did a superb job as an Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Because he had done that very effective job, we thought that he was the obvious man to move up to Under Secretary of Labor. He is one of the youngest Under Secretaries of Labor we have ever had and we are glad to have him here in California and we make him a Californian for the balance of this day at least.

I just was corrected. I said, "move up to Under Secretary of Labor." He is moving with George Shultz—still with George Shultz—as the Associate Director of the new Office of Budget and Management.

Let's put it this way: He will be the liaison man with the Department of Labor.

[Following the oath of office, administered by Judge Clarke to Associate Director Weber, the President resumed speaking.]

Now we will have the new Director of the Office of Management and Budget, George Shultz, respond for all three of the members of his department, and after that he will begin to do something. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. on the grounds at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

The remarks of Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson and Director of the Office of Management and Budget George P. Shultz are

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printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 886 and 888, respectively).

On July 1, 1970, the President signed Executive Order 11541, prescribing the duties of the Office of Management and Budget and the Domestic Council in the Executive Office of the President. On July 3, the White House released the transcript of a news conference on the Domestic Council and the Office of Management and Budget by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

210 Remarks to Reporters After a Briefing on the Paris Peace Talks. *July* 4, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

We have just completed a meeting with Ambassador Bruce and Ambassador Habib, who has come in from Paris, and with Under Secretary Johnson and Dr. Kissinger.

This is the first meeting in which Ambassador Bruce is being briefed on the negotiations in Paris. He will meet again with the Secretary of State when he returns to London on July 11. In the middle of the month or shortly after the middle of the month, at a time we can arrange it, we will have a National Security Council meeting in Washington, where all of those who participated today, as well as the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, will be present.

In addition, Ambassador Bunker will return from Saigon to participate in that meeting. These briefings will be completed before the first of August, and by the first of August, as I indicated on Thursday, Ambassador Bruce will be in Paris.

Ambassador Habib will stay in Paris for a period of time during which the transition will occur, and after he completes that assignment, Secretary Johnson has a very important new assignment for him, which will be announced at an appropriate time.

I would like to say again that I think the Nation is most fortunate to have a man with the great wealth of experience in diplomacy to take this assignment as chief of our delegation in Paris. Ambassador Bruce, as I pointed out the other night, is unique, perhaps, in the diplomatic service of this country in the number of very important posts that he has filled. We are glad that he returns to the diplomatic service for this assignment.

He can respond now if he likes, in any way that he can. Of course, any statements with regard to the negotiations will be deferred until he arrives in Paris to assume the responsibility as chief of the delegation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

Ambassador Bruce responded as follows:

Mr. President, I feel deeply honored at having been given this assignment. It is one which is foreign to my experience, but if I can make any contribution, no matter how slight, to bringing about a settlement of the difficulties in Southeast Asia, I will feel overjoyed.

I am not going to make any statement until I have taken up my duties, which will be about the first of August, in Paris. And meanwhile, I hope you won't ask me questions, because quite frankly, I'd be quite unable to answer them, even with the best of good will.

Thank you, Mr. President.

211 Message to the "Honor America Day" Ceremonies. *July* 4, 1970

WE AMERICANS are known throughout the world as a forward-looking people. The United States of America is in fact a symbol of progress, of hope, and of just and orderly growth.

Yet, on one day each year we turn and look back at our past. We look back today over almost 200 years to a group of men meeting in Philadelphia and we look back in pride and in wonder, for what they did on this day is the single greatest political achievement in the history of man.

And we are the beneficiaries of that achievement.

To those of you who have gathered on this day to honor America, I send my best wishes for an enjoyable, memorable Fourth of July celebration. I know that the sponsors of this event, from every walk of life and from both major parties, have done everything they can to make this day a very special one for all of you.

Yet, there is something remaining to be done in order to make Honor America Day the kind of special occasion we all want it to be. It is my hope that each of us will take away not only our proud memories of this day, but also the living spirit of the Fourth of July as well, a spirit that created a free and strong and prosperous nation.

That is the spirit that can truly honor America, not only today but always. Let us all look back today so that we will be reminded of what great sacrifices have been made to make this day possible, and then let us turn once more to the future, inspired by what this day means to us and to all those who love freedom throughout the world.

NOTE: The President's recorded message was played at the "Honor America Day" ceremonies held on the grounds of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C. The text of the message was posted for the press in San Clemente, Calif.

212 Remarks to Delegates to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. *July* 7, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Nixon and I are very honored to have those from the Organization of American States present in the White House today.

If I may simply say to you that I do not plan at this point to make any extended comments upon policy matters, but I want all of you to know that you are truly in a house that welcomes you very warmly. As many of you might say, *"Estan ustedes en su casa."*

I realize that the Secretary of State and other Government officials from our Government have spoken to you about some of our United States policies.

The reason I asked Mrs. Nixon to step up here with me is that not only will we be receiving you all but also because I want to speak about her and not just our policies.

This is a great organization. It is an organization which represents large countries and small countries, richer countries

and poorer countries. It represents people of differing religions and different languages and different backgrounds.

We have differences sometimes in our policies. Sometimes we have one government that differs in its form from another government; and one policy may not be popular in another country.

There is one thing I feel very deeply, and I know everybody in this room shares this feeling: The differences we have in the Americas are differences of the head and not of the heart, because we are truly one family as the Organization of American States would imply.

I had this brought home to me very eloquently by the trip that Mrs. Nixon took to Peru. Whatever differences nations may have, when one member of this family has problems, when children are orphaned, when families are homeless, when people suffer, the heart of America beats as one.

The point that I wish to emphasize is that our Government, the United States Government, is hopeful that its policies will be cooperative with the wishes and desires of the governments of all the people in the hemisphere.

But whatever those government policies may be, we want you to know that the people of the United States have a feeling of very great friendship and a feeling of being very close to all the people of the Americas, because I personally believe that more important than great amounts of money—and all the nations in the hemisphere have made their contributions to the suffering in Peru—more important than that is the fact that all of the people in this hemisphere, regardless of our other differences, found that our hearts were going out to the people of this country.

Sometimes it takes tragedy to bring a family together—and this is one family.

After our Fourth of July, when so many citizens of the United States were saying, "Long live the United States, long live America," I would like to say it in a different way today.

When I refer to America, I refer to all of America—to the United States of America, to North America, to Central America, to South America. And when I say, "Long live America," I say today, *"Viva la familia Americana!"*

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:48 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

213 Special Message to the Congress on Indian Affairs. *July* 8, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The first Americans—the Indians—are the most deprived and most isolated minority group in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement—employment, income, education, health—the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom.

This condition is the heritage of centuries of injustice. From the time of their first contact with European settlers, the American Indians have been oppressed and brutalized, deprived of their ancestral lands and denied the opportunity to control their own destiny. Even the Federal programs which are intended to meet

their needs have frequently proven to be ineffective and demeaning.

But the story of the Indian in America is something more than the record of the white man's frequent aggression, broken agreements, intermittent remorse and prolonged failure. It is a record also of endurance, of survival, of adaptation and creativity in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is a record of enormous contributions to this country—to its art and culture, to its strength and spirit, to its sense of history and its sense of purpose.

It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people. Both as a matter of justice and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions.

Self-Determination Without Termination

The first and most basic question that must be answered with respect to Indian policy concerns the historic and legal relationship between the Federal government and Indian communities. In the past, this relationship has oscillated between two equally harsh and unacceptable extremes.

On the one hand, it has—at various times during previous Administrations—been the stated policy objective of both the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal government eventually to terminate the trusteeship relationship between the Federal government and the Indian people. As recently as August of 1953, in House Concurrent Resolution 108, the Congress declared that termination was the long-range goal of its Indian policies. This would mean that Indian tribes would eventually lose any special standing they had under Federal law: the tax exempt status of their lands would be discontinued; Federal responsibility for their economic and social well-being would be repudiated; and the tribes themselves would be effectively dismantled. Tribal property would be divided among individual members who would then be assimilated into the society at large.

This policy of forced termination is wrong, in my judgment, for a number of reasons. First, the premises on which it rests are wrong. Termination implies that the Federal government has taken on a trusteeship responsibility for Indian communities as an act of generosity toward a disadvantaged people and that it can therefore discontinue this responsibility on a unilateral basis whenever it sees fit. But the unique status of Indian tribes does not rest on any premise such as this. The special relationship between Indians and the Federal government is the result instead of solemn obligations which have been entered into by the United States Government. Down through the years, through written treaties and through formal and informal agreements, our government has made specific commitments to the Indian people. For their part, the Indians have often surrendered claims to vast tracts of land and have accepted life on government reservations. In exchange, the government has agreed to provide

community services such as health, education and public safety, services which would presumably allow Indian communities to enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of other Americans.

This goal, of course, has never been achieved. But the special relationship between the Indian tribes and the Federal government which arises from these agreements continues to carry immense moral and legal force. To terminate this relationship would be no more appropriate than to terminate the citizenship rights of any other American.

The second reason for rejecting forced termination is that the practical results have been clearly harmful in the few instances in which termination actually has been tried. The removal of Federal trusteeship responsibility has produced considerable disorientation among the affected Indians and has left them unable to relate to a myriad of Federal, State and local assistance efforts. Their economic and social condition has often been worse after termination than it was before.

The third argument I would make against forced termination concerns the effect it has had upon the overwhelming majority of tribes which still enjoy a special relationship with the Federal government. The very threat that this relationship may someday be ended has created a great deal of apprehension among Indian groups and this apprehension, in turn, has had a blighting effect on tribal progress. Any step that might result in greater social, economic or political autonomy is regarded with suspicion by many Indians who fear that it will only bring them closer to the day when the Federal government will disavow its responsibility and cut them adrift.

In short, the fear of one extreme policy, forced termination, has often worked to produce the opposite extreme: excessive dependence on the Federal government. In many cases this dependence is so great that the Indian community is almost entirely run by outsiders who are responsible and responsive to Federal officials in Washington, D.C., rather than to the communities they are supposed to be serving. This is the second of the two harsh approaches which have long plagued our Indian policies. Of the Department of the Interior's programs directly serving Indians, for example, only 1.5 percent are presently under Indian control. Only 2.4 percent of HEW's Indian health programs are run by Indians. The result is a burgeoning Federal bureaucracy, programs which are far less effective than they ought to be, and an erosion of Indian initiative and morale.

I believe that both of these policy extremes are wrong. Federal termination errs in one direction, Federal paternalism errs in the other. Only by clearly rejecting both of these extremes can we achieve a policy which truly serves the best interests of the Indian people. Self-determination among the Indian people can and must be encouraged without the threat of eventual termination. In my view, in fact, that is the only way that self-determination can effectively be fostered.

This, then, must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people: to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community. We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group. And we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of Federal control without being cut off from Federal concern and

Federal support. My specific recommendations to the Congress are designed to carry out this policy.

1. *Rejecting Termination*

Because termination is morally and legally unacceptable, because it produces bad practical results, and because the mere threat of termination tends to discourage greater self-sufficiency among Indian groups, I am asking the Congress to pass a new Concurrent Resolution which would expressly renounce, repudiate and repeal the termination policy as expressed in House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress. This resolution would explicitly affirm the integrity and right to continued existence of all Indian tribes and Alaska native governments, recognizing that cultural pluralism is a source of national strength. It would assure these groups that the United States Government would continue to carry out its treaty and trusteeship obligations to them as long as the groups themselves believed that such a policy was necessary or desirable. It would guarantee that whenever Indian groups decided to assume control or responsibility for government service programs, they could do so and still receive adequate Federal financial support. In short, such a resolution would reaffirm for the Legislative branch—as I hereby affirm for the Executive branch—that the historic relationship between the Federal government and the Indian communities cannot be abridged without the consent of the Indians.

2. *The Right to Control and Operate Federal Programs*

Even as we reject the goal of forced termination, so must we reject the suffocating pattern of paternalism. But how can we best do this? In the past, we have often assumed that because the government is obliged to provide certain services for Indians, it therefore must administer those same services. And to get rid of Federal administration, by the same token, often meant getting rid of the whole Federal program. But there is no necessary reason for this assumption. Federal support programs for non-Indian communities—hospitals and schools are two ready examples—are ordinarily administered by local authorities. There is no reason why Indian communities should be deprived of the privilege of self-determination merely because they receive monetary support from the Federal government. Nor should they lose Federal money because they reject Federal control.

For years we have talked about encouraging Indians to exercise greater self-determination, but our progress has never been commensurate with our promises. Part of the reason for this situation has been the threat of termination. But another reason is the fact that when a decision is made as to whether a Federal program will be turned over to Indian administration, it is the Federal authorities and not the Indian people who finally make that decision.

This situation should be reversed. In my judgment, it should be up to the Indian tribe to determine whether it is willing and able to assume administrative responsibility for a service program which is presently administered by a Federal agency. To this end, I am proposing legislation which would empower a tribe or a group of tribes or any other Indian community to take over the control or operation of Federally-funded and administered programs in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Health, Ed-

ucation and Welfare whenever the tribal council or comparable community governing group voted to do so.

Under this legislation, it would not be necessary for the Federal agency administering the program to approve the transfer of responsibility. It is my hope and expectation that most such transfers of power would still take place consensually as a result of negotiations between the local community and the Federal government. But in those cases in which an impasse arises between the two parties, the final determination should rest with the Indian community.

Under the proposed legislation, Indian control of Indian programs would always be a wholly voluntary matter. It would be possible for an Indian group to select that program or that specified portion of a program that it wants to run without assuming responsibility for other components. The "right of retrocession" would also be guaranteed; this means that if the local community elected to administer a program and then later decided to give it back to the Federal government, it would always be able to do so.

Appropriate technical assistance to help local organizations successfully operate these programs would be provided by the Federal government. No tribe would risk economic disadvantage from managing its own programs; under the proposed legislation, locally-administered programs would be funded on equal terms with similar services still administered by Federal authorities. The legislation I propose would include appropriate protections against any action which endangered the rights, the health, the safety or the welfare of individuals. It would also contain accountability procedures to guard against gross negligence or mismanagement of Federal funds.

This legislation would apply only to services which go directly from the Federal government to the Indian community; those services which are channeled through State or local governments could still be turned over to Indian control by mutual consent. To run the activities for which they have assumed control, the Indian groups could employ local people or outside experts. If they chose to hire Federal employees who had formerly administered these projects, those employees would still enjoy the privileges of Federal employee benefit programs—under special legislation which will also be submitted to the Congress.

Legislation which guarantees the right of Indians to contract for the control or operation of Federal programs would directly channel more money into Indian communities, since Indians themselves would be administering programs and drawing salaries which now often go to non-Indian administrators. The potential for Indian control is significant, for we are talking about programs which annually spend over $400 million in Federal funds. A policy which encourages Indian administration of these programs will help build greater pride and resourcefulness within the Indian community. At the same time, programs which are managed and operated by Indians are likely to be more effective in meeting Indian needs.

I speak with added confidence about these anticipated results because of the favorable experience of programs which have already been turned over to Indian control. Under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Indian communities now run more than 60 commu-

nity action agencies which are located on Federal reservations. OEO is planning to spend some $57 million in Fiscal Year 1971 through Indian-controlled grantees. For over four years, many OEO-funded programs have operated under the control of local Indian organizations and the results have been most heartening.

Two Indian tribes—the Salt River Tribe and the Zuni Tribe—have recently extended this principle of local control to virtually all of the programs which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has traditionally administered for them. Many Federal officials, including the Agency Superintendent, have been replaced by elected tribal officers or tribal employees. The time has now come to build on these experiences and to extend local Indian control—at a rate and to the degree that the Indians themselves establish.

3. *Restoring the Sacred Lands Near Blue Lake*

No government policy toward Indians can be fully effective unless there is a relationship of trust and confidence between the Federal government and the Indian people. Such a relationship cannot be completed overnight; it is inevitably the product of a long series of words and actions. But we can contribute significantly to such a relationship by responding to just grievances which are especially important to the Indian people.

One such grievance concerns the sacred Indian lands at and near Blue Lake in New Mexico. From the fourteenth century, the Taos Pueblo Indians used these areas for religious and tribal purposes. In 1906, however, the United States Government appropriated these lands for the creation of a national forest. According to a recent determination of the Indian Claims Commission, the government "took said lands from petitioner without compensation."

For 64 years, the Taos Pueblo has been trying to regain possession of this sacred lake and watershed area in order to preserve it in its natural condition and limit its non-Indian use. The Taos Indians consider such action essential to the protection and expression of their religious faith.

The restoration of the Blue Lake lands to the Taos Pueblo Indians is an issue of unique and critical importance to Indians throughout the country. I therefore take this opportunity wholeheartedly to endorse legislation which would restore 48,000 acres of sacred land to the Taos Pueblo people, with the statutory promise that they would be able to use these lands for traditional purposes and that except for such uses the lands would remain forever wild.

With the addition of some perfecting amendments, legislation now pending in the Congress would properly achieve this goal. That legislation (H.R. 471) should promptly be amended and enacted. Such action would stand as an important symbol of this government's responsiveness to the just grievances of the American Indians.

4. *Indian Education*

One of the saddest aspects of Indian life in the United States is the low quality of Indian education. Drop-out rates for Indians are twice the national average and the average educational level for all Indians under Federal supervision is less than six school years. Again, at least a part of the problem stems from the fact that the Federal government is trying to

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do for Indians what many Indians could do better for themselves.

The Federal government now has responsibility for some 221,000 Indian children of school age. While over 50,000 of these children attend schools which are operated directly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, only 750 Indian children are enrolled in schools where the responsibility for education has been contracted by the BIA to Indian school boards. Fortunately, this condition is beginning to change. The Ramah Navajo Community of New Mexico and the Rough Rock and Black Water Schools in Arizona are notable examples of schools which have recently been brought under local Indian control. Several other communities are now negotiating for similar arrangements.

Consistent with our policy that the Indian community should have the right to take over the control and operation of federally funded programs, we believe every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its own Indian schools. This control would be exercised by school boards selected by Indians and functioning much like other school boards throughout the nation. To assure that this goal is achieved, I am asking the Vice President, acting in his role as Chairman of the National Council on Indian Opportunity,[1] to establish a Special Education Subcommittee of that Council. The members of that Subcommittee should be Indian educators who are selected by the Council's Indian members. The Subcommittee will provide technical assistance to Indian communities wishing to establish school boards, will conduct a nationwide review of the educational status of all Indian school children in whatever schools they may be attending, and will evaluate and report annually on the status of Indian education, including the extent of local control. This Subcommittee will act as a transitional mechanism; its objective should not be self-perpetuation but the actual transfer of Indian education to Indian communities.

We must also take specific action to benefit Indian children in public schools. Some 141,000 Indian children presently attend general public schools near their homes. Fifty-two thousand of these are absorbed by local school districts without special Federal aid. But 89,000 Indian children attend public schools in such high concentrations that the State or local school districts involved are eligible for special Federal assistance under the Johnson-O'Malley Act.[2] In Fiscal Year 1971, the Johnson-O'Malley program will be funded at a level of some $20 million.

This Johnson-O'Malley money is designed to help Indian students, but since funds go directly to the school districts, the Indians have little if any influence over the way in which the money is spent. I therefore propose that the Congress amend the Johnson-O'Malley Act so as to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to channel funds under this act directly to Indian tribes and communities. Such a provision would give Indians the ability to help shape the schools which their chil-

[1] Executive Order 11551, dated August 11, 1970, provided for additional Indian members on the National Council on Indian Opportunity. A White House release dated August 31, announcing the appointment of eight new members to the Council, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1132).

[2] Public Law No. 638, June 4, 1936 (49 Stat. 1458; 25 U.S.C. 452–455).

dren attend and, in some instances, to set up new school systems of their own. At the same time, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior to make every effort to ensure that Johnson-O'Malley funds which are presently directed to public school districts are actually spent to improve the education of Indian children in these districts.

5. *Economic Development Legislation*

Economic deprivation is among the most serious of Indian problems. Unemployment among Indians is ten times the national average; the unemployment rate runs as high as 80 percent on some of the poorest reservations. Eighty percent of reservation Indians have an income which falls below the poverty line; the average annual income for such families is only $1,500. As I said in September of 1968, it is critically important that the Federal government support and encourage efforts which help Indians develop their own economic infrastructure. To that end, I am proposing the "Indian Financing Act of 1970."

This act would do two things:

1. It would broaden the existing Revolving Loan Fund, which loans money for Indian economic development projects. I am asking that the authorization for this fund be increased from approximately $25 million to $75 million.

2. It would provide additional incentives in the form of loan guarantees, loan insurance and interest subsidies to encourage *private* lenders to loan more money for Indian economic projects. An aggregate amount of $200 million would be authorized for loan guarantee and loan insurance purposes.

I also urge that legislation be enacted which would permit any tribe which chooses to do so to enter into leases of its land for up to 99 years. Indian people now own over 50 million acres of land that are held in trust by the Federal government. In order to compete in attracting investment capital for commercial, industrial and recreational development of these lands, it is essential that the tribes be able to offer long-term leases. Long-term leasing is preferable to selling such property since it enables tribes to preserve the trust ownership of their reservation homelands. But existing law limits the length of time for which many tribes can enter into such leases. Moreover, when long-term leasing is allowed, it has been granted by Congress on a case-by-case basis, a policy which again reflects a deep-rooted pattern of paternalism. The twenty reservations which have already been given authority for long-term leasing have realized important benefits from that privilege and this opportunity should now be extended to all Indian tribes.

Economic planning is another area where our efforts can be significantly improved. The comprehensive economic development plans that have been created by both the Pima-Maricopa and the Zuni Tribes provide outstanding examples of interagency cooperation in fostering Indian economic growth. The Zuni Plan, for example, extends for at least five years and involves a total of $55 million from the Departments of Interior, Housing and Urban Development, and Health, Education and Welfare and from the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Economic Development Administration. I am directing the Secretary of the Interior

to play an active role in coordinating additional projects of this kind.

6. *More Money for Indian Health*

Despite significant improvements in the past decade and a half, the health of Indian people still lags 20 to 25 years behind that of the general population. The average age at death among Indians is 44 years, about one-third less than the national average. Infant mortality is nearly 50% higher for Indians and Alaska natives than for the population at large; the tuberculosis rate is eight times as high and the suicide rate is twice that of the general population. Many infectious diseases such as trachoma and dysentery that have all but disappeared among other Americans continue to afflict the Indian people.

This Administration is determined that the health status of the first Americans will be improved. In order to initiate expanded efforts in this area, I will request the allocation of an additional $10 million for Indian health programs for the current fiscal year. This strengthened Federal effort will enable us to address ourselves more effectively to those health problems which are particularly important to the Indian community. We understand, for example, that areas of greatest concern to Indians include the prevention and control of alcoholism, the promotion of mental health and the control of middle-ear disease. We hope that the ravages of middle-ear disease—a particularly acute disease among Indians—can be brought under control within five years.

These and other Indian health programs will be most effective if more Indians are involved in running them. Yet—almost unbelievably—we are presently able to identify in this country only 30 physicians and fewer than 400 nurses of Indian descent. To meet this situation, we will expand our efforts to train Indians for health careers.

7. *Helping Urban Indians*

Our new census will probably show that a larger proportion of America's Indians are living off the reservation than ever before in our history. Some authorities even estimate that more Indians are living in cities and towns than are remaining on the reservation. Of those American Indians who are now dwelling in urban areas, approximately three-fourths are living in poverty.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is organized to serve the 462,000 reservation Indians. The BIA's responsibility does not extend to Indians who have left the reservation, but this point is not always clearly understood. As a result of this misconception, Indians living in urban areas have often lost out on the opportunity to participate in other programs designed for disadvantaged groups. As a first step toward helping the urban Indians, I am instructing appropriate officials to do all they can to ensure that this misunderstanding is corrected.

But misunderstandings are not the most important problem confronting urban Indians. The biggest barrier faced by those Federal, State and local programs which are trying to serve urban Indians is the difficulty of locating and identifying them. Lost in the anonymity of the city, often cut off from family and friends, many urban Indians are slow to establish new community ties. Many drift from neighborhood to neighborhood; many shuttle back and forth between reserva-

tions and urban areas. Language and cultural differences compound these problems. As a result, Federal, State and local programs which are designed to help such persons often miss this most deprived and least understood segment of the urban poverty population.

This Administration is already taking steps which will help remedy this situation. In a joint effort, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will expand support to a total of seven urban Indian centers in major cities which will act as links between existing Federal, State and local service programs and the urban Indians. The Departments of Labor, Housing and Urban Development and Commerce have pledged to cooperate with such experimental urban centers and the Bureau of Indian Affairs has expressed its willingness to contract with these centers for the performance of relocation services which assist reservation Indians in their transition to urban employment.

These efforts represent an important beginning in recognizing and alleviating the severe problems faced by urban Indians. We hope to learn a great deal from these projects and to expand our efforts as rapidly as possible. I am directing the Office of Economic Opportunity to lead these efforts.

8. *Indian Trust Counsel Authority*

The United States Government acts as a legal trustee for the land and water rights of American Indians. These rights are often of critical economic importance to the Indian people; frequently they are also the subject of extensive legal dispute. In many of these legal confrontations, the Federal government is faced with an inherent conflict of interest. The Secretary of the Interior and the Attorney General must at the same time advance *both* the *national* interest in the use of land and water rights *and* the *private* interests of Indians in land which the government holds as trustee.

Every trustee has a legal obligation to advance the interests of the beneficiaries of the trust without reservation and with the highest degree of diligence and skill. Under present conditions, it is often difficult for the Department of the Interior and the Department of Justice to fulfill this obligation. No self-respecting law firm would ever allow itself to represent two opposing clients in one dispute; yet the Federal government has frequently found itself in precisely that position. There is considerable evidence that the Indians are the losers when such situations arise. More than that, the credibility of the Federal government is damaged whenever it appears that such a conflict of interest exists.

In order to correct this situation, I am calling on the Congress to establish an Indian Trust Counsel Authority to assure independent legal representation for the Indians' natural resource rights. This Authority would be governed by a three-man board of directors, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. At least two of the board members would be Indian. The chief legal officer of the Authority would be designated as the Indian Trust Counsel.

The Indian Trust Counsel Authority would be independent of the Departments of the Interior and Justice and would be expressly empowered to bring suit in the name of the United States in its trustee capacity. The United States would waive

its sovereign immunity from suit in connection with litigation involving the Authority.

9. *Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs*

To help guide the implementation of a new national policy concerning American Indians, I am recommending to the Congress the establishment of a new position in the Department of the Interior—Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs. At present, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports to the Secretary of the Interior through the Assistant Secretary for Public Land Management—an officer who has many responsibilities in the natural resources area which compete with his concern for Indians. A new Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs would have only one concern—the Indian and territorial peoples, their land, and their progress and well-being. Secretary Hickel and I both believe this new position represents an elevation of Indian affairs to their proper role within the Department of the Interior and we urge Congress to act favorably on this proposal.

Continuing Programs

Many of the new programs which are outlined in this message have grown out of this Administration's experience with other Indian projects that have been initiated or expanded during the last 17 months.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has been particularly active in the development of new and experimental efforts. OEO's Fiscal Year 1971 budget request for Indian-related activities is up 18 percent from 1969 spending. In the last year alone—to mention just two examples—OEO doubled its funds for Indian economic development and tripled its expenditures for alcoholism and recovery programs. In areas such as housing and home improvement, health care, emergency food, legal services and education, OEO programs have been significantly expanded. As I said in my recent speech on the economy, I hope that the Congress will support this valuable work by appropriating the full amount requested for the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has already begun to implement our policy of contracting with local Indians for the operation of government programs. As I have noted, the Salt River Tribe and the Zuni Tribe have taken over the bulk of Federal services; other projects ranging from job training centers to high school counseling programs have been contracted out to Indian groups on an individual basis in many areas of the country.

Economic development has also been stepped up. Of 195 commercial and industrial enterprises which have been established in Indian areas with BIA assistance, 71 have come into operation within the last two years. These enterprises provide jobs for more than 6,000 Indians and are expected to employ substantially more when full capacity is reached. A number of these businesses are now owned by Indians and many others are managed by them. To further increase individual Indian ownership, the BIA has this month initiated the Indian Business Development Fund which provides equity capital to Indians who go into business in reservation areas.

Since late 1967, the Economic Development Administration has approved ap-

proximately $80 million in projects on Indian reservations, including nearly $60 million in public works projects. The impact of such activities can be tremendous; on the Gila River Reservation in Arizona, for example, economic development projects over the last three years have helped to lower the unemployment rate from 56 to 18 percent, increase the median family income by 150 percent and cut the welfare rate by 50 percent.

There has been additional progress on many other fronts since January of 1969. New "Indian Desks" have been created in each of the human resource departments of the Federal government to help coordinate and accelerate Indian programs. We have supported an increase in funding of $4 million for the Navajo Irrigation Project. Housing efforts have picked up substantially; a new Indian Police Academy has been set up; Indian education efforts have been expanded—including an increase of $848,000 in scholarships for Indian college students and the establishment of the Navajo Community College, the first college in America planned, developed and operated by and for Indians. Altogether, obligational authority for Indian programs run by the Federal Government has increased from a little over $598 million in Fiscal Year 1970 to almost $626 million in Fiscal Year 1971.

Finally, I would mention the impact on the Indian population of the series of welfare reform proposals I have sent to the Congress. Because of the high rate of unemployment and underemployment among Indians, there is probably no other group in the country that would be helped as directly and as substantially by programs such as the new Family Assistance Plan and the proposed Family Health Insurance Plan. It is estimated, for example, that more than half of all Indian families would be eligible for Family Assistance benefits and the enactment of this legislation is therefore of critical importance to the American Indian.

This Administration has broken a good deal of new ground with respect to Indian problems in the last 17 months. We have learned many things and as a result we have been able to formulate a new approach to Indian affairs. Throughout this entire process, we have regularly consulted the opinions of the Indian people and their views have played a major role in the formulation of Federal policy.

As we move ahead in this important work, it is essential that the Indian people continue to lead the way by participating in policy development to the greatest possible degree. In order to facilitate such participation, I am asking the Indian members of the National Council on Indian Opportunity to sponsor field hearings throughout the nation in order to establish a continuing dialogue between the Executive branch of government and the Indian population of our country. I have asked the Vice President to see that the first round of field hearings are completed before October.

The recommendations of this Administration represent an historic step forward in Indian policy. We are proposing to break sharply with past approaches to Indian problems. In place of a long series of piecemeal reforms, we suggest a new and coherent strategy. In place of policies which simply call for more spending, we suggest policies which call for wiser spending. In place of policies which oscillate between the deadly extremes of forced termination and constant paternalism, we

suggest a policy in which the Federal government and the Indian community play complementary roles.

But most importantly, we have turned from the question of *whether* the Federal government has a responsibility to Indians to the question of *how* that responsibility can best be fulfilled. We have concluded that the Indians will get better programs and that public monies will be more effectively expended if the people who are most affected by these programs are responsible for operating them.

The Indians of America need Federal assistance—this much has long been clear. What has not always been clear, however, is that the Federal government needs Indian energies and Indian leadership if its assistance is to be effective in improving the conditions of Indian life. It is a new and balanced relationship between the United States government and the first Americans that is at the heart of our approach to Indian problems. And that is why we now approach these problems with new confidence that they will successfully be overcome.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
July 8, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a summary of the message and the transcript of a news briefing on it by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President.

214 Remarks on Presenting the Defense Distinguished Service Medal to General Earle G. Wheeler. *July* 9, 1970

Mr. Secretary, General Wheeler, Mrs. Wheeler, and distinguished guests:

This is a ceremony that will only come once in terms of this White House because General Wheeler has served longer as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff than any man in our history—6 years—probably longer than any man will serve in the future.

He also will receive for the first time a new decoration, a new medal, the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, which will be presented to him, the first of its kind.

After that, we will try to maintain the level and the distinction of the medal in terms of those to whom it is presented.

In talking about General Wheeler—and I know that he has been through many ceremonies over the past few days and weeks, looking toward his retirement as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs—there is not much that I can add, except to say this:

He is known as a soldier and he is proud of being known as a soldier. He is known among his colleagues at the Joint Chiefs as a great planner and strategist, and he is naturally proud of being so designated.

I know him as a statesman. In the meetings of the National Security Council he is a man who can wear his military hat, as he must always wear it in representing the views of the services, but who can also represent the views of the whole country in the best spirit of statesmanship; one who thinks deeply and very profoundly about national and international issues.

He has made an enormous contribution

to the procedures and also to the thinking in the National Security Council, not only in Southeast Asia, but in the Mideast, our arms talks, and the rest.

I think as time goes on we will look back on the years that General Wheeler has served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. They were difficult times, difficult in terms of a very difficult war in which we were engaged. But I think we will also look back and recognize that these were the beginning of other times, other times in which the United States moved in various areas throughout the world toward using our strength toward building a sound structure for peace.

For that reason, I am very happy today that so many of his colleagues in the armed services are here to honor him and so many Members of the Congress who have worked with him are here to honor him.

Now, the Secretary of Defense will read the citation of the new medal which, for the first time, will be presented to General Wheeler.

[Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird read the following citation.]

The President of the United States has awarded the Defense Distinguished Service Medal to

GENERAL EARLE G. WHEELER
UNITED STATES ARMY

for extraordinary meritorious service for the Armed Forces of the United States.

On behalf of the Armed Forces and the Government of the United States, General Earle Gilmore Wheeler is awarded the first Defense Distinguished Service Medal for exceptionally meritorious and dedicated service to his country as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 3 July 1964 through 2 July 1970.

General Wheeler assumed the Chairmanship at a critical point in our nation's history and served for six years as his country's senior military officer. During these years, he carried the heavy responsibility of providing military advice to the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the National Security Council. This advice invariably has been both wise and clear. His judicious understanding of the complex problems of national security has provided the basis for the strongest confidence placed in him by his nation.

In addition, the quality of his professional consultation with government and military leaders of other nations has promoted credence in as well as respect for the interest of the United States in the security of our Allies.

General Wheeler's disciplined judgment and breadth of vision were key factors in assuring the wisdom of the military counsel of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His administration of the Chairman's responsibilities, including the operation of the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was particularly noteworthy. During his tenure, the voice of each Service was clearly heard in the forum of the Joint Chiefs, with the assurance that all viewpoints were fully considered. Under his leadership, the role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was expanded to make that body's considered advice more readily available in the development of military programs for the future.

As Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler provided military advice to two Presidents of the United States and three Secretaries of Defense. He agreed to serve unprecedented additional terms as Chairman at the personal request of two Presidents. These Presidential initiatives are themselves the soundest measures of his leadership, the wisdom of his counsel, and the great value placed on his services.

Throughout his long and distinguished career, culminating with duty as Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Wheeler has devoted his efforts to maintaining and improving the security and well-being of his country. He has given unstintingly of himself. This distinguished soldier has truly earned his place in the front rank of those American patriots who have guided the destinies of the United States of America.

[The President then resumed speaking.]

I am sure we would all like to hear a response from General Wheeler on this very special occasion.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The text of General Wheeler's remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 907).

On the same day prior to the ceremony, the President signed Executive Order 11545, establishing the Defense Distinguished Service Medal.

General Wheeler retired on July 2, 1970, at a ceremony held at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

215 Special Message to the Congress About Reorganization Plans To Establish the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. *July* 9, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

As concern with the condition of our physical environment has intensified, it has become increasingly clear that we need to know more about the total environment—land, water and air. It also has become increasingly clear that only by reorganizing our Federal efforts can we develop that knowledge, and effectively ensure the protection, development and enhancement of the total environment itself.

The Government's environmentally-related activities have grown up piecemeal over the years. The time has come to organize them rationally and systematically. As a major step in this direction, I am transmitting today two reorganization plans: one to establish an Environmental Protection Agency, and one to establish, within the Department of Commerce, a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

Our national government today is not structured to make a coordinated attack on the pollutants which debase the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the land that grows our food. Indeed, the present governmental structure for dealing with environmental pollution often defies effective and concerted action.

Despite its complexity, for pollution control purposes the environment must be perceived as a single, interrelated system. Present assignments of departmental responsibilities do not reflect this interrelatedness.

Many agency missions, for example, are designed primarily along media lines—air, water, and land. Yet the sources of air, water, and land pollution are interrelated and often interchangeable. A single source may pollute the air with smoke and chemicals, the land with solid wastes, and a river or lake with chemical and other wastes. Control of the air pollution may produce more solid wastes, which then pollute the land or water. Control of the water-polluting effluent may convert it into solid wastes, which must be disposed of on land.

Similarly, some pollutants—chemicals, radiation, pesticides—appear in all media. Successful control of them at present requires the coordinated efforts of a variety

of separate agencies and departments. The results are not always successful.

A far more effective approach to pollution control would:

—Identify pollutants.

—Trace them through the entire ecological chain, observing and recording changes in form as they occur.

—Determine the total exposure of man and his environment.

—Examine interactions among forms of pollution.

—Identify where in the ecological chain interdiction would be most appropriate.

In organizational terms, this requires pulling together into one agency a variety of research, monitoring, standard-setting and enforcement activities now scattered through several departments and agencies. It also requires that the new agency include sufficient support elements—in research and in aids to State and local anti-pollution programs, for example—to give it the needed strength and potential for carrying out its mission. The new agency would also, of course, draw upon the results of research conducted by other agencies.

COMPONENTS OF THE EPA

Under the terms of Reorganization Plan No. 3, the following would be moved to the new Environmental Protection Agency:

—The functions carried out by the Federal Water Quality Administration (from the Department of the Interior).

—Functions with respect to pesticides studies now vested in the Department of the Interior.

—The functions carried out by the National Air Pollution Control Administration (from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare).

—The functions carried out by the Bureau of Solid Waste Management and the Bureau of Water Hygiene, and portions of the functions carried out by the Bureau of Radiological Health of the Environmental Control Administration (from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare).

—Certain functions with respect to pesticides carried out by the Food and Drug Administration (from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare).

—Authority to perform studies relating to ecological systems now vested in the Council on Environmental Quality.

—Certain functions respecting radiation criteria and standards now vested in the Atomic Energy Commission and the Federal Radiation Council.

—Functions respecting pesticides registration and related activities now carried out by the Agricultural Research Service (from the Department of Agriculture).

With its broad mandate, EPA would also develop competence in areas of environmental protection that have not previously been given enough attention, such, for example, as the problem of noise, and it would provide an organization to which new programs in these areas could be added.

In brief, these are the principal functions to be transferred:

Federal Water Quality Administration. Charged with the control of pollutants which impair water quality, it is broadly

concerned with the impact of degraded water quality. It performs a wide variety of functions, including research, standard-setting and enforcement, and provides construction grants and technical assistance.

Certain pesticides research authority from the Department of the Interior. Authority for research on the effects of pesticides on fish and wildlife would be provided to the EPA through transfer of the specialized research authority of the pesticides act enacted in 1958. Interior would retain its responsibility to do research on all factors affecting fish and wildlife. Under this provision, only one laboratory would be transferred to the EPA—the Gulf Breeze Biological Laboratory of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. The EPA would work closely with the fish and wildlife laboratories remaining with the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife.

National Air Pollution Control Administration. As the principal Federal agency concerned with air pollution, it conducts research on the effects of air pollution, operates a monitoring network, and promulgates criteria which serve as the basis for setting air quality standards. Its regulatory functions are similar to those of the Federal Water Quality Administration. NAPCA is responsible for administering the Clean Air Act, which involves designating air quality regions, approving State standards, and providing financial and technical assistance to State Control agencies to enable them to comply with the Act's provisions. It also sets and enforces Federal automotive emission standards.

Elements of the Environmental Control Administration. ECA is the focal point within HEW for evaluation and control of a broad range of environmental health problems, including water quality, solid wastes, and radiation. Programs in the ECA involve research, development of criteria and standards, and the administration of planning and demonstration grants. From the ECA, the activities of the Bureaus of Water Hygiene and Solid Waste Management and portions of the activities of the Bureau of Radiological Health would be transferred. Other functions of the ECA including those related to the regulation of radiation from consumer products and occupational safety and health would remain in HEW.

Pesticides research and standard-setting programs of the Food and Drug Administration. FDA's pesticides program consists of setting and enforcing standards which limit pesticide residues in food. EPA would have the authority to set pesticide standards and to monitor compliance with them, as well as to conduct related research. However, as an integral part of its food protection activities, FDA would retain its authority to remove from the market food with excess pesticide residues.

General ecological research from the Council on Environmental Quality. This authority to perform studies and research relating to ecological systems would be in addition to EPA's other specific research authorities, and it would help EPA to measure the impact of pollutants. The Council on Environmental Quality would retain its authority to conduct studies and research relating to environmental quality.

Environmental radiation standards programs. The Atomic Energy Commission is now responsible for establishing environ-

mental radiation standards and emission limits for radioactivity. Those standards have been based largely on broad guidelines recommended by the Federal Radiation Council. The Atomic Energy Commission's authority to set standards for the protection of the general environment from radioactive material would be transferred to the Environmental Protection Agency. The functions of the Federal Radiation Council would also be transferred. AEC would retain responsibility for the implementation and enforcement of radiation standards through its licensing authority.

Pesticides registration program of the Agricultural Research Service. The Department of Agriculture is currently responsible for several distinct functions related to pesticides use. It conducts research on the efficacy of various pesticides as related to other pest control methods and on the effects of pesticides on nontarget plants, livestock, and poultry. It registers pesticides, monitors their persistence and carries out an educational program on pesticide use through the extension service. It conducts extensive pest control programs which utilize pesticides.

By transferring the Department of Agriculture's pesticides registration and monitoring function to the EPA and merging it with the pesticides programs being transferred from HEW and Interior, the new agency would be given a broad capability for control over the introduction of pesticides into the environment.

The Department of Agriculture would continue to conduct research on the effectiveness of pesticides. The Department would furnish this information to the EPA, which would have the responsibility for actually licensing pesticides for use after considering environmental and health effects. Thus the new agency would be able to make use of the expertise of the Department.

ADVANTAGES OF REORGANIZATION

This reorganization would permit response to environmental problems in a manner beyond the previous capability of our pollution control programs. The EPA would have the capacity to do research on important pollutants irrespective of the media in which they appear, and on the impact of these pollutants on the total environment. Both by itself and together with other agencies, the EPA would monitor the condition of the environment—biological as well as physical. With these data, the EPA would be able to establish quantitative "environmental baselines"—critical if we are to measure adequately the success or failure of our pollution abatement efforts.

As no disjointed array of separate programs can, the EPA would be able—in concert with the States—to set and enforce standards for air and water quality and for individual pollutants. This consolidation of pollution control authorities would help assure that we do not create new environmental problems in the process of controlling existing ones. Industries seeking to minimize the adverse impact of their activities on the environment would be assured of consistent standards covering the full range of their waste disposal problems. As the States develop and expand their own pollution control programs, they would be able to look to one agency to support their efforts with financial and technical assistance and training.

In proposing that the Environmental Protection Agency be set up as a separate

new agency, I am making an exception to one of my own principles: that, as a matter of effective and orderly administration, additional new independent agencies normally should not be created. In this case, however, the arguments against placing environmental protection activities under the jurisdiction of one or another of the existing departments and agencies are compelling.

In the first place, almost every part of government is concerned with the environment in some way, and affects it in some way. Yet each department also has its own primary mission—such as resource development, transportation, health, defense, urban growth or agriculture—which necessarily affects its own view of environmental questions.

In the second place, if the critical standard-setting functions were centralized within any one existing department, it would require that department constantly to make decisions affecting other departments—in which, whether fairly or unfairly, its own objectivity as an impartial arbiter could be called into question.

Because environmental protection cuts across so many jurisdictions, and because arresting environmental deterioration is of great importance to the quality of life in our country and the world, I believe that in this case a strong, independent agency is needed. That agency would, of course, work closely with and draw upon the expertise and assistance of other agencies having experience in the environmental area.

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF EPA

The principal roles and functions of the EPA would include:

—The establishment and enforcement of environmental protection standards consistent with national environmental goals.

—The conduct of research on the adverse effects of pollution and on methods and equipment for controlling it, the gathering of information on pollution, and the use of this information in strengthening environmental protection programs and recommending policy changes.

—Assisting others, through grants, technical assistance and other means in arresting pollution of the environment.

—Assisting the Council on Environmental Quality in developing and recommending to the President new policies for the protection of the environment.

One natural question concerns the relationship between the EPA and the Council on Environmental Quality, recently established by Act of Congress.

It is my intention and expectation that the two will work in close harmony, reinforcing each other's mission. Essentially, the Council is a top-level advisory group (which might be compared with the Council of Economic Advisers), while the EPA would be an operating, "line" organization. The Council will continue to be a part of the Executive Office of the President and will perform its overall coordinating and advisory roles with respect to all Federal programs related to environmental quality.

The Council, then, is concerned with all aspects of environmental quality—wildlife preservation, parklands, land use, and population growth, as well as pollution. The EPA would be charged with protecting the environment by abating pollution. In short, the Council focuses

on what our broad policies in the environmental field should be; the EPA would focus on setting and enforcing pollution control standards. The two are not competing, but complementary—and taken together, they should give us, for the first time, the means to mount an effectively coordinated campaign against environmental degradation in all of its many forms.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

The oceans and the atmosphere are interacting parts of the total environmental system upon which we depend not only for the quality of our lives, but for life itself.

We face immediate and compelling needs for better protection of life and property from natural hazards, and for a better understanding of the total environment—an understanding which will enable us more effectively to monitor and predict its actions, and ultimately, perhaps to exercise some degree of control over them.

We also face a compelling need for exploration and development leading to the intelligent use of our marine resources. The global oceans, which constitute nearly three-fourths of the surface of our planet, are today the least-understood, the least-developed, and the least-protected part of our earth. Food from the oceans will increasingly be a key element in the world's fight against hunger. The mineral resources of the ocean beds and of the oceans themselves, are being increasingly tapped to meet the growing world demand. We must understand the nature of these resources, and assure their development without either contaminating the marine environment or upsetting its balance.

Establishment of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—NOAA—within the Department of Commerce would enable us to approach these tasks in a coordinated way. By employing a unified approach to the problems of the oceans and atmosphere, we can increase our knowledge and expand our opportunities not only in those areas, but in the third major component of our environment, the solid earth, as well.

Scattered through various Federal departments and agencies, we already have the scientific, technological and administrative resources to make an effective, unified approach possible. What we need is to bring them together. Establishment of NOAA would do so.

By far the largest of the components being merged would be the Commerce Department's Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA), with some 10,000 employees (70 percent of NOAA's total personnel strength) and estimated Fiscal 1970 expenditures of almost $200 million. Placing NOAA within the Department of Commerce therefore entails the least dislocation, while also placing it within a Department which has traditionally been a center for service activities in the scientific and technological area.

COMPONENTS OF NOAA

Under terms of Reorganization Plan No. 4, the programs of the following organizations would be moved into NOAA:

—The Environmental Science Services Administration (from within the Department of Commerce).

—Elements of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries (from the Department of the Interior).

—The marine sport fish program of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (from the Department of the Interior).

—The Marine Minerals Technology Center of the Bureau of Mines (from the Department of the Interior).

—The Office of Sea Grant Programs (from the National Science Foundation).

—Elements of the United States Lake Survey (from the Department of the Army).

In addition, by executive action, the programs of the following organizations would be transferred to NOAA:

—The National Oceanographic Data Center (from the Department of the Navy).

—The National Oceanographic Instrumentation Center (from the Department of the Navy).

—The National Data Buoy Project (from the Department of Transportation).

In brief, these are the principal functions of the programs and agencies to be combined:

The Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) comprises the following components:

—The Weather Bureau (weather, marine, river and flood forecasting and warning).

—The Coast and Geodetic Survey (earth and marine description, mapping and charting).

—The Environmental Data Service (storage and retrieval of environmental data).

—The National Environmental Satellite Center (observation of the global environment from earth-orbiting satellites).

—The ESSA Research Laboratories (research on physical environmental problems).

ESSA's activities include observing and predicting the state of the oceans, the state of the lower and upper atmosphere, and the size and shape of the earth. It maintains the nation's warning systems for such natural hazards as hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, earthquakes and seismic sea waves. It provides information for national defense, agriculture, transportation and industry.

ESSA monitors atmospheric, oceanic and geophysical phenomena on a global basis, through an unparalleled complex of air, ocean, earth and space facilities. It also prepares aeronautical and marine maps and charts.

Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and marine sport fish activities. Those fishery activities of the Department of the Interior's U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service which are ocean related and those which are directed toward commercial fishing would be transferred. The Fish and Wildlife Service's Bureau of Commercial Fisheries has the dual function of strengthening the fishing industry and promoting conservation of fishery stocks. It conducts research on important marine species and and on fundamental oceanography, and operates a fleet of oceanographic vessels and a number of laboratories. Most of its activities would be transferred. From the Fish and Wildlife Service's Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the marine sport fishing program would be transferred. This involves five supporting

laboratories and three ships engaged in activities to enhance marine sport fishing opportunities.

The Marine Minerals Technology Center is concerned with the development of marine mining technology.

Office of Sea Grant Programs. The Sea Grant Program was authorized in 1966 to permit the Federal Government to assist the academic and industrial communities in developing marine resources and technology. It aims at strengthening education and training of marine specialists, supporting applied research in the recovery and use of marine resources, and developing extension and advisory services. The Office carries out these objectives by making grants to selected academic institutions.

The U.S. Lake Survey has two primary missions. It prepares and publishes navigation charts of the Great Lakes and tributary waters and conducts research on a variety of hydraulic and hydrologic phenomena of the Great Lakes' waters. Its activities are very similiar to those conducted along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts by ESSA's Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The National Oceanographic Data Center is responsible for the collection and dissemination of oceanographic data accumulated by all Federal agencies.

The National Oceanographic Instrumentation Center provides a central Federal service for the calibration and testing of oceanographic instruments.

The National Data Buoy Development Project was established to determine the feasibility of deploying a system of automatic ocean buoys to obtain oceanic and atmospheric data.

ROLE OF NOAA

Drawing these activities together into a single agency would make possible a balanced Federal program to improve our understanding of the resources of the sea, and permit their development and use while guarding against the sort of thoughtless exploitation that in the past laid waste to so many of our precious natural assets. It would make possible a consolidated program for achieving a more comprehensive understanding of oceanic and atmospheric phenomena, which so greatly affect our lives and activities. It would facilitate the cooperation between public and private interests that can best serve the interests of all.

I expect that NOAA would exercise leadership in developing a national oceanic and atmospheric program of research and development. It would coordinate its own scientific and technical resources with the technical and operational capabilities of other government agencies and private institutions. As important, NOAA would continue to provide those services to other agencies of government, industry and private individuals which have become essential to the efficient operation of our transportation systems, our agriculture and our national security. I expect it to maintain continuing and close liaison with the new Environmental Protection Agency and the Council on Environmental Quality as part of an effort to ensure that environmental questions are dealt with in their totality and that they benefit from the full range of the government's technical and human resources.

Authorities who have studied this mat-

ter, including the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources, strongly recommended the creation of a National Advisory Committee for the Oceans. I agree. Consequently, I will request, upon approval of the plan, that the Secretary of Commerce establish a National Advisory Committee for the Oceans and the Atmosphere to advise him on the progress of governmental and private programs in achieving the nation's oceanic and atmospheric objectives.

An On-Going Process

The reorganizations which I am here proposing afford both the Congress and the Executive Branch an opportunity to re-evaluate the adequacy of existing program authorities involved in these consolidations. As these two new organizations come into being, we may well find that supplementary legislation to perfect their authorities will be necessary. I look forward to working with the Congress in this task.

In formulating these reorganization plans, I have been greatly aided by the work of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (the Ash Council), the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources (the Stratton Commission, appointed by President Johnson), my special task force on oceanography headed by Dr. James Wakelin, and by the information developed during both House and Senate hearings on proposed NOAA legislation.

Many of those who have advised me have proposed additional reorganizations, and it may well be that in the future I shall recommend further changes. For the present, however, I think the two reorganizations transmitted today represent a sound and significant beginning. I also think that in practical terms, in this sensitive and rapidly developing area, it is better to proceed a step at a time—and thus to be sure that we are not caught up in a form of organizational indigestion from trying to rearrange too much at once. As we see how these changes work out, we will gain a better understanding of what further changes—in addition to these—might be desirable.

Ultimately, our objective should be to insure that the nation's environmental and resource protection activities are so organized as to maximize both the effective coordination of all and the effective functioning of each.

The Congress, the Administration and the public all share a profound commitment to the rescue of our natural environment, and the preservation of the Earth as a place both habitable by and hospitable to man. With its acceptance of these reorganization plans, the Congress will help us fulfill that commitment.

Richard Nixon

The White House
July 9, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet summarizing the two reorganization plans, which is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 916). The transcript of a news briefing by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and Rocco C. Siciliano, Under Secretary of Commerce, on the reorganization plans was also released.

216 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 3 of 1970: Environmental Protection Agency. *July* 9, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1970, prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code and providing for an Environmental Protection Agency. My reasons for transmitting this plan are stated in a more extended accompanying message.

After investigation, I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1970 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to section 901(a)(1), "to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;" and section 901(a)(3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable."

The reorganizations provided for in the plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers as specified in section 1 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are comparable to those fixed for other officers in the executive branch who have similar responsibilities.

Section 907 of title 5 of the United States Code will operate to preserve administrative proceedings, including any public hearing proceedings, related to the transferred functions, which are pending immediately prior to the taking effect of the reorganization plan.

The reorganization plan should result in the more efficient operation of the Government. It is not practical, however, to itemize or aggregate the exact expenditure reductions which will result from this action.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
July 9, 1970

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 3 became effective on December 2, 1970.

217 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 4 of 1970: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. *July* 9, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 4 of 1970, prepared in accordance with chapter 9 of title 5 of the United States Code. The plan would transfer to the Secretary of Commerce various functions relating to the oceans and atmosphere, including commercial fishery functions, and would establish a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in the Department of Commerce. My reasons for transmitting this plan are stated in a more extended accompanying message.

After investigation, I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in Reorganization Plan No. 4 of 1970 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 901(a) of title 5 of the United States Code. In particular, the plan is responsive to section 901(a)(1), "to promote the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch and of its agencies and functions, and the expeditious administration of the public business;" and section 901(a)(3), "to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government to the fullest extent practicable."

The reorganizations provided for in the plan make necessary the appointment and compensation of new officers as specified in section 2 of the plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are comparable to those fixed for other officers in the executive branch who have similar responsibilities.

The reorganization plan should result in the more efficient operation of the Government. It is not practical, however, to itemize or aggregate the exact expenditure reductions which will result from this action.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
July 9, 1970

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 4 became effective on October 3, 1970.

On October 6, the President signed Executive Order 11564, transferring certain programs and activities to the Secretary of Commerce for the purpose of implementing the reorganization plan.

218 White House Statement About the Deaths of the Prime Minister of Iceland and Mrs. Bjarni Benediktsson and Their Grandson. *July* 10, 1970

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Nixon were very saddened to learn of the tragic death last night of the Prime Minister of Iceland, Mrs. Benediktsson, and their grandson. The Prime Minister was well known and loved in this country. The Prime Minister was one of the original signators of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. Iceland has lost a great leader and we in this country have lost a good friend.

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press.

Prime Minister Benediktsson, his wife, and grandson were killed in a fire at the government's summer cottage near Lake Thingvellir, Iceland, on July 9, 1970.

219 White House Statement About the Internal Revenue Service Decision Concerning Tax Status of Discriminatory Private Schools. *July* 10, 1970

THE PRESIDENT approves of and concurs in the IRS decision regarding tax exemption for discriminatory private schools. He believes that ultimately the tax status of racially discriminatory private schools will be determined by the courts and that this is desirable.

At the same time, the President is con-

cerned with preserving the religious and other private schools that contribute much to the diversity and strength of the American educational system. He believes that the tax-exempt status of these schools can and should be continued.

The President agrees that IRS rules and procedures should be promptly amended consistent with this determination to make tax-exempt status available to those private schools which have announced or will announce a racially nondiscriminatory admissions policy. The President believes that these private schools, in the South as well as the North, provide the diversity which is so beneficial to our educational system.

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press.

220 Toasts of the President and Secretary General U Thant at a Dinner Marking the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations. *July* 10, 1970

IN INTRODUCING our distinguished guest, I would like to add to the remarks of those who have preceded me and perhaps give a charge to the members of the Commission who are here tonight. While I am sure the Members of Congress know, and our other guests, that we have appointed a Commission on the United Nations [1] of very distinguished Americans who are going to make recommendations with regard to the United Nations, and also develop public support for the objectives of the United Nations in this silver anniversary year, but I am going to speak, if I may, in quite blunt terms about the United Nations, what it can do and, perhaps, what it cannot do.

I think it is well for us perhaps to put it in perspective. You mentioned a moment ago, Ralph Bunche,[2] that there were 126 nations in the U.N. today. Only 25 years ago, right after World War II when the United Nations was founded, there were 50 nations in the U.N. Half the nations in the world today have been born, have come into being, since the United Nations came into being. Half the people living in this whole world today were born since the United Nations was born. That gives us an indication of the magnitude of the problem.

New nations have problems. We are a rather old nation. We have plenty of problems. But, as we look at the new nations of the world born since World War II, all of their problems, the problems many times compounded by poverty and distress in many other areas, we can see that these last 25 years have been years of very great change and very great progress, as a matter of fact, in terms of people's acquiring independence and dignity and self-respect and self-government, but also a time of

[1] Executive Order 11546, dated July 9, 1970, established the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. An announcement of the appointment of the Commission's membership, also released by the White House on July 9, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 922).

[2] Dr. Ralph J. Bunche was Under Secretary General of the United Nations for Special Political Affairs.

very great problems in international affairs. Because when a world is stable, when the nations do not change, these are the periods when things are somewhat more predictable, but, as the world changes, as population grows, as new nations come into being, things are less predictable and the challenge to leadership is much greater.

So, into this new world in which we live—it is a new world since the U.N., a world of new nations and new people—we look at the United Nations.

Now, I have read some of the editorials and also heard some of the broadcasts by some of the very distinguished commentators in this room, Pauline Frederick [NBC News, U.N. correspondent] and others who are here, and very properly they have pointed out those areas where the U.N. has failed to meet its objectives or its great hopes and also those areas where it might be improved.

I know there are those who would say, "Well, the U.N., what does it do, what does it contribute? We could get along without it." Let me try to put it in perspective by reversing the question. Let us suppose that we had not had the United Nations, that it had not come into being 25 years ago. What would have happened? I remember Cabot Lodge [3] used to say, as he concluded his service in the U.N. about 1960, he used to say that there were at least nine different occasions in which he could say with considerable emphasis that had it not been for the United Nations there would have been armed conflict either at a modest level or even a higher level. If the U.N. came into being only to avert those nine or more or less, whatever the case might be, conflicts or wars that otherwise would have occurred, it was all worthwhile.

That is in the peacekeeping role. That is the spectacular role. But beyond that there is the role that is not as spectacular, the role of economic and health, all of the areas of assistance for the new nations and particularly the newly independent nations around the world.

When we think of those many programs which are represented and when we think that those would not have happened, they would not be in being had it not been for the U.N., it makes us realize what the world would have missed, what it would have lost in this critical period when the population of the world and the number of nations in the world has doubled.

So, when we see it that way, we can see what the U.N. has done.

Now it is true, if we look at the U.N. in very critical terms, that it has not solved the great power conflict. Those who expected that it would, of course, were raising expectations that could never be realized. It is true that people with different religions still have those different religions and have their differences about them. It is true that nations with different backgrounds and different interests have very, very violent disagreements, sometimes erupting into conflict but fortunately not as often as in previous years.

It is true, too, that all of the people in the world don't love each other and don't get along with each other, and that we do not have a world family of nations all living together, liking each other, working out their differences together.

But those who expected that would happen 25 years ago—and perhaps some of us did, of course—were expecting something that the U.N. could not ac-

[3] Henry Cabot Lodge was U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1953 to 1960.

complish and that no organization will ever accomplish. That is what we must realize. Because as long as we are on this globe there will be some nations that are richer than others, some nations that are bigger than others, some nations that are more powerful than others, there will be different religions, there will be different national political systems. They will compete. The interests will collide. This is inevitable. That is the way the world will be.

But where the U.N. then comes into play is that collisions have always taken place in the history of the world between religions, races, nations, and interests. But how can those collisions take place now under the rule of law rather than the rule of force? The U.N. plays a role there in its peacekeeping role.

It also plays, as we all know, an enormously important role that really can't be measured, the role of being basically the center of the world's conscience. Because while debates are not supposed to, perhaps, have much effect where great interests collide, it is inevitable that the power of words will have some effect on the actions that are taken by the leaders of nations throughout the world.

What I would really like to say on this 25th occasion is this: that because we have the U.N., the world has avoided wars, small wars perhaps, yes, but nevertheless wars that otherwise might have occurred. Because of the U.N., we have developed programs of working together between nations that have very great differences but have collaborated together in common goals, working where health, education, and some of these other areas are concerned.

Because of the U.N., there is a forum in the world now, a forum that is needed, where peoples of the world of different backgrounds and of diverse interests, where they can meet, where they can talk, where they will not necessarily agree, but where at least they will communicate.

This is worthwhile. It never existed before. The League of Nations, as we know, was not, while it contributed a great deal, was not an organization that covered as much of the nations of the world as it might have.

The U.N. as we meet tonight on its 25th anniversary hasn't brought universal world peace. There is still war in the world. There are still differences in the world. But I think what we can be very proud of tonight, as we present our distinguished guest, is that the world is a better place in which to live, this new world in which we live of new nations and new people, because the U.N. came into being 25 years ago.

It is our job, all of our jobs, to continue to support the United Nations, to improve it, to make use of its counsels as we work toward the goal, not of a perfect world, because there will never be a perfect world, but toward a world in which we recognize that nations and peoples are different, that they will compete, that they will disagree, but a world in which those differences and disagreements will finally be settled by the rule of reason, the rule of law, rather than the rule of force.

This is the objective for which the U.N. was founded. It is the objective to which every person in this room is dedicated. It is the objective to which our distinguished guest has given all of his life.

In a very personal vein, we have known him longer than all of the rest of you because in 1953, 17 years ago, when he was head of the Public Affairs and Political Affairs Section of the Burmese Gov-

ernment, he welcomed Mrs. Nixon and me to Burma.

He escorted us through his country. He was a gracious host on that occasion and we are always grateful for his reception.

As I present him today, I remember him then as a very distinguished citizen of his native country of Burma.

I present him to you tonight as a very distinguished citizen and civil servant of the world community.

[At this point Secretary General U Thant spoke. He concluded his response, which follows in the note, with a toast to the President and Mrs. Nixon. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I would request that you remain standing and let us drink to the United Nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Earlier the same day, the President signed Proclamation 3996, proclaiming October 24, 1970, as United Nations Day.

Secretary General U Thant responded to the President's remarks as follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Your Excellencies, distinguished Senators and legislators, ladies and gentlemen:

First of all, I must say that I am deeply touched by the very gracious words and tributes and references made to me from you, Mr. President, downwards.

Of course, first of all, I want to express my deep appreciation and sincere thanks for the speakers who have preceded me, Senator Mike Mansfield, Ambassador Yost, Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, and Dr. Ralph Bunche, for their over-gracious tributes and references to me, if I may say so.

They expressed particularly my qualities of so-called patience, coolness, tolerance, and absence of temper, and so on and so forth.

Well, Mr. President, with your permission, I want to take a few moments of your time on a brief elaboration of the background to my approach to all problems and my conception and my philosophy, if I may say so, toward the problems which we are facing today.

I have been brought up in a rather conservative Buddhist family as many of my friends know. I was trained in a very strict discipline of Buddhist religious belief. I was trained to believe in some fundamental concepts. For instance, to cultivate and develop the virtues which are the great keys to all great religions—like love, compassion, philosophy of live and let live, and the ability to see the other man's point of view.

Since I was a child, I have been brought up to observe five precepts and then eight precepts and then 10 precepts. So, my upbringing, Mr. President, is a little different from the upbringing of many of my friends in the United Nations and particularly in the Western World in the highly technological societies. As I have had occasion to observe on previous occasions and as I see the human situation today in the Western societies, and when I say Western I mean highly developed technological societies like Western Europe, North America, the Soviet Union, for instance, the stress on education is on the development of the intellect.

That is, the primary aim of education in these highly developed societies has been and still is to create doctors and scientists and engineers, to manufacture microphones and telephones and transistor radios, to discover outer space, to go to the moon and to Mars and the stars. This has been, understandably, the primary objective of education in highly developed technological societies.

While something external to us is clearly defined, in my view, Mr. President, what is happening inside of us remains a dark jungle tract. Not enough emphasis has been given, or attention paid, to understand what is happening inside of us, to develop these moral and spiritual virtues, as I said a moment ago, like love, compassion, understanding, brotherhood, peace, the philosophy of live and let live, and the desire to understand the other man's point of view.

That is my assessment of the educational philosophy in certain societies, very highly developed societies.

In my part of the world, Mr. President, traditionally, I would stress the word "tradition-

ally," the stress is the other way around. The stress is to discover what is happening inside of us, to cultivate these moral and spiritual virtues and values which are the main, essential keys to all great religions.

While, at the same time, what is happening outside of us, what is external to us, remains a dark jungle tract, traditionally.

So, in my view, Mr. President, what is necessary in these tense times to meet the extraordinary challenges of our times, is to harmonize these two concepts, to try to develop the integrated human being, fully developed in all aspects, intellectually, morally, and spiritually. Then only will we be able to face the great challenges of the second part of the 20th century.

In this respect, to apply this concept to the Charter of the United Nations, as I had occasion to address a very distinguished gathering of legislators at a lunch today, I feel very strongly that it is not the Charter which is to be blamed for the failure of the United Nations in many fields, in many areas of activity. It is not the Charter which is at fault. It is the member-states' primary concern who do not respect the provisions of the Charter, who do not honor the decisions of the principal deliberative organs of the United Nations which are at fault.

In other words, in order to develop a disciplined and orderly international organization, like any human organization, some ground rules need to be observed. In a local society or a club or an association, everybody knows there are certain rules and regulations to be observed by the members. And if the rules stipulate that by two-thirds vote that certain matters can be disposed of, and if the two-thirds of the members of that particular club or organization voted for a particular line of action, then the remaining one-third, despite their opposition or resentment toward the particular measure, have to go along with this in order to enable a human organization or international organization or a national organization or a regional organization to function in an orderly and disciplined manner.

I think it is an essential prerequisite that all members constituting that particular organization must respect the rules of the game. This applies, Mr. President, also to the United Nations organization which I have the privilege to serve.

From time to time I find myself in disagreement with some of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly or the Security Council. Personally speaking, I do not agree with all the resolutions adopted by the principal organs of the United Nations, but for the sake of the orderly functioning of this great organization, I have to go along with the decisions, not only because I am the Secretary General of that organization but as one who wants to see the development of the United Nations as a strong machinery, as an effective machinery for the performance of all the functions outlined in the Charter.

Although I may not agree with some of the resolutions of the principal organs, I have to honor them, I have to comply with them, I have to support them and endorse them and advocate for their implementation.

This is the basic concept which I have held throughout the functioning of the United Nations.

Now, Mr. President, it is worth reiterating on this very special occasion which you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Nixon, are commemorating in a very fitting manner, the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Charter, to my knowledge, out of 126 member-states, over 80 member-states have celebrated or are celebrating or will celebrate the 25th anniversary, approximate to this day, the 26th of June, some a little later, some a little earlier.

Of course, I got invitations to attend some of them, of course. But physically, it is impossible for me to comply with these very kind invitations, except, outside New York, I had the privilege of attending the celebrations in San Francisco, celebrations in Geneva, and celebrations in Washington, the seat of the Capital City of the host government.

It is my rare privilege to participate in such a very splendid and appropriate ceremony, Mr. President, and for this I am most grateful.

On this occasion, I hope the distinguished gathering will bear with me for a few more moments to share some thoughts with you on the basic objectives of the founding fathers 25 years ago when they launched the United Na-

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tions. In the language of the Charter, the United Nations was founded to prevent wars.

If I am asked to answer why was the United Nations launched, the simplest answer is that the United Nations was launched to prevent wars. In the language of the Charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime"—once in 1914 and again in 1939—"has brought untold sorrow to mankind."

That was the primary objective of the founding fathers in 1945, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Then the founding fathers have also prescribed certain lines of action to achieve this objective. One of these prescriptions is, "Ask member-states 'to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors.' " This is the actual language of the Charter, "to practice tolerance." If you believe in the United Nations you ought to believe in the Charter. If you believe in the Charter, you ought to believe in the main provisions of the Charter.

One of the main provisions of the Charter is to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors. This is a very essential provision of the Charter for the guidance of the member-states.

It is, of course, difficult to practice tolerance when it comes to a matter of ideologies, when it comes to a matter of economic and social considerations and tensions. But in order to practice tolerance we have to adjust our attitudes to the changing conditions.

To cite one example, as I said at the lunch today, politically speaking, in terms of political beliefs or convictions, those who know me for 40 years, almost 40 years, know that I am a strong believer in democracy. I am a strong believer in democratic processes and democratic procedures. I believe in parliamentary democracy. I believe parliamentary democracy is superior to any other political systems, political patterns. I believe in fundamental human rights. I believe in freedom of speech, freedom of writing, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom of work, freedom of conscience, and so on.

But my conviction in the superiority of democracy does not blind me to the knowledge that there are hundreds of millions of people who disagree with me. That is my approach to the problem, in the same way as my conviction in the Buddhist religion. I am sure most of you are aware that I am a Buddhist. I believe very strongly that Buddhism is a very superior religion. Of course, I am not sufficiently knowledgeable about other great religions, but this does not detract me from the fact that I am a very staunch believer in the correctness of the teachings of Buddha.

But this conviction in Buddhism, in the superiority of the Buddhist religion, does not shut me off from the knowledge that there are hundreds of millions of people who disagree with me. So this, in a sense, is my conception of tolerance.

When I say that Buddhism is superior, many people will say that this religion is superior or that religion is superior. I have to place myself in the position of that other person and try to understand his point of view. That is why I have developed this concept which I have developed in the last 14 or 15 years. I believe that humanity is marching towards a great synthesis. It is true of religion because there was no such thing as religious tolerance, even late in the 18th century, even early in the 19th century. Of course, much earlier, these religious convictions brought about religious wars, as you know, the Crusades, for instance.

But now, religious tolerance is not only not regarded as a sin or a crime, but religious tolerance is now regarded as a very desirable attribute in civilized societies.

I believe the same is true of political ideologies. Humanity, as I said a moment ago, is marching toward a great synthesis, toward a dignity of men, toward a revival of human dignity, toward a revival of individualism.

I believe in the concept of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. I believe that all of humanity is marching towards a great synthesis. Then, and only with this attitude, will the United Nations be able to function in the way it is meant to function.

With this attitude, with this concept, with this spirit of tolerance, with the spirit of harmonizing which is another essential provision of the Charter, the founding fathers wanted the United Nations to be a center to harmonize the actions of states, with a view to the achievement of common objectives.

This harmonizing function of the United

Nations, Mr. President, is to me, one of the most important and essential provisions of the Charter.

Of course, I recalled at the lunch today that it was the late President Roosevelt who suggested in 1944 that the chief executive of the United Nations should be called "Moderator." Unfortunately, his suggestion was intercepted and he is called Secretary General of the United Nations. I still feel that the term "moderator" is a very appropriate description of the type of job I am supposed to perform.

Well, Mr. President, I will not take more of your time and more of the time of the distinguished guests gathered here. I just want to conclude my remarks with an observation, that when we say that the United Nations has failed in certain areas of activity, it is not the United Nations that failed, it is the human community that failed. If it is said that the United Nations has succeeded in certain areas of activity, it is not the United Nations that succeeds, it is the human community that succeeds, because the United Nations is just a mirror held up to the international community, with its faults, its blemishes, its virtues.

The United Nations will be as strong or as weak as its member-states wish it to be. If the member-states wish the United Nations to be strong, then it will be strong. If the member-states wish the United Nations to remain weak, it will remain weak. But one of the most encouraging signs of the times is the devotion and dedication and trust and faith put in the United Nations by the vast majority of the member-states including your great country, Mr. President. Your country, needless for me to reiterate, is the greatest financial contributor to the operation of the United Nations organization. This is recognized with appreciation by all of us in the Secretariat.

In terms of tabulation, if I may say so, every American, young and old, men and women, contributes 20 cents a year for the operation of the United Nations office in New York and Geneva. Every American, young and old, men and women, contributes $1.25 per year for the operation of the United Nations and all the family of agencies like the UNESCO, ILO, and WHO, and so on and so forth. Every American, every one of the 220 million Americans, contributes $1.25 per year.

Of course, in relative terms, that is not a very high price to pay, but I just want to take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of the United Nations, our sincere thanks and appreciation to you, and through you, Mr. President, to the people of America, for the sustained support and endorsement and material contribution for the successful operation of this great organization which I have the privilege to serve.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me request you all to raise your glasses and join me in a toast to the health of our esteemed host, the President, and Mrs. Nixon.

221 Remarks on Arrival at Louisville, Kentucky. *July* 14, 1970

I WANT to thank all of you for this wonderfully warm welcome.

I would also like to present to you some who have come here, as we have brought a number of our people from Washington so they could see what America is really like out here in Kentucky.

I have the belief that too often those of us who work in Washington and who live in Washington, we see a part of America but we don't see, of course, all of America. I think it is very important to bring the government to the people. That is one of the reasons we have come to Kentucky.

We have already had a Cabinet meeting in California, we had one in Indianapolis, we have also had one in Chicago, and we are going to have a major meeting of the Appalachian Council along with members of our Cabinet right here in Kentucky.

I would like to have you meet some of our people.

The Secretary of Agriculture is here, Secretary Hardin. Now you do right by these Kentucky farmers, you understand? Okay?

The Secretary of Labor, Mr. Hodgson.

The head of our new Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Shultz.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Mr. Rumsfeld.

Then we have some Counsellors to the President.

Counsellor Moynihan. He's tall enough; he doesn't have to stand up here.

Mr. Harlow does have to stand up here. Mr. Harlow, our Counsellor to the President.

Mr. Ehrlichman, the head of the Domestic Council.

I simply want to say this to all of you here. I remember my many visits to this State, all over this State. I am also well aware of the fact of the warm receptions we have received and also, although this, of course, is a nonpolitical visit with you, that every time I have been on the ticket Kentucky has come through for us and I have appreciated that.

At this time I have noted some of your signs. And I know your concerns. I can assure you you have an administration in Washington that is working for all of those great purposes in which you believe. We are working for the kind of peace that we will be able to keep, the kind of peace that all Americans want and we are going to get it, I can assure you.

We are working for a better life for all Americans, a better life in every respect. And I mean by that that what we really need and what you all want is the kind of policy under which we can have high employment and the kind of policy, also, under which we can cut down on that rise in the cost of living, which I know is hurting all of you. We are working for those goals.

But most of all I think I want you to know this: that as we come to what is really a State which is at once an Eastern State—it is in the eastern time zone—it is the first State west of the Appalachians, as you know, to become a State of the Union; it is a Southern State, as we all know, and yet it is the birthplace of both Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. And I really feel that here in Kentucky we are in the heart of America and we are mighty happy to be here.

Finally, I want to thank all of you for coming out to this airport. I saw the cars parked for miles along. I know it is a little bit warm out there. I know that some of you have been standing here for a long time. I just wish we could meet all of you, but we have the meetings scheduled downtown.

I just want to thank you all and I hope to be back, because after a welcome like this, you always like to come back to Kentucky, I can assure you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at Standiford Airport.

222 Remarks Prior to Meeting With the Governors of the Appalachian States in Louisville, Kentucky. *July* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to tell you how very grateful I am for this wonderful reception you have given to me and the members of our Cabinet who are here for this historic meeting.

A word about the meeting: You saw the time that I went down the line and shook hands with the Governors of the 13 States who are members of the Appalachian Regional Council. Now, the President meeting with those Governors is not unusual, and members of the Cabinet meeting with those Governors is not unusual, but what is unusual is to have Washington come to Kentucky rather than Kentucky coming to Washington. We are trying to bring the government to the people.

We are looking forward to having now a meeting here in this great new Federal Building with the Governors of these States. We want to listen to what they have to say, listen to what they say about the problems of their States, how the Federal Government can better develop its programs so that they can get directly to the people and so that less of the funds that are appropriated by the Federal Government get lost somewhere in between in that big layer of bureaucracy which inevitably comes whenever you set up a Federal program.

I also would simply like to say this: I noted a couple of signs to the effect that I was going to the All-Star game over in Cincinnati and I am looking forward to that. But I can tell you, coming through the streets of Louisville today, receiving this wonderful welcome from the people of Kentucky is something that I will never forget. I am very grateful to all of you for standing here in this rather warm sun, a pleasant sun, but a very warm sun, to give us such a welcome. I hope to come back to Kentucky as often as I can. It is a State where we have always received a wonderful welcome and you have added to it here today.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:58 p.m. at the New Federal Office Building.

Attending the meeting were Governors Albert P. Brewer of Alabama, Lester Maddox of Georgia, Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky, Marvin Mandel of Maryland, John Bell Williams of Mississippi, Robert W. Scott of North Carolina, James A. Rhodes of Ohio, Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania, Robert E. McNair of South Carolina, Buford Ellington of Tennessee, A. Linwood Holton of Virginia, and Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia. Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York was represented by D. David Brandon, Director, Office of Planning Coordination for New York State.

On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings on the President's meeting with the Governors: The first by Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy, George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President; the second by Governor Brewer of Alabama and John B. Waters, Jr., Federal Cochairman, Appalachian Regional Commission.

223 Remarks of Welcome to Their Royal Highnesses Prince Charles and Princess Anne of the United Kingdom. *July* 16, 1970

Your Royal Highnesses, Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors from the British Commonwealth of Nations, and all of our guests today:

It is a very great privilege for me, both officially and personally, to welcome our guests today. As I looked over the historical record of the visits of the Prince of Wales to this house and to this Nation, I find that they take place about once every 50 years: the first in 1860, the next one in 1919, and now in 1970 on this occasion.

The fact that this visit is a personal visit and not an official visit is an indication of the closeness of the relationship between the United States and Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, and also between the family in this house and the family in London.

I would like to say to our royal guests today that we want you to feel very much at home in your brief stay. We want you to get to know our Capital, our Congress, our baseball team—we hope it does better than it has been doing recently when you are here—and also we hope you know and get to know our young people, the young people in our family and the young people you will meet at the occasions that you will be attending here and on your brief stay.

I can say finally that I hope that we can make you feel just as much at home as your grandfather showed such great hospitality to General Eisenhower in a story General Eisenhower liked to repeat.

He recalled that he had been offered a tour of Windsor Castle that was to be completely private and that the Royal Family had sent word to the effect that they would be in the apartment upstairs and he could visit parts of the Windsor Castle that had never been seen by ordinary visitors.

Your grandfather, King George VI, however, had forgotten for the moment when the visit was to take place and the Royal Family was in the garden. He saw the group approaching from afar. And then he and the other members of the Royal Family ducked down low so that they couldn't be seen and crawled along the side of the fence, back up to the apartment so that General Eisenhower would not cancel his visit.

We hope that we can get out of sight for you as well so you can feel completely at home with our young people while you are here.

Welcome very much on this occasion.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:15 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Prince Charles responded as follows:

Mr. President, thank you very much indeed for your kind words of welcome. My sister and I have been looking forward very much to this particular visit since you came to London not very long ago and we are very touched that you should have decided to have us in the middle of what must be a very busy summer with all the work that goes on in a capital like this.

We have been looking forward to it enormously because America to me and my sister has always been a very fascinating and intriguing country and we have always longed to come.

And we are particularly grateful to you to let us stay in the White House and little did we expect that the first and the only house we would stay in on our first visit would be the White House. It is a peculiar honor, I think.

We are also very grateful to you for letting

us see all the various things of interest in Washington which we shall see when we are here. And we look forward to seeing the Capitol and the various monuments.

One day particularly we hope to come back and see much more of this country which inevitably in only the few days that are left to us here we can't see very much.

Thank you very much indeed. We look forward to it.

224 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Robert P. Mayo as Counsellor to the President. *July* 17, 1970

Dear Bob:

It is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as Counsellor to the President. But it pleases me to know that you will be continuing to contribute your great talents to the cause of public service.

Your expertise and diligence have done more than I can say to help start this Administration on a course of fiscal responsibility that recognizes the careful balance which must be maintained between our needs and our resources. It has been a privilege to have you on my team and a pleasure to work with you.

As you move on to your new and important post, you take with you my sincere thanks for a job well done and best wishes for continuing achievement.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Robert P. Mayo, Counsellor to the President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On the same day the White House released biographical information on Mr. Mayo. Mr. Mayo's letter, dated July 16, 1970, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Now that my service to you as Director of the Bureau of the Budget has been completed and the initial planning of the new Office of Management and Budget is well underway, I am submitting my resignation as Counsellor to the President, effective July 28, 1970.

On July 29, 1970, I will become President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, a position which offers me a new public service challenge in the financial heart of our great Midwest.

It is with mixed emotions that I leave Washington. It has been the thrill of a lifetime to work so closely with you personally and with the superb team you have gathered around you. I particularly appreciate your expression of confidence in me by suggesting that I might be considered for a Cabinet post after the turn of the year.

I am deeply proud to have been one of the architects for you of an economic policy that is soundly conceived and is now in the process of bearing its long-awaited fruits. As I follow in the footsteps of your first Counsellor to the President by going to the Federal Reserve System, I shall continue to devote my life to the principles of economic and social progress that you and I share.

I know George Shultz will perform magnificently as my successor in an expanded and strengthened Office of Management and Budget. He is an outstanding man in every way, and will have the loyal support of a professional staff second to none in the Government. I have given him and Cap Weinberger the benefit of as much of my experience as I can.

Thank you again for offering me the opportunity to help you prove that tough but constructive budget-making can contribute significantly to the achievement of sound economic growth.

May God bless you in your relentless efforts to make America an even better place in which to live.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT P. MAYO

[The President, The White House]

225 Statement About Congressional Actions Affecting the Federal Budget. *July* 18, 1970

I AM ISSUING this statement today because I view with deepening concern the course of events in the Congress affecting the expenditure of the taxpayers' money. There is a persistent and growing tendency on Capitol Hill to approve increases in expenditures without providing the revenue to pay the costs. For just one example, the Congress seems on the verge of approving an education appropriation bill that provides nearly half a billion dollars more than I requested.

Given this situation, it is time to face some hard figures and some troublesome possibilities and to strive for solutions.

Our Federal budget totals over $200 billion. If we allow these outlays to overshoot the basic revenue-producing capacity of our tax system—as happened particularly in 1967 and 1968—we will produce the same result: inflation of a magnitude that will take difficult and painful measures to eliminate.

In fiscal year 1970, which ended June 30, we worked very hard and effectively—in the midst of continuing controversy—to hold the expenditure line. As a result, any deficit will largely reflect a shortfall of revenues from the adjustment of the economy to policies designed to combat inflation.

For fiscal year 1971, which began July 1, this administration transmitted to the Congress a budget calling for expenditures of $200 billion, and estimating revenues at $202 billion. If the Congress continues in its present pattern of proposed increases in expenditures, the total for this fiscal year will actually reach a substantially larger figure.

Some $3.5 billion of increases are caused by mandatory and virtually uncontrollable rises in costs—such as increases in the interest on the national debt ($1.8 billion) and in public assistance (over $500 million). The major pay increase for Federal employees added $1.4 billion over the amount originally budgeted. Some increases are the result of necessary new programs. But much of the total increase is due to threatened congressional action or inaction.

On the receipts side of the ledger, the Congress has failed to provide necessary revenue. By its action on the tax bill last year, the Congress had already reduced projected revenue for fiscal year 1971 by $3 billion and for fiscal year 1972 by $5 billion below my request. Beyond this, the Congress has as yet failed to take action on my proposals for a tax on lead used in gasoline, an advance in the time of collection of estate and gift taxes, and an increase in postal rates. The Congress must produce action on these measures, or we can expect to collect much less than the $202 billion estimated in February.

And that is not all. The 1971 expenditures are an inevitable springboard for the budget of 1972. Unless the present trend is corrected by the Congress, the resulting 1972 spending could produce a massive deficit.

It has become almost a cliché to say that all we need do to resolve this dilemma with regard to our Federal budget is to cut space and defense outlays and "change our national priorities." Let's set the record straight. We *have* changed our national priorities.

In the budget that I proposed for fiscal 1971, spending for defense is exceeded by spending for human resources for the first time in 20 years. In all of the last three administrations, military spending ran far above spending for other purposes. In 1962, under President Kennedy, the Federal Government spent 48 percent of its budget for defense and only 29 percent for human resources. By 1968, the comparison was 45 percent to 32 percent. My budget for 1971 sharply reversed these priorities. It calls for spending 37 percent for defense and 41 percent for human resources programs. To accomplish this massive change in emphasis, military and space expenditures were cut by some $6 billion.

As a former Member of the House and the Senate, I fully understand that the Members consider appropriations and spending bills one at a time. The trouble is that the total of the parts, each in itself attractive and even meritorious, is too large a figure. Unless the Congress makes a very special effort to look at the total picture, the Members may not fully appreciate the overall effect of their fiscal actions.

In raising the issue of budget deficits, I am not suggesting that the Federal Government should necessarily adhere to a strict pattern of a balanced budget every year. At times the economic situation permits—even calls for—a budget deficit. There is one basic guideline for the budget, however, which we should never violate: Except in emergency conditions, expenditures must never be allowed to outrun the revenues that the tax system would produce at reasonably full employment. When the Federal Government's spending actions over an extended period push outlays sharply higher, increased tax rates or inflation inevitably follow. We had such a period in the 1960's. We have been paying the high price—and higher prices—for that recently.

We must not let that happen again. It need not happen. Responsible government cannot let it happen. This is a time when the taxpayers of the United States will not tolerate irresponsible spending. The Congress should ask itself in every case: Will this new expenditure, when tied to all the others, require increased taxes or cause a deficit which would bring about an increase in prices? The Congress must examine with special care those spending programs which benefit some of the people but which really raise taxes and prices for all the people.

Recently I signed into law a bill fixing a "ceiling" on Federal spending for the current fiscal year.[1] I accept that ceiling and intend to live under it. But the Congress, by making exceptions and approving measures with mandatory spending provisions, has made a travesty of this legislation.

I now ask the Congress to establish a *firm* ceiling on total expenditures—a ceiling from which only specific and genuine "uncontrollables" such as interest on the public debt would be exempt; a ceiling within which the President can determine priorities; a ceiling that would apply to *the Congress* as well as to the Executive. This will require of the Congress, as well as the President, the hard task of adjusting and pruning individual program outlays to hold their total within this ceiling. With this we can reassure citizens generally that Washington will not take spending actions that will impose on their future incomes the burdens of ever increasing

[1] Titles IV and V of the Second Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1970 (Public Law 91-305, 84 Stat. 376).

tax rates. With this we can pursue vigorous policies of expansion to achieve full employment, rapid improvements in our material levels of living, and a more stable dollar.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Dr. Paul W. McCracken, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers.

226 Statement on the Anniversary of the First Manned Lunar Landing. *July* 20, 1970

TODAY marks a very special first anniversary celebration—a celebration in which all mankind shares as part of the family of man to which we all belong. The occasion we celebrate is the Apollo 11 lunar landing on July 20, 1969, when for the first time men reached the surface of the moon.

On that day, while Michael Collins piloted the Apollo 11 command ship *Columbia* in lunar orbit, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin, in the lunar landing craft *Eagle,* made their descent to the surface of the moon, setting down in the Sea of Tranquility at 4:19 p.m., e.d.t., precisely as scheduled. And at 10:56 p.m., e.d.t., from a distance of a quarter of a million miles, we on earth watched as man set foot on the moon.

This triumph of unique achievement, described by our first man on the moon, Neil Armstrong, as "one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind," brought with it a moment of greatness in which we all shared, a priceless moment when the people of this earth became truly one in the joy and wonder of a dream realized.

The Spirit of Apollo was a spirit of brotherhood and a spirit of the fellowship of human achievement. It is in that spirit that we celebrate this anniversary.

227 The President's News Conference of *July* 20, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. While they are taking their pictures, I will say this will be on the record for direct quotation. A transcript will be furnished immediately after the conference so you will have it for your stories, if you desire it.

Because we will not have pictures during the course of the conference, and no recording will be made, no requests of equal time will be honored.

MEETINGS AT THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

[1.] In respect to the California schedule, we plan on this trip to have a major meeting on national defense policy in terms of our national defense budget in which Dr. Kissinger, Secretary Laird, and Secretary Packard will participate on Monday. In the balance of the week, we

are having meetings of the Domestic Policy Council with particular relationship to the problems we will confront in the 1972 budget.

These will be the first meetings on the '72 budget and will be mainly planning meetings in which we will take a long view with regard to what the budget may be.

We look forward to your questions.

QUESTIONS

THE BUDGET

[2.] Q. Do you expect to balance the budget, Mr. President? Do you expect to have a balanced budget or do you think you will be working with a——

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, our budget for the year 1970 will not be in balance; and our budget for the year 1971 will not be in balance. We announced that in February. That would have been the case even without the additional problem we confront of the Congress not enacting the tax legislation that we have requested and the Congress adding to appropriations requests above the amounts that we recommended.

As far as 1972 is concerned, whether that budget can be balanced will depend upon two factors: one, the restraint that the Congress shows now in this session with regard to spending, because what happens now will have a great delayed impact on the 1972 spending programs; and second, the economic situation. We expect the economy to be moving upward for the last half of this year and to continue to move upward during fiscal 1972. But those are the two major items that will determine whether the budget in 1972 will be balanced.

Our goal in a period when the economy will be working at full employment, which is a goal we think we can achieve during fiscal year 1972, is, of course, to operate with a balanced budget.

SECRETARY ROGERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE CALIFORNIA MEETINGS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, won't Secretary of State Rogers take part in the Monday meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The Secretary of State is going to be at the Bohemian Grove [1] over the weekend and will not be there for that meeting. That meeting is solely with regard to the Defense budget and its implications. It does not have to do with Defense policy insofar as it would affect foreign policy.

The Secretary of State, however, will participate in other meetings later in the week over the weekend. I think he is coming to California on Thursday or Friday, later in the week.

THE DEFENSE BUDGET

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you anticipate being able to cut the Defense budget some more in fiscal '72?

THE PRESIDENT. It would be very difficult. I know that it is fashionable to suggest that as we face these increased spending programs in the domestic field, that Congress seems intent upon enacting, that we can just take it out of Defense. Well, there is very little left to take out of Defense.

I do not mean that some efficiencies

[1] A redwood grove owned by the Bohemian Club of San Francisco. Secretary Rogers was a speaker during the Club's annual encampment.

may not be brought about. But I do suggest that when we look at the Defense budget we find that our national priorities have already changed.

I was looking at the percentages just this morning and found that in 1962, during the Kennedy administration, 48 percent of the budget went for Defense and 29 percent for non-Defense programs. By 1968, it was still 44 percent for Defense and 34 percent for non-Defense programs. Now it is 41 percent for non-Defense programs in our '71 budget and 37 percent for Defense purposes.

As these priorities have been reordered, it has meant that the Defense budget has been cut. It was $1.7 billion less in 1970 than in the previous year. And our budget for 1971 is, as you know, $5½ billion less than for last year.

We will still try to cut in Defense as well as in other areas. But to suggest that the money for big, new domestic spending programs can come out of substantial cuts in Defense, I think is not realistic.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in your television conversation a couple of weeks back, you said that Ambassador Bruce would be receiving new instructions for the negotiations in Paris.

Does that mean that our negotiating positions in Paris are going to change, and if so, could you tell us what the new instructions will be?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I, of course, wouldn't tell you what the new instructions were because Ambassador Bruce, as the negotiator, must reflect those instructions at a time and in a way that he thinks would be helpful to negotiations.

I will only say at this time that we are giving Ambassador Bruce great latitude to discuss all of the proposals that we have made both in public and in private sessions to the North Vietnamese and the VC, in addition, to discuss the proposals they have made and also to recommend to us any new approaches that he believes might be helpful in pursuing the negotiations.

With regard to the specific matters that Ambassador Bruce will discuss, these are subjects we are planning to take up in our meeting with him and Ambassador Bunker tomorrow, but we would not, in advance of the negotiation—of course, it would not be helpful to his negotiating position to indicate what he was going to do.

TAX REDUCTION POSSIBILITIES

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Weinberger said last week that he would like to see some part of any savings, any surplus, go into a tax reduction. Is that realistic in the foreseeable future?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Weinberger was speaking of the long run, I think, Mr. Theis [J. William Theis, United Press International], rather than the short run. I had a long talk with him and, of course, with Mr. Shultz, who have their new responsibilities in the budget area, and when we speak of the possibilities of tax reduction, I think it would not be fair to the American people to suggest that we can have a tax reduction in 1971 and in 1972.

Looking beyond that time, the international situation might change, our economic growth might exceed the present estimates, and under those circumstances

we, of course, might consider tax reduction. But it is not realistic to suggest that there would be one in '71 or '72.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

[7.] Q. Mr. President, is there a significant difference between this Government's view of the political future of the Saigon regime and President Thieu's view of it as he expressed it in his interview yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there is not. I understand, I think, why President Thieu indicated concern about the use of the word "coalition." Coalition is a code word in international settlements, and wherever there have been coalition governments that include Communists it usually means that the Communists have, of course, prevailed and eventually expelled, if I may use that term too, expelled the non-Communists from the government.

Now, I stated the position with regard to coalition government at considerable length in San Clemente on July 1. That is this Government's position; that is the Secretary of State's position. In the negotiations there will not be an imposed coalition government on South Vietnam. The government of South Vietnam must be one that is chosen by the people of South Vietnam. It will be one and should be one that reflects the political forces in South Vietnam. How those forces would be represented in Parliament, for example, or in other respects is something to be worked out by the people of South Vietnam and by the elected representatives and elected leaders of South Vietnam. But under no circumstances does this Government stand for the proposition that we would attempt to negotiate an imposed coalition government on South Vietnam.

Q. Could I follow that up for a moment? When you used the expression "free decision," did you mean to imply this could be reached through something other than elections, because President Thieu seems to suggest that the only way the political outcome in South Vietnam will be determined is through elections?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I was referring to the fact that free decision did reflect elections.

Q. It was equivalent?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. There should be free elections. But as President Thieu has indicated, the Communists can participate in those elections, they can participate in the election supervisory bodies, and he has also indicated that he would accept the result of the plebiscite, whatever that result might be.

Once the election has been held, then what government comes out of that election is something to be worked out by the elected officials. But it should not be determined in advance of the people indicating what kind of government they want.

Q. Mr. President, if I could get clear on this, do you mean by that that a political settlement which would be negotiated by the various Vietnamese parties, including the present government, would not be acceptable?

THE PRESIDENT. No. That is another matter. When you were suggesting that the present Vietnamese parties, as they are represented in the legislative body of South Vietnam which has been elected by the people—if those parties should negotiate a settlement with other political parties, that is certainly something that is a decision by the people of South Vietnam.

Q. I was referring, sir, to the Government of South Vietnam as it is represented

in Paris and the other parties that are represented in Paris—settlement in that forum.

THE PRESIDENT. A settlement in that forum would seem to be highly improbable. And I think perhaps it serves no interest to speculate as to whether that would happen.

President Thieu has indicated that he in that forum would not agree to a coalition government.

TRADE LEGISLATION

[8.] Q. Mr. President, how do you view the trade bill that seems to be developing in the House Ways and Means Committee, and if it contains the provisions that apparently will be voted on, would you veto it, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I would certainly veto it, if it contains the provisions which I did not recommend. Speaking in general terms, first, quota legislation, mandatory quota legislation, is not in the interest of the United States. We're an exporting nation rather than importing nation. It would mean in the end, while it would save some jobs, it would cost us more jobs in the exports that would be denied us, the export markets that would be denied us. And, second, even more important, it is highly inflationary, as anybody who has studied tariffs and quotas through the years is well aware.

Consequently, I have always opposed quota legislation as a general proposition.

In the case of textiles, for 16 months we have been attempting to negotiate a voluntary quota agreement with Japan without success, and also with other nations. In view of that lack of success, and in view of the enormous importance of the textile industry to this country, the fact that one out of eight workers in manufacturing is in textiles, we feel that for the Congress to pass a limited bill dealing with textiles only and providing that mandatory quotas will come into effect and will remain in effect only if voluntary quotas are not negotiated, we believe that that approach is acceptable.

But if the bill goes beyond that, if it provides, for example—includes other items, I would not be able to sign the bill because that would set off a trade war which would have all the repercussions that I have tried to describe earlier.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON VIETNAM

[9.] Q. Mr. President, are we in the situation—getting back to the Vietnam situation—where the South Vietnamese Government has in effect vetoed certain advances that we would like to make, new initiatives in the Paris talks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not at all. The South Vietnamese Government has been very cooperative. They have agreed to free elections. They have agreed to accept the mandate of free elections, something which the Government of North Vietnam, of course, has never agreed to in North Vietnam. They have agreed to discuss and negotiate cease-fires on a national basis. And as far as this talk about coalition government is concerned, I want to be quite categorical. I have always said that in South Vietnam we will negotiate without conditions except with regard to one condition: and that is the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their future.

Imposing a coalition government upon them, one which they had not chosen themselves, would be in violation of that principle. That we will not accept. But

this is not a case of South Vietnam vetoing our initiatives.

Q. Mr. President, in following that up, does Mr. Thieu's statement that Communist candidates would not be allowed in the election, does that fit in with your belief that there should be a free election in South Vietnam to determine its future?

THE PRESIDENT. I have read his statements in context of the general proposals that he and his government have made, along with the proposals we have made in the Paris talks. And those proposals have indicated that all political parties in South Vietnam could participate in the political process. And I do not understand that President Thieu has departed from that proposition.

THE MIDEAST

[10.] Q. Mr. President, could we move to the Mideast for a moment?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure. I don't want to go. [*Laughter*]

Q. Can you at all, sir, clarify for us how your various approaches to the problem, both to the area itself and Soviet interests in the area, are proceeding?

THE PRESIDENT. I would be glad to discuss it. I don't, however, count this as a clarification. I think my position is quite clear.

First, I have always said, as I said on July 1, that our interest is peace in the area and the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of every state in the area.

Second, I pointed out that to maintain peace in the area we felt that it was important to maintain a military balance of power so that no state in the area would be encouraged to launch an offensive against another state or be driven to launching a preemptive strike because of fear of an offensive or of a buildup.

Third, I have indicated that the Soviet movement not just of weapons but of men to Vietnam [*sic*] to man the weapons causes us concern because if that continues that could upset the balance of power. It has not yet been upset, as the Secretary of State has said, but we are watching it closely because if the balance of power is upset then that would have the effect of leading nations on both sides possibly to take action which would lead to another war.

I further pointed out that as far as the Soviet Union was concerned and the United States is concerned that we both wanted to avoid a confrontation, we want to avoid a confrontation every place in the world. We want to avoid it in Europe, we want to avoid it in Southeast Asia, and we want to avoid it in the Mideast. And that an arms escalation, and particularly the insertion of troops, men, into the Mideast increases the risks of a confrontation, a confrontation that neither side wants. That is why we are putting such emphasis on our peace initiative. That is why we have not announced any sale of planes or delivery of planes to Israel at this time, because we want to give that peace initiative every chance to succeed.

Now, one other point that I think is worth, shall we say—I will accept the word "clarifying" in this respect—I know that there was some concern expressed about the use of the word "expelled" in one of the backgrounders that was given. I read the backgrounder and I support exactly what was said because what we meant to say there was simply this: that in any peace settlement, once a peace settlement is made then there will be no need for the forces of other nations to be in

these countries. The use of the word "expelled" was not with the idea of using armed force for that purpose but to negotiate any peaceful settlement, the removal of these forces which if they remain there we believe might increase the chance of a confrontation.

I suppose that needs to be clarified again.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION POLICY

[11.] Q. Mr. President, are you concerned about southern reaction to the administration's school desegregation policy, particularly Senator Thurmond's speech the other day?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not surprised at the reaction, but I believe that as thoughtful people of the South consider not only what we have done in the past but what we do in the future they will recognize that we finally have in this country what the South has wanted and what the South deserves, a one-nation policy—not a southern strategy and not a northern strategy, but a one-nation strategy.

As far as the South is concerned, we are—the statement that Senator Thurmond made partially objected to an action we have not taken and have no intention of taking, and that is of sending vigilante squads, in effect, of the Justice Department lawyers in to coerce the southern school districts to integrate. We have not done that; we are not going to do that.

Our approach is one of recognizing this terribly difficult problem of cooperating with the educational leaders and other leaders in the South in bringing them into compliance with the law of the land as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court. Our policy, in other words, is cooperation rather than coercion.

Now I would say finally that I know that some people in the South would prefer a policy that was perhaps not as even-handed as this, but I believe this is the right policy insofar as carrying out the constitutional mandates are concerned. I think it also is the fair policy. I think in the long run, too, it is in the interest of the South, because when we look at this difficult school problem there cannot be instant integration, but segregation must be ended. That is the law of the land and it is necessary for us to go forward and to end it with a transition period which will be as least difficult as possible.

That is what we are trying to work out. That is one of the reasons why we are trying to, as you know, obtain $1½ billion out of the budget for this year and next year to cushion that transition period from segregated to nonsegregated education.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA

[12.] Q. Mr. President, is there any movement in our relations with Mainland China?

THE PRESIDENT. No. As you know, there was slight movement before in the meetings we had in Warsaw. We are still hopeful that those meetings will be resumed.

But I have nothing to report on any movement toward resuming them at this point, although we think there is a chance they may be moving.

TROOP WITHDRAWALS

[13.] Q. Mr. President, you said that the Cambodian operation has smoothed

the way or helped the course of the Vietnamization. Do you think you will be able to increase the increment of 50,000 troop withdrawal that you have announced between now and October 15?

THE PRESIDENT. I have nothing to say on that at this time. We are going to examine this situation as time goes on based on—I know you get tired of hearing this—the three criteria of progress in Paris, if any, and the level of enemy activity, and the progress in the training of South Vietnamese.

At the present time, however, our plans are to go forward with our 150,000 withdrawal to be completed during the spring of next year. In the event that there is progress on any of these three fronts which will justify our moving faster, you can be sure that we will move faster.

Incidentally, one factor that is encouraging in this general area was the fact that I was looking at this morning: In the 3 weeks since the Cambodian action was completed on July 1, American casualties were the lowest of any 3-week period in the last 4 years.

That still is too many. One is too many. But the fact that we have come that far is some accomplishment.

"ISOLATION" OF THE PRESIDENT

[14.] Q. Do you have any concern, Mr. President, that your staff might have you isolated, as has been charged in some news columns?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I isolate them. No; as a matter of fact, I not only see my staff, but I see a great number of people who come in representing all points of view.

As a matter of fact, we have been checking on that since the suggestion was made that I was isolated. And some members of my staff believe that perhaps I have been having too heavy a schedule in that respect. However, I intend to continue as heavy a schedule as I can, talking to all people representing various points of view.

I am generally, incidentally, a very good listener, except in a press conference.

CAMPUS UNREST

[15.] Q. Mr. President, last Friday, I believe, you had a report from Dr. Heard on the problems of campus unrest and your Commission, headed by Governor Scranton, has been studying this problem. There have been some indications that they think that the administration itself ought to do something to still the problems on the campuses.

What is your feeling about what you may be able to do before the schools open in the fall to help alleviate this problem?

THE PRESIDENT. I would rather wait until Dr. Heard has an opportunity to make his conclusions public, which I asked him to do after we met—and I understand he will make those conclusions public sometime this week—and until after the Scranton Commission makes some recommendations.

I noted that the Scranton Commission hearings had been interpreted by some as indicating that the evidence was mounting to a conclusion that one way to bring peace on campus was to end the war in Vietnam.

Well, that of course would not be news. I am not sure if it would bring peace to the campus. But I would have to respond to that in this way: I want peace on the campus, but my major obligation is to adopt policies that I consider will bring

peace to the world.

And for that reason I have to reject the easy and sometimes tempting road of a quick and easy solution of ending the war in Vietnam, because I want to end it in a way that we can have a better chance for a lasting peace and not in a way that will encourage the forces of aggression in Southeast Asia and other parts of the world.

LAOS

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there has been speculation recently that American forces or South Vietnamese forces are planning a Cambodian-type operation into Laos. I know that you can't talk about future operations in this sort of thing, but can you tell us if our policy precludes American troops launching a Cambodian-style operation into Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I answered that question when I issued my rather long Laotian statement, you will recall, earlier this spring.

Our actions in Laos will be directed toward interdicting the flow of enemy supplies down the Ho Chi Minh Trail. That is the occupied part of southern Laos. We will use air power for that purpose.

We have no intention of using ground forces for the purpose of interdicting the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN

[17.] Q. Mr. President, how do you now assess the prospects of your family assistance plan getting through the Senate?

THE PRESIDENT. I would probably know more about that after I see what happened at a meeting with some of the Senators today. I put the chances as fair. I expect to meet with our legislative leaders in the morning and may have more to report on that later.

THE PRESIDENT'S TRAVEL PLANS

[18.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any travel plans for this year? A year ago at this time you were greeting the Apollo astronauts in the mid-Pacific. I wondered if you had any plans to do any traveling between now and January 1.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't figured out anything that would top that.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE ECONOMY

[19.] Q. Mr. President, you stated earlier that you expect full employment to be reached during fiscal '72.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I'm not saying it won't be reached before 1972.

Q. How high do you think unemployment may rise in the interim and in general how strong do you think the recovery of the economy may be this year?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't and should not speculate on that point. We are at really the watershed of economic policy now. That is why I issued the rather strong statement to Congress with regard to appropriations and spending.

I am a political man. I know how popular it is to be for big spending programs in an election year. But I also know that big spenders are only popular as long as they are picking up the check—when some-

body else picks up the check they become very unpopular—and when the American people learn that the big spenders in Congress are primarily responsible for higher prices, and eventually even higher taxes, I think that the American people will turn on the big spenders politically.

Let me put that into context with the question of employment. We are at a situation now where we finally see as we look at the wholesale price index and at the deflator figures that came out, which of course were the broader price index figures a few days ago, that the inflation has cooled.

I believe, and all of the economic experts tell me that I can predict this, that that leveling of the rise in wholesale prices will be reflected as the year goes on in a downturn of the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index. However, at the same time as we do that, we find that the economy as it has cooled has inevitably had some upturn in unemployment and also this upturn has been greater than would usually be the case in moving from an inflation to an economy with price stability or relative price stability.

This situation has been aggravated by the fact that we have been moving from a wartime to a peacetime economy. As I have pointed out, 700,000 men out of the armed services and defense plants had added to the unemployment roles.

We think this is a cost worth paying, however. We want, however, to cushion that transition as much as we can.

Looking on through the summer, I think I could probably better, with more precision, speak of the last half of the year. The economic experts, with whom I have been meeting quite regularly here, indicate that the last half of the year will definitely see the economy turning up. And as all of you have noted, there have been some indications both in the indicators, not all of the indicators, but a majority of those that people watch, and also among the economic analysts, that the downturn has bottomed out and that the last half of the year will see an increase in productivity and an upturn in the economy.

EDUCATION APPROPRIATION BILL

[20.] Q. Mr. President, will you veto the education appropriation bill if it comes to you in its present form?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a terribly tough decision because the amount was so large, as you know. This one, however, while the amount is lower, the amount over the budget still is a matter of great concern. This bill, as it will come to me, will be over $400 million in excess of the budget recommendation that I made and I have not yet determined whether I can veto it or not, but I do know this: that that $400 million in excess of the budget request is an unacceptable amount and that we have to find that $400 million someplace else if I don't veto the bill, and I am trying to presently examine that possibility.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: Reporters were called to the President's office at the White House for his unscheduled news conference at 4:13 p.m., Monday, July 20, 1970. It was not broadcast on radio or television.

228 Statement About the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act. *July* 21, 1970

YESTERDAY, I signed S. 1519, creating a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. In signing this bill, I would like to express my hopes for the Commission and express certain reservations.

Libraries and information centers are among our most precious national resources. Americans from all walks of life look to these institutions when they wish to expand their knowledge and wisdom beyond their own life experiences. They look to them also for help and enrichment in more immediate concerns, from high school dropouts finding their own way back into learning to nuclear chemists retrieving sophisticated scientific materials from a computerized data bank.

As a nation, we ask much of libraries and of information centers. To help them come closer to the goal of making knowledge available in a timely way to all who seek it, the Federal Government has established various libraries and information centers and has developed programs to assist them in serving their clientele.

The National Commission, created by the bill before me, will be asked to provide an overview of our needs in this area and to advise on what steps we can take to ensure that we are meeting them. The Commission will be empowered to study the effectiveness of existing programs, and to develop plans to coordinate the diversity of library and information activities of all kinds and at all levels.

These are important tasks. I look to the Commission to tell us much about the state of our library resources and to encourage us to develop and use them more wisely than we have in the past. For example, our program of Federal assistance to the States for library services and construction, as presently constituted, imposes needless administrative burdens on the participating States and impedes their freedom in meeting their most pressing library needs. We have already proposed steps to overcome these inefficiencies by sending to the Congress a legislative proposal, the Library Services and Construction Amendments of 1970,[1] which would consolidate several narrow categorical library programs into a single, streamlined State plan program. We have also suggested the simplification and improvement of the program of college library assistance and library training and research under title II of the Higher Education Act of 1965. I take this opportunity to urge prompt enactment of these important reforms.

I am hopeful that the new National Commission will help us to confront these and other problems in this vital field.

However, I do want to note my reservations about the Commission's design. S. 1519 provides that the Commission be a wholly separate agency within the executive branch. It will also be authorized to accept an unlimited amount of gifts and bequests for its work. I would have preferred that the Commission be

[1] Enacted on December 30, 1970 (Public Law 91-600, 84 Stat. 1660).

placed within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, where the major Federal library assistance programs are administered. In this way, its advice and recommendations would be more closely and productively related to the manner in which these programs are carried out and their funds spent.

I have on occasion recommended or endorsed the creation of new agencies when I believed the need was great and the objectives could best be achieved by that means. In principle, however, I firmly believe that we should avoid the proliferation of executive branch agencies. Each new governmental unit adds to our problems of supervision, management, and coordination which are already staggering. And, quite often, the establishment of a small new separate agency does a disservice to the achievement of its objectives since its activities can easily be lost in the vast machinery of government. Indeed, several such proposals are now before the Congress. As Chief Executive, I believe that this trend can have serious organization and management consequences and I intend to oppose it.

Two of these proposals are the Council of Health Advisers and the Council of Social Advisers which would be created by statute within the Executive Office of the President. Such a step would proliferate problems of organizing the Executive Office and would duplicate the purposes for which the Domestic Council and the Office of Management and Budget were created a few short weeks ago. These staff agencies will provide an opportunity for the President to receive the coordinated and best advice of the Federal establishment on not only health and social matters but on other issues of importance to our national well-being.

I would also have preferred that there be a limitation on the amount of gifts and bequests annually receivable by the Commission established by S. 1519 to counter the possibility that the Commission's work could be distorted if it came to depend too heavily on any particular interest group for funds. Because the public funds available to the Commission may be quite limited, I view the possibility of such dependence as a danger against which I will guard in carrying out my responsibilities under the new law. I know that the distinguished Librarian of Congress [L. Quincy Mumford], who is a statutory member of the Commission, will be sensitive to this problem and will help guide the Commission in avoiding needless duplication of effort and in closely coordinating its activities with other library programs of the Federal Government. I intend to appoint to the Commission distinguished citizens who will be equally sensitive to these matters.

Despite my reservations about this bill, I look forward to the contributions of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science. That body is to seek the improvement of America's knowledge of knowledge, its libraries and information centers. This task is a crucial one, for the continuing health and enrichment of our Nation. With this knowledge, I have signed S. 1519.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1519 is Public Law 91-345 (84 Stat. 440), approved July 20, 1970.

229 Remarks to Delegates of the 25th Annual Boys Nation Convention. *July* 22, 1970

Commander Patrick, all of the delegates to the Boys Nation Convention, and the newly elected president and vice president of Boys Nation:

I am very honored to welcome you here to the White House, to congratulate you for having been elected at your various State conventions, and to also invite you, after my brief remarks, to visit the Cabinet Room and then my office as well.

Before that, however, I would like to say a word about the election that you have held. I understand that anyone in this group could have been a candidate for president or vice president, probably several of you were. And these are the two that happened to come through.

In congratulating the winners, I'd like to say just a word about those who have lost. I have been in both positions, so I know how you feel. I think that the important item to remember is that you learn many things from an organization like Boys Nation. You learn about our Government. You are being briefed, as any group of our older people would be briefed, on defense matters and State Department matters and matters involving domestic policy in this country.

But also you learn something in Boys Nation which is even more important and more lasting than the current Government problems. You learn about life in the real sense. You learn about winning and you also learn about losing. And you learn that what really matters is coming back, if you happen to lose, and to continue to fight because that is the process.

That brings me to this whole matter of process. I am sure most of you have noted, because you come from all of the States of the Union and you are having an opportunity and have had an opportunity to see some of the argument that goes on in the country today, in our colleges and our universities and in our high schools about the American political system. And there are those who say that the system doesn't work, that the system is wrong, that the system ought to be abolished.

I would like to put that in perspective. There are a lot of things wrong about this country, but let's never forget that there are also a lot of things right about America, and let's speak about those things as we think about what is wrong.

Let us remember that the greatness of America is that for 190 years we have had a process by which, through peaceful means, we can change those things that are wrong and those things that we don't like and we can make them right. And that's what, of course, the system is about.

Now, sometimes when you have an election and there are winners like those that are elected president and vice president, and losers like the rest of you who may have run, those who lose would throw up their hands and say, "The system is no good because I lost." That isn't true. That doesn't prove the system isn't any good. That only proves something about that particular contest: you lost, the other fellow won.

But another contest will come. Next time you might win, he might lose. The system isn't what is wrong. What is wrong is simply that in that particular contest, by reason of the votes that were counted, what you stood for didn't prevail; and so it is in this country.

We all have different ideas about what is the best solution to our problems abroad and at home. We have a chance to fight for those ideas, to argue for them, to debate them, to vote for candidates that stand for our points of view.

Sometimes we win and sometimes we lose. When we lose and our candidate may not win, or our program may not win, then the thing to do is not to throw up our hands and say, "The system is wrong because I lost and we will destroy the system." The thing to do is to continue fighting for what you believe in because there will be another chance, and when that next chance comes around what you try to do is to win and make your point of view prevail.

What I am really saying today is this: You and your colleagues, young Americans all over this country—you're the future of America and, also, in a very real sense you may well be the future of peace and freedom in the world. Your commander has spoken eloquently on that point—your commander, my commander. As a matter of fact, I became a member of the American Legion 25 years ago, the very year that Boys Nation was founded.

So, I feel very close to this organization and very close to those of you who are members of the organization. I simply want to say that as we look at our young generation today, I can realize the terrible disappointment and frustration that particularly young people have when they see the ideals that they believe in not being accepted and then there is an understandable tendency when what you want, the man you want, or the program you want doesn't win, to say, "Well, what is wrong is that the system is wrong." And so you throw your hands up and you either bug out of the system or you attempt to overturn it through even nonpeaceful means.

But that isn't the way. We have always had, throughout our Nation's history, times when men who were highly idealistic lost battles. But after losing them, they continued to fight, and years later they came back to win them.

I simply want to say that Boys Nation is an organization which proves that this system does work. You have learned about it. I want you to believe in the American system, believe in it not because you are always going to win with your man or your program, but believe in it because win or lose, you know that there is a process, a great, free, democratic process, where if you happen to lose you can come back and fight again and eventually, perhaps, prevail.

If you have that chance and then don't win, then of course, all of us, as good Americans, accept the result—accept the result recognizing that we have had the chance. That is what self-government is about.

We sort of take it for granted here in this country, many of us. But having traveled to over 60 countries in the world, let me say that you really don't realize what a great and good country this is until you have been to some countries in which those who lose battles never have a chance to fight again.

The glory of America is that you can win and be elected or you can lose and then come back and be elected next time. I know, and I hope all of you know this, too.

Incidentally, I thought I would like to meet each of you. I am going over to my other office in the Executive Office Building for a meeting and I thought that that would give each of you an opportunity to go into the Cabinet Room to look at all

of those Cabinet chairs and pick out the one you want to be sitting in about 10 years or 15 years from now. And then also, after that I am leaving the formal office of the President, the famous Oval Office, open so that you can go in there because I figure one of you probably plans to sit there in the next 25 years or so and I wanted you to see the office before you got there.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House to 100 delegates of Boys Nation, an organization sponsored by the American Legion.

J. Milton Patrick was the national commander of the American Legion.

230 Remarks of Welcome to President Urho Kekkonen of the Republic of Finland. *July* 23, 1970

Mr. President:

I am honored to welcome you again to the United States and to welcome you to this house.

We in the United States have a very great respect for your country and for your people. We know your people because of the great contribution that has been made by Americans of Finnish descent to the United States.

We know your country, too, from its history and particularly from its participation in world affairs today. We respect you and your country as a strong country and a strong people. We respect your country as a progressive country.

We find, for example, as we study the problems of the environment in our country that some of the greatest progress in this field has been made in your nation, and we are learning from you in this area.

We respect you in the field of foreign policy, a policy of independence and a policy of neutrality, but not the neutrality that refuses to participate in peacekeeping missions but a neutrality that plays a part in international organizations, as indicated by the fact that you serve on the Security Council of the United Nations today.

In this connection we express appreciation to you and your people for being the host to the historic conference on limitation of strategic arms in Helsinki. We trust that this conference may lead to an historic agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union which could contribute to the cause of peace for generations to come.

Finally, you who have visited this country and have been received in this house on several occasions before, we welcome you personally and very warmly as one of the world's most respected elected leaders.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Urho Kekkonen received a formal welcome with full military honors.

President Kekkonen responded as follows:

Mr. President:

I wish to thank you for your friendly words and to extend to you, to the people of the United States, the warm greetings of the Finnish people.

Our two peoples are bound together with lasting ties of friendship. There are no problems between us. I hope that my visit to this country will further strengthen our relations and contribute to mutual understanding between our nations.

I am also looking forward to discussing with you, Mr. President, current issues of international life. As a neutral nation, Finland refrains from taking sides in the controversies

between the great powers. We Finns are used to relying on our own efforts to safeguard our freedom and security. Accordingly, we do not seek aid or assistance from any side. Nor do we, on our part, wish to offer advice to others on how to conduct their affairs.

But neutrality does not mean passive withdrawal from international life. On the contrary, our policy makes it possible for us to cooperate without prejudice with all countries in the interest of promoting a peaceful world order. It is in this spirit, Mr. President, that I approach our talks.

Let me add that I look forward with keen interest and pleasure to this opportunity of getting to know you personally and to renew my contacts with the American people for whom we in Finland have the greatest respect and affection.

231 Toasts of the President and President Kekkonen of the Republic of Finland. *July* 23, 1970

Mr. President and our guests tonight:

We are very honored to have in this house again one of the world's most distinguished leaders. I shall have more to say about him in a moment, but as I speak of him tonight, I am, as all of us will be, particularly impressed by the fact that of all of the elected leaders of the world, he has been in office longer, where there was party opposition, than any elected leader in the world.

Since there are many from the Senate and the House who respect political ability, we respect you, Mr. President. I asked the President before dinner if he had ever lost an election. He had to think a long time. He said, "The first one; but never after that." I wasn't quite so fortunate.

Mr. President, as you had noted as the receiving line came through tonight, everybody in this room either has been to Finland or had a very deep affection for your country and your people. I am one of those fortunate ones who had the opportunity to know the Finnish people, not only in America where we have such a great contribution to our society from those of Finnish background, but in Finland where I had the opportunity to visit in 1965 with Mr. John Shaheen, one of our guests tonight.

I shall always remember that visit. I shall remember it for many reasons. When you think of a country you think of it in the history books or the geography books or the news stories. Then when you go there you find the country as it really is and sometimes the reality is different from the history books and the news stories and the pictures.

I would urge all of you who have not been to Finland to go, to see it, to know it, and particularly to know the beauty of the country; the land, not just of 10,000 lakes, as Congressman MacGregor pointed out tonight, as Minnesota, but one of 60,000 lakes—60,000 with names—not just the "Land of Blue Lakes and of White Snow," but also a land of a very strong people with very great progressive ideas with regard to the development of their country.

I spoke to that point this morning. I will not elaborate on it now. I would like, however, to say that tonight we honor this country and we pay our respects to it as a nation, as the President pointed out, which is neutral and independent, but neutral and independent not in a negative way but a positive way, positive in

working always for the cause of peace in the world and in reducing tensions between great and small powers. And it seems to me particularly appropriate that we honor tonight this nation and this man because they have been hosts to the conference at Helsinki,[1] the conference that may well have begun the process which could lead to the most significant agreement since the end of World War II in reducing tensions in the world between great powers.

In speaking of our Finnish friends tonight, I would like to say that they are a special kind of friend. I mean by that that they can be our friends, and are our friends, without having to be the enemy of anybody else. It is because we have a special feeling of affection and friendship for the people of Finland and respect for its government and for its leaders, that we are so happy to have the President here tonight and the members of his party.

Now, a word about him: The President is well known in this country because of his many visits here previously. He has been to the United States 16 times, and twice as an official state guest. He was also here in 1932 as a member of the Olympic team of Finland. I attended those Olympic games in 1932. I did not see him participate in the high jump. He was the Finnish champion in the high jump. But the day I was there I watched Lauri Lehtinen of Finland win the 5,000 meters by a yard over Ralph Hill of Oregon. The President recalls that day very well, too, because it was perhaps the most exciting race of all the Olympics of 1932 held in Los Angeles.

[1] Phase I of the strategic arms limitation talks between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Now that leads me to another point. When we think of Finland we think of great athletes, of skiers and snow and Olympic games. We think of the scenery and the rest. But tonight we honor and respect this country because, although it is a small country, its leaders have played a very large role in the world in participating in international organizations, in serving the cause of peace and friendship in the world.

So, tonight I know all of you will want to join me in raising your glasses—raising your glasses to a small country but to a very big man, the President of Finland.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:59 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

President Kekkonen responded as follows:

Mr. President:

I am pleased to have this opportunity to thank you for the warm and friendly welcome I have received here today. I know that it is an expression of the friendship and mutual understanding that so happily exist between our two countries. Let me assure you, Mr. President, that we in Finland highly value the friendship of the American people, and we shall do our part in maintaining it in the future.

As I said on my arrival in Washington this morning, there are no unsolved problems, no disputes, between Finland and the United States. I have not come here to seek aid or assistance. Nor have I come to offer advice. Yet the talks we have had today have been of utmost interest and importance for Finland. They have enabled me to gain a better understanding of the policies of the United States, and they have given me the opportunity to put forward our views and aspirations with regard to international relations. Only a few days ago I had similar talks in Moscow. For a nation in Finland's position, the actions of the United States and the Soviet Union, and the relations between them, have a decisive influence. I hope that my two visits will help us in our efforts to safeguard the freedom and security and the prosperity of the Finnish nation.

As a neutral country, Finland seeks security,

not through military alliances or the protection of one group of powers against another, but through a foreign policy designed to keep us outside of any possible conflict. Such a policy does not mean a withdrawal from international life. On the contrary, Finland has a vital national interest in working actively, together with other nations, for the containment of international conflicts and the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations.

We realize that in today's world the security of Finland cannot be divorced from international security as a whole. It is natural, therefore, that we must view with great concern any event or action that endangers international security and thus, ultimately, ourselves.

Accordingly, it is in our own interest that we must oppose the use or threat of force in international relations, wherever it occurs, and deplore any attempt to gain political ends by military means.

Accordingly, too, Finland as a member of the United Nations has been and continues to be prepared to do her share in the maintenance of international peace and security. We have contributed men and money to every peacekeeping operation undertaken by the United Nations, and we have sought by other means as well to promote the universal collective security system provided for by the United Nations Charter.

What I have said explains our interest in the discussions of European security that have taken place in recent times. Our continent remains the scene of the deadliest concentration of modern weapons of mass destruction ever known in history. Yet it seems to me that the guns of Europe are pointed at ghosts from the past, and that the European nations are divided by problems that in fact have ceased to be problems. We, therefore, welcome every constructive effort to replace mutual fear and suspicion with trust and cooperation between all.

One means to this end that has been proposed could be the holding of a conference on European security with the participation of all the states involved, including, of course, the United States. We in Finland believe that this is a useful idea, and we have offered to act as host for such a conference, if it is decided that it should be convened. We believe Finland would be well qualified for such a role, for we have friendly relations with all the governments concerned and maintain a neutral position on the principal issues dividing Europe, notably the German question.

I know that no single conference can solve the many complicated problems that affect European security today. I personally do believe, however, that it is vitally important to make a fresh start that would liberate the peoples of Europe from the fear of war and give them confidence in a peaceful future. Only in such an atmosphere could every European nation truly develop its own national identity. The convening of a conference on European security could well contribute to creating such an atmosphere.

In offering these thoughts, Mr. President, I am speaking for a European nation that desires nothing but the possibility of living in peace and security and cultivating friendly relations with all nations both near and far. I am convinced that these aspirations of the Finnish people meet with understanding and sympathy on the part of the United States, and my visit here today has confirmed me in this conviction.

I am most grateful to you, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, for your generous hospitality and for this opportunity to meet so many distinguished Americans. It gives me great pleasure to propose a toast in honor of the President of the United States and Mrs. Nixon.

232 Remarks on Signing the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970. *July* 24, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are here for the signing of the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970.

As the Members of the House and Senate, a bipartisan group, can tell you, this is the most significant housing legislation to be enacted by this Congress. It is enormously important to the home-

building industry. That is why we have invited not only representatives of the industry here today, but also representatives of the construction trades, because this is an area where the Nation needs more housing, where our goals, as Secretary Romney has often pointed out, are far greater than our present supply; and, secondly, where we need the impetus this time in the financial market which will get homebuilding moving up.

We have been very encouraged in the last couple of months as far as housing starts are concerned, but it is still not at the level it should be.

This will provide some needed financial impetus, $250 million in actual money in this particular area which can have a multiplier effect of several billions of dollars in homebuilding.

For this reason, I am delighted to have the opportunity to sign this bill and in the presence of, I think, the largest group I have had for a bill signing ceremony since I have been here. Incidentally, this shows what national support there is for this legislation, support by both parties in the House and the Senate. We could not have done it without bipartisan support and support by both industry and by labor. We could not have done it without both their support.

Now, we are all going to work together to get the housing built.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. As enacted, the bill (S. 3685) is Public Law 91-351 (84 Stat. 450).

On the same day, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing on the act by George W. Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Preston Martin, Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

233 Statement on Signing the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970. *July* 24, 1970

THE EMERGENCY Home Finance Act of 1970 provides an important legislative step in our efforts to alleviate the Nation's critical housing shortage. All of those who supported this legislation and who worked so hard to bring about its enactment deserve the Nation's commendation. Senator Sparkman and Congressman Widnall deserve particular credit for their important role in this legislative accomplishment.

Title I of this bill authorizes a $250 million subsidy for the Federal home loan banks. I am encouraged to learn that action on the appropriations bill which would actually provide this funding is already nearing completion. This money will, in turn, add an additional $4 billion to the private housing market.

As I sign the Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970, I emphasize again how important it is that leaders in both the executive and the legislative branches of Government—and in both political parties—work together in a highly cooperative and highly imaginative manner in addressing the Nation's housing problems. Those problems are still severe. While housing starts have increased in the past few weeks, housing production is still substantially below desirable levels. We must improve this performance, not only to meet the growing demand for housing but also to make up the large housing deficit which has accumulated over the past 4

years, and to permit people to move from the many substandard housing units which are now in existence.

The Emergency Home Finance Act will help us advance toward all of these objectives. But there is still much work that needs to be done. The administration's Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 is still in committee. It has been before the Congress since March 19, 1970. I hope that it will soon be reported and enacted so that we can get on with this urgent work.

234 Remarks in the Civic Center, Fargo, North Dakota. *July* 24, 1970

I ALWAYS like to talk to young people and I think that young people here are really with it in terms of their understanding of national issues, their interest in them and the like.

Sometimes people who live in Washington, New York, other cities, they get out to the Midwest, particularly North Dakota and Wyoming, and they think that that is sort of the sticks. It is not true anymore. This is really one country.

This is a country where, by reason of the communication, television and the rest, there is a tremendous interest in all the national issues here, just like there is in other places.

Let me say, too, that it was very interesting to find, as I went through the crowd, and I thought very encouraging, that a number of people who had lived in places like Los Angeles, St. Louis, one from Connecticut, had moved to North Dakota. We hear about the out-migration. I am convinced now that our program, which we are going to discuss in here now, our program of reversing the migration flow, so that for what is called rural America—and, of course, Fargo is a big city but it is part of rural America—this process of reversing the migration flow really can work, because the attraction, of course, is quite obvious. You have jobs, you have clean air, you have opportunity, you have schools, you have more of an opportunity than you would have in a much larger city to control your own future.

I think that is one of the reasons people like it here. I have always liked it here because they have always been good to me.

I want to say this, Governor,[1] that I recall you as a young Republican. You have always been telling us how great this country was. You have been strong for your State, for this part of the country. And one of the reasons that I have developed this Rural Affairs Council, which, as you know, is something new in the Federal Government, and now bringing the Government of the United States, rather than just sitting there in Washington and waiting for people to come in—is bringing the Government to the country so that we can see what the country is like. You have to see it and feel it. You can read about it in a 150-page document, but there is nothing like talking with people, seeing people, seeing their faces, to know what their attitudes really are. That is something that we have been working for.

I think that leadership of men like yourself and the other Governors that we are

[1] Governor William L. Guy of North Dakota.

going to meet, can develop a new, progressive policy where this—what is called the great heartland of America, which has so much to offer in the way of a good life—can have the good jobs and the greater opportunity that will bring people from the overcrowded cities back to the country where they will have a better life.

That is our program. And I think your 150-page document probably deals with that.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:15 p.m.

235 Informal Exchange With Reporters in Fargo, North Dakota, Following a Meeting With Northern Plains States Governors. *July* 24, 1970

IT HAS BEEN very helpful for me to get the views of Governors from some of the less populated States. Usually the wheel that squeaks gets the grease.

The big States naturally have bigger representation in Congress and they have more representatives in Washington. The Governors of these States gave us an indication of their problems in a very direct and blunt way.

I think what happens when you come to the country is that, as I said to them, a meeting held in Fargo is one where people speak more freely where the President is present than they will speak in the Cabinet Room.

When somebody comes in the President's office or in the Cabinet Room they tend to be somewhat restrained. But when you get out here in the country, then you are on their ground. They spoke very directly about the programs, the proliferation of Federal programs, and the need for more attention to what is basically rural America so that we can stop this migration out of this part of the country.

* * * * *

Q. What is the main thing you got out of today's meetings?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, a number of things. One, the need to have a new approach to our Federal programs, which we are already working on, so that we could get away from all of the overlapping. They just have huge books indicating all the areas that they could apply for aid. And that is fine when you have got a huge staff in a big State. It is impossible for a smaller State.

Then beyond that, however, we went into the very important problem of the future growth of the United States. Should the United States continue to grow by piling more and more people into the big cities on both coasts and in the middle of the country, or should we reverse the migration flow or use policies, the policies that will reverse the migration flow, so that we could have more people living in what is called the heartland of the country, from which there has been a considerable amount of migration?

I think one of the things that particularly sticks in my mind is when one of the Governors reported that they had polled the students, the graduates of South Dakota University.

Eighty-five percent of the graduates had left South Dakota.

They polled them and asked them whether they would return to South Dakota if there were job opportunities here. And the indication was that well over 50 percent of them would return if there were job opportunities; therefore, the need for industry, the need for Federal attention to this part of the country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. in the Civic Center in Fargo, N. Dak.

On the same day, the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings: The first on the President's meeting with the Governors by Clifford M. Hardin, Secretary of Agriculture, John R. Price, Jr., Special Assistant to the President, and Charles Williams, Staff Director, and Dr. Irwin P. Halpern, National Goals Research Staff; the second by Governor Norbert T. Tiemann of Nebraska on the report of the National Governors' Conference Committee on Rural and Urban Development, which had been presented to the President at the meeting.

236 Remarks in Salt Lake City, Utah, During the Pioneer Day Celebration. *July* 24, 1970

President Smith, President Lee, President Tanner:

I wish to express to all of you who have welcomed us so warmly today on Pioneer Day our gratitude, and I want you to know that we always have found our visits to Salt Lake City to be extremely heartwarming. But of all the times we have come here we have never seen a crowd so big and one so friendly. Thank you very much.

I also want to express appreciation to you, too, today for a great institution that has played a part in this administration.

I remember when we came here in the campaign, in the Tabernacle. We heard the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, and when it played and sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" I turned to George Romney and said I had never heard it better.

So we had them at the Inauguration.

And since that time, too, I also want to express my appreciation to you for providing for the Cabinet two of the outstanding Americans of our time, two of the most selfless public servants I know—the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Kennedy, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, George Romney.

I have a meeting with the officials of the Church for a few moments, but before going in I would like to say one word about the spirit that created this great city and this State.

Pioneer Day means something to the people of Utah but it also means something to the people of America, because the pioneers who came here taught other pioneers who went on through the balance of the West. And it is that kind of spirit, the kind of spirit that sees a great problem but the greater the problem puts in great effort, the kind of spirit that doesn't blame adversity on somebody else but tries to do something about it himself.

That is what built this State; that is what built America.

Just a year ago, on July the 24th, in the middle of the Pacific, on an American aircraft carrier, I welcomed back from the moon three men who had been pioneers in landing on the moon. And as I think today, I can only say that the spirit that took those three men to the moon, the spirit that came here 124 years ago, that kind of spirit has built the great-

est country on the earth. And let me remind us all on this day, we in America know that we are not perfect. We in America know that we have problems.

But we also know that we are blessed with the greatest ability that the world has ever seen to solve those problems.

And all we need is the kind of spirit that built this State.

Thank you for giving America such a fine lesson. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. in the office building of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, and N. Eldon Tanner were three of the leaders of the Church.

The Pioneer Day celebration marked the anniversary of the day in 1847 when Brigham Young arrived in the Salt Lake Valley.

237 Statement on the Death of Representative Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio. *July* 27, 1970

THE DEATH of Representative Michael J. Kirwan is a loss to the Congress, to the Nation, and to me personally. I join his many other friends in sorrow at his passing, and in respect for his memory and for his long record of service to the Nation.

Mrs. Nixon joins me in expressing deep sympathy to Mrs. Kirwan and to the members of their family.

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press at San Clemente, Calif.

Representative Kirwan, 83, died at the Bethesda Naval Hospital of complications resulting from injuries incurred in 1969 when he fell and broke a vertebra.

238 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Dr. Thomas O. Paine as Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. *July* 28, 1970

Dear Tom:

I deeply regret that you will be leaving the government, but I accept your resignation as Administrator of NASA effective September 15, as you have requested.

You have earned the gratitude of every one of your fellow citizens many times over for the outstanding leadership you have given to the nation's space programs. Your contribution to man's knowledge of the Earth as well as the heavens has been major, and the course you have done so much to set will help guide our efforts for years to come. The respect and affection of the colleagues and associates you leave behind will accompany you wherever you go, and I hope you will always take pride in your splendid achievements in behalf of every American and, indeed, in behalf of all mankind.

You have earned a unique and permanent place of honor in the history of man's exploration. It has been a privilege to know you, and to work with you, and to share with you the sense of excitement, adventure and achievement that has marked this time of triumph in the nation's space program.

With warm personal regards,
Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Dr. Thomas Paine, Administrator of NASA]

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news conference by Dr. Paine on his resignation.

The President's letter was released at San Clemente, Calif., along with Dr. Paine's which read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Please accept my resignation as Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration effective 15 September 1970. Now is an appropriate time for a change of command at NASA, and this coincides with my wish to return to private life.

During my direction Americans orbited the moon and walked on its surface, achieving our boldest national goal on time and within budget. We have made the transition to the post-Apollo internationally oriented space program of the 1970's, and the Congress has approved the new direction and pace in the 1971 budget. We will shortly publish a prospectus for man's conquest of space through the year 2000 which charts a long-range plan for future progress.

The world can well be proud of the NASA team's incredible space achievements accomplished under four Presidents of the United States in twelve short years. Now the nation should press on boldly with the exploration of the universe as well as with the solution of man's problems here on the blue planet.

It has been a privilege and honor to have led the nation's space program through critical times under two Presidents. You have shown me every courtesy and consideration, as have your staff and the Congress. I am most grateful to you for having given me this unique opportunity to serve my country during mankind's first journey to another world.

Respectfully yours,

TOM PAINE

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500]

239 Remarks on Signing the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970. *July* 29, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am signing the District of Columbia crime control measure, and in signing this bill you will note that it is a very big bill in terms of number of pages, one of the longest, except for appropriations bills, that I have signed during my term of office.

It is an unprecedented measure, a very strong measure, but it deals with an unprecedented problem.

When we came into office, the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C., had one of the highest crime rates in the Nation year after year, and was fast becoming the crime capital of the world. We needed new legislation to deal with the problem. This legislation provides, we believe, the tools absolutely essential for us to stop the rise of crime in Washington and to reverse the trend.

We want to make Washington, D.C., an example of respect for law and of freedom from fear, rather than an example of lawlessness. And we believe that this legislation will help.

I should point out, however, that as I sign this bill, that this is again evidence of what I would say is the poorest batting average of the 91st Congress, the poorest batting average in terms of legislation that has been submitted and acted upon.

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I have submitted, over a year ago, 13 major measures in the field of law enforcement. Only one has reached my desk: the one that I have signed today. Still waiting for action are the bills that I have submitted—the measures to deal with organized crime, pornography, narcotics and dangerous drugs, and several others.

It is time for the Congress to have better than a 1 for 13 batting average.

This is an area that is not partisan. It is one where the problem is national, where people of both parties want action. I hope that this is only the beginning and that before this session ends that the 91st Congress will have a better batting average on this critical national issue than 1 out of 13.

When I go to Denver on Monday to meet with the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, a national meeting, I shall have more to say on this subject, and I hope to mobilize support there from law enforcement officials across the Nation, support for the passage by the Congress of the necessary laws at the Federal level so that we can reverse the tide and the rise of crime in this country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. in his office at the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, the bill (S. 2601) is Public Law 91-358 (84 Stat. 473).

On August 18, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by District of Columbia Mayor Walter E. Washington and Gilbert Hahn, Jr., Chairman, District of Columbia Council, on improving the District of Columbia criminal justice system.

240 The President's News Conference of *July* 30, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, we are having trouble with the audio in the room. I hope that all of you, when you ask your questions, will ask them quite loudly. I understand, however, that our television audience has no problem because a shotgun mike will pick them up. For the benefit of your colleagues, ask your questions a little more loudly.

This press conference is one that is being held for the first time, while I have been President, outside of Washington. We want to welcome all of the members of the California press who are here. We will follow the usual format of the White House press conference, with the first two questions going to the wire services, and then we will try to cover as many others as we can.

QUESTIONS

THE MIDEAST

[1.] Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, could you give us an update on the very fast moving developments in the Middle East; particularly, have we heard from Israel in response to your peace initiatives?

THE PRESIDENT. We have not yet heard from Israel on our peace initiatives. As you know, we have heard from the Jordanians and the U.A.R., and the Israelis have been considering the matter in Cabinet sessions. We are hopeful that Israel will join the U.A.R. and Jordan on the peace initiative.

Some concern has been expressed by

Israeli Government officials that if they agree to a cease-fire, that they run the risk of having a military buildup occur during the cease-fire. We and others have attempted to assure them that that would not be the case. If there's a cease-fire, a natural proposition connected with that, a condition with that, is that there will be a military standstill during that period.

As far as Israel's position is concerned, I indicated on July 1 in a television broadcast with network commentators from Los Angeles, the position of this Government insofar as Israel's security is concerned, and our commitment to maintaining the balance of power in the Mideast. Seventy-one Senators have endorsed that proposition in a letter to me which I received today.

In view of that position, which was stated then and which I will not go into now, I believe that Israel can agree to the cease-fire and can agree to negotiations without fear that by her negotiations her position may be compromised or jeopardized in that period.

PRICE TRENDS

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the wholesale price index registered in July its greatest gain in 6 months.[1] Can you tell us when you expect prices to go down?

THE PRESIDENT. What I am more interested in is, of course, not just what happens in 1 month, but what happens over the 6-month period. And what we are encouraged by is the fact that the trend in the 6-month period for wholesale prices was downward. The rise in the rate of increase is downward rather than upward. This three-tenths of a percent increase to which you refer has to be balanced against a zero increase in the month of May.

The zero increase in the month of May did not mean that the rise in wholesale prices had stopped, just as this does not mean that a rise in wholesale prices will escalate.

We believe, based on not only wholesale prices but other economic indicators, that the inflation is being cooled, that it will continue to be cooled if we can continue to have responsibility in the conduct of our budget problems in Washington, D.C., and that we are on the way, insofar as the other side of the coin is concerned, toward an economy moving upward in the last half of 1970.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Ambassador Bruce takes over on Saturday in Paris. Do you feel that conditions for a negotiated peace have improved or worsened since we invaded Cambodia?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe that the prospects for a negotiated peace should be better now than they were before the Cambodian operation. I do not say this because of any intelligence with regard to enemy activities or enemy attitudes. But I say it because, as a result of our Cambodian operation, the enemy position is weaker than it was before we went into Cambodia.

Their timetable has been set back. Time is no longer on their side. Now, whether they will be convinced by this that their best interest would be served by

[1] On July 29, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the wholesale price index by George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

negotiations rather than by attempting to win a military victory on the battlefield, that remains to be seen.

But we have sent a senior negotiator, Mr. Bruce, to Paris with wide latitude in negotiation, and we hope that they will reciprocate by negotiating in good faith and try to bring the war to an early conclusion, as it could be by negotiation rather than letting it draw to a conclusion through the longer path of Vietnamization which we are prepared to do also.

Q. Does President Thieu of South Vietnam hold any positions that would take away some of Ambassador Bruce's flexibility?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he does not. President Thieu's position with regard to negotiation is on all fours with ours. We have consulted with him and he with us before any negotiating positions have been presented. And also, you will note that Ambassador Bruce went to South Vietnam and met with President Thieu and with Ambassador Bunker to be sure that there was no disagreement on our negotiating position.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you concur with Attorney General Mitchell's recent prediction that by the fall school term most of the schools in the South will be desegregated; and also do you have an approximation of how many Federal representatives would have to be sent to achieve such a goal?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Attorney General has primary responsibility in this field and I think a prediction made by him must be given great weight. Whether that prediction turns out, of course, depends in great part on whether there is cooperation in the key Southern districts where the desegregation program is still behind schedule.

Now as far as the number of Federal officials that should be sent to the South, let me emphasize that that will be based on whether those Southern districts or States that have this problem of desegregation ask for the help of either Justice Department or HEW experts. We are not going to have a forced policy in this area. Our policy is one of cooperation, rather than coercion. And we believe that is the best way to handle this very difficult problem in the Southern States.

ARMS LIMITATION

[5.] Q. Mr. President, last Sunday the Russian naval commander engaged in a bit of saber rattling directed at us. And I recall that Admiral Hyman Rickover and General Thomas Power of SAC [Strategic Air Command] in the last year warned that we are falling behind in the armaments race and they warned of nuclear blackmail if the Russians get ahead. Now with that in mind, do you think we can afford to disarm at this point or what is your feeling in that regard?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have certainly no intention of disarming. What we are talking about in the SALT negotiations is not disarmament but a limitation of arms where we limit what we do and they limit what they do. And the very thing that you refer to makes it very important for us to pursue those negotiations, because the Soviet Union, since 1967, for example, when we stopped any deployment of land-based missiles, since that time, has deployed 724 ICBM's, either SS–9's or SS–13's.

Since that time when we launched

our last nuclear submarine with missile-carrying capabilities, the Soviet Union has deployed 13 more. And by 1975, assuming they continue their present building pace, they will catch up with us in nuclear submarines.

We can either continue this race in which they continue their offensive missiles and we go forward with our defensive missiles, or we can reach an agreement. That is why at this point we have hopes of attempting to find, either on a comprehensive basis, and lacking a comprehensive basis, a selective basis, the first steps toward which the superpowers will limit the development of, and particularly the deployment of more instruments of destruction when both have enough to destroy each other many times over.

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

[6.] Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, you said that we are in accord with President Thieu on peace initiatives. Does that mean that we agree with him that no candidate who would support a coalition government and no Communist could run in elections that would try to settle the war?

THE PRESIDENT. Miss Thomas, the position of President Thieu there with regard to a Communist not being on the ballot is purely a matter of semantics. Under the South Vietnamese Constitution, a Communist cannot run for office.

On the other hand, President Thieu has specifically agreed that those who are members of the NLF [National Liberation Front], who, of course, represent the Communists in South Vietnam, could run as members of the NLF on the ballot.

Now, as far as President Thieu's attitude on coalition government is concerned, it is the same as ours. A coalition government should not be imposed upon the people of South Vietnam without their consent. If the people of South Vietnam, by election, elect people who then choose to form a coalition government, that is a matter, of course, that we will accept.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

[7.] Q. To pursue the question of our military preparedness a bit further, twice within the past week statements have been made by high ranking naval officers, Admiral Rickover and Admiral U. S. Grant Sharp, to the effect that our military preparedness is suspect. And they went further. Each gentleman said that in his opinion it is doubtful that we could win a war with the Soviet Union. Given the eminence of these gentlemen, as Commander in Chief, how do you regard the validity of those statements?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would first react by saying that if there is a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, there will be no winners, there will be only losers. The Soviet Union knows this and we know that.

That is the reason why it is vitally important that in areas like the Mideast that we attempt to avoid to the greatest extent possible being dragged into a confrontation by smaller powers, even though our interests in the area are very, very great. That is why it is very much in our interests in the SALT talks to work out an arrangement if we can, one which will provide for the interests of both and yet not be in derogation of the necessity of our having sufficiency and their having sufficiency.

One other point I would make briefly is this: What the Soviet Union needs in terms of military preparedness is different from what we need. They are a land power primarily, with a great potential enemy on the east. We are primarily, of course, a sea power and our needs, therefore, are different. But what is important now is to find a way to stop this escalation of arms on both sides, and that is why we have hopes in the SALT talks which, I emphasize again, do not involve disarmament for the United States or the Soviet Union, but do involve a limitation and then eventually a mutual reduction.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any magical powers that you may invoke to help the people on the east coast breathe a little easier, or do you consider that Mayor Lindsay's problem?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Mayor Lindsay has enough problems without wishing that one on him. The problem on the east coast, of course, reminds all of us who are southern Californians that with all of the kidding we have been taking about our smog, it isn't limited to us.

I also would remind the people on the east coast and in California that it isn't limited to the United States. It's a problem in Tokyo, it's a problem in Rome, it's a problem in all of the great industrial areas of the world now.

There isn't any short-range answer. We can't get the kind of automobile engine which will be pollution-free in a year or 2 years or 3 years. But there are certain things that can be done now.

The Congress can pass the legislation which I submitted 6 months ago in the environmental message, which will provide for some action in this area. And, second, that we are going to pursue the problem of seeing that the automobile industries follow very strict standards that we have laid down with regard to automobile emissions. Third, of course, we are going to do everything we can with regard to Federal facilities to see that they adopt pollution-free policies. And we, of course, are urging all kinds of industrial activities to use the kind of fuels that would reduce the problem.

I would only say this, that it was perhaps fortunate in a way that the east coast saw this problem in such a massive manner. Now we realize that we don't have much time left and it is time for the Congress to get the environmental message and all of the recommendations that I have made in February—a very strong message and very strong measures—to get them on the front burner and act on them now, because this is an area where we cannot wait.

UNEMPLOYMENT

[9.] Q. Mr. President, with relation to your anti-inflation policy and unemployment, especially among blacks, some statistics last June: The unemployment rate was 4.7, and among blacks it was 8.7. Locally here in the Los Angeles area, there are no specifics since no agency will speak out, but a limited concentrated survey by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics last year in south, central, and east Los Angeles brought in 16.2 for blacks. Representative Augustus Hawkins just viewed the area and said that conditions there are worse than in 1965 prior

to the Watts riots and that a rebellion was possible but it would be economic and not racial.

My question now: Paul McCracken, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, about 2 weeks ago said the economy was bottoming out and there was an upturn coming, but that unemployment would continue with an anti-inflationary policy. The question is, will you continue your present anti-inflationary policy despite such warnings of rising unemployment rebellion?

THE PRESIDENT. Our present anti-inflationary policies, of course, have resulted in some cooling of the inflationary forces. And of course, one of the costs is that the economy slows down. There is another reason, however, for the slowdown in the economy which particularly affects this area, and that is the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy as a result of our bringing down the war in Vietnam, the activities there, and also of our change of priorities where for the first time in 20 years that we are spending more for domestic purposes, 41 percent of our national budget, than for military purposes which are now only 37 percent of our budget.

As a result of that, 800,000 people over the past year have left either Defense plants or the armed services and, of course, have added to the unemployment problem. That, however, we believe is a price worth paying because we believe that we should work toward prosperity without war, and we believe that we can have it.

Now, there is a difficult transition. The problem that you mentioned of blacks, the problem of all unemployed, does concern us. That is one of the reasons why we have urged the Congress to act more swiftly on our extension of unemployment insurance and the other measures which will cushion this transition period. Long-term, however, this economy is going to move up and the unemployment slack will be taken up.

PROBLEMS OF THE CAMPUS COMMUNITY

[10.] Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News].

Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to the Heard report's[2] contention that you had not been paying enough attention to the problems of minorities and students?

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Heard made a number of recommendations, of course, and also gave some conclusions in his report. I have read them and, of course, will consider them.

The problem of communicating with students and other groups is a perennial one. It existed in previous administrations; it exists in this one.

However, I would only say that in order to maintain balance we have to recognize that for university presidents and professors and other leaders to put the blame for the problems of the universities on the Government, primarily, I think is very shortsighted.

We are ending the war. We will bring

[2] Dr. Heard's report as Special Adviser on the Academic Community and the Young and a report by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education entitled "Federal Agencies and Black Colleges," June 1970 (Government Printing Office, 45 pp.) were discussed in a news briefing on July 23, 1970, by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, and Robert J. Brown, Special Assistant to the President. A transcript of the news briefing is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 978).

it to an end. We will bring the draft to an end and have a volunteer armed service. We are going to deal with the problems of the environment, we are going to clean up the air and the water. All of these things can be and will be done by Government.

We are reforming Government to make it more responsive to the people, more power to the people rather than more power in Washington, D.C.

But once all those things are done, still the emptiness and the shallowness, the superficiality that many college students find in college curriculums will still be there. And still when that is done, the problem that we have of dissent on campus not remaining a peaceful challenge, which is perfectly appropriate and defensible, but dissent becoming sometimes violent, sometimes illegal, sometimes shouting obscenities when visiting speakers come to campus, this is a problem that is not a problem for Government—we cannot solve it—it is a problem which college administrators and college faculties must face up to.

We share our part of the blame. I assume that responsibility. We'll try to do better, but they have to do better, also.

I would urge in that respect, incidentally, that a very interesting commentary on this by a young man who will probably be sitting in one of your chairs in a few years ahead, Mr. Douglas Hallett, who is the editorial chairman of the Yale Daily News, had a piece in one of the papers yesterday in which he said that the problem of conduct on the campus could not be brushed aside and simply blamed on what the Government was or was not doing, that faculty administrators and faculty presidents and faculty members had also to assume some responsibility. I think it is necessary to keep balance.

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the open hostilities in Korea ended 17 years ago this week. And a week ago Senator George Murphy said that he believed there are still American prisoners of war held from that conflict. Lt. Everett Alvarez will have been a prisoner 6 years next Wednesday. Did Ambassador Bruce get any special briefing about the hundreds of men held in North Vietnam?

THE PRESIDENT. The problem of those who are held prisoner in North Vietnam is one of enormous concern to us. It was discussed not only when Ambassador Bruce was in Vietnam, but also when he met with us in Washington, with Secretary Rogers, Dr. Kissinger, and others, and got his new instructions.

I can assure you that it will be very high on his agenda when he goes to Paris. I cannot promise and I would not want to hold out any false hope to those who are the dependents and those who are the wives and children of those who are prisoners, but we certainly are going to keep this very much high on the agenda and work toward a solution of it in any peace settlement, if we can get one.

FEARS OF REPRESSION

[12.] Q. Mr. President, your special commission on campus unrest, which my colleague Mr. Kaplow referred to earlier, also spoke about the reality of fears of repression among students, but especially among minority groups. Now, taking into consideration your signing into law this

week a new law which allows under some circumstances entrance into homes without knocking and so-called preventive detention, considering some of the things your Vice President has said, and considering some of the things that allegedly have happened to Black Panthers, what argument can you give to those, specifically now minority groups, that they should not fear Government repression?

THE PRESIDENT. They shouldn't fear Government repression because we intend no repression. We do not believe in repression. It is not a Government policy. You mentioned, for example, the D.C. crime bill. The people that are really repressed in Washington are the black citizens of Washington, D.C., who suffer from the highest crime rate year after year usually of any city in America or in the world. Those citizens need some protection.

The provisions of that crime bill, it is true, were unprecedented, but we were dealing with an unprecedented matter.

I want to take the necessary strong methods, and I agree that they are strong, to deal with those who are criminal elements so that the hundreds of thousands of people who are not violating the law can have freedom from fear.

As far as repression generally is concerned, I, of course, do not accept the proposition that the Vice President represses people. It seems to me that people are very free in speaking up about the Vice President. Many of them do to me.

THE PRESS

[13.] Q. Mr. President, do you see any improvement in the objectivity and fairness of the Nation's press in light of the statement by the Vice President about the press?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my reaction is that I recall once having comments about the press in California when I was here and that didn't seem to get me very far. All I can say now is I just wish I had as good a press as my wife has, and I would be satisfied.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS

[14.] Q. A few days ago some organizations, Mexican-American organizations, called on you for 55,000 jobs in the Federal Government. Have you anything to comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we have provided more opportunities for Mexican-Americans than any administration in history. It is of high priority for this administration. As you know, Mr. [Martin] Castillo from Los Angeles has been working with us in the White House on this proposition.

Second, we would welcome Mexican-Americans who are qualified, who are interested in Government positions.[3] We could welcome them in Government positions. We are looking for them. We are just trying to see that they are qualified and we hope they will have the qualifications.

CONGRESSIONAL SPENDING

[15.] Q. In your efforts to get Congress to hold down on spending, will you veto the education appropriations bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will be faced next week, I understand, with perhaps two or three hard decisions—the educa-

[3] A White House release dated November 5, 1970, initiating a program of assistance to Spanish-speaking people who wish Federal employment, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1544).

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tion bill and the HUD bill which was $600 million over my recommendation. The two total $1 billion over the recommendations that I have made.

I am not going to announce now the decision that I will make because I want to consult with the congressional leaders once again before making the decision and announcing it.

But I will say this: that it is necessary for the President to represent all of the people and to stand up against those very well intentioned Congressmen and Senators who vote for this appropriation or that one, appropriations and spending that would benefit some of the people but that would cost all of the people in higher taxes and higher prices.

I have to represent all of the people and that is why I am going to make some hard decisions, vetoing some popular measures if I believe that those measures would result in increasing prices or require an increase in taxes.

On that last front, we can avoid an increase in taxes and we can avoid an inflationary budget in 1972, but only if we get the cooperation of the Congress in these next 2 or 3 months. This is the critical time. If the Congress does not cooperate in holding down spending, it will be necessary then to look hard about where we are going to find the money and that means more taxes. But if the Congress cooperates we can avoid it.

VIETNAM POLICY

[16.] Q. How do you reconcile the position of the United States that we are not bent on a military victory in Indochina with the statement that was made yesterday by President Nguyen Van Thieu that he is looking for a military victory within the next 3 years, and also he says that he is against a coalition government in Vietnam whether that is imposed or negotiated. In other words, to what extent are we the independent authors of American foreign policy and to what extent are we subservient to President Thieu?

THE PRESIDENT. We are opposed to a coalition government negotiated or imposed. We are for a government which is consented to by the people of South Vietnam. And if that government happens to be one that has Communists in it, and it is their choice, we do not have objection and neither does President Thieu, as I understand it.

Now, as far as President Thieu is concerned, when he speaks of victory for his government and the people of South Vietnam, he is referring, of course, to what will happen in Vietnam over the long haul, assuming there is not a negotiated settlement.

As far as we are concerned, we have a program of Vietnamization. We are withdrawing our forces. Just as soon as the South Vietnamese are able to defend the country without our assistance, we will be gone.

But then if at that time the South Vietnamese still have not worked out a negotiated settlement with their enemy, then it is certainly up to the South Vietnamese to determine whether they are going to negotiate with the enemy or seek a victory, that would be President Thieu's decision.

BRINGING THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE

[17.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, this press conference in Los Angeles is sort of a climax to a series

of activities that you have described as bringing the Government to the people, such as your recent meetings in Louisville, Fargo, Salt Lake City, and your work at the Western White House at San Clemente.

What benefits do you see to you and to the country from such activities?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I hope there is benefit to the country. I believe there is benefit in bringing the White House to San Clemente or to Fargo or to Louisville.

I note, for example, some comments to the effect that I leave the White House too often. I think that all of my predecessors would agree with this statement: A President never leaves the White House. The White House always goes with him wherever he is. It must go with him, and it is with him wherever he is.

I think it is very important for the people of California, for example, to know the White House, to participate, for example, like this in a Presidential press conference.

I think that also the other side of the coin is vitally important to those of us in Government. Every one of the members of the Cabinet who have participated in one of these regional meetings come away making this very significant statement, and it is that when they meet with people in the country, those individuals, whether they are Governors or mayors or representatives of citizens' groups, talk much more freely than they do when they are in the Cabinet Room or in the President's office in Washington, D.C., or even in their offices in the various departments.

I think this whole program of bringing Government to the people can be served by having the White House go to the country from time to time and, of course, we can handle Federal business from here with rapid communications just as effectively as we do in Washington.

Earl Charles (Squire) Behrens, political editor, San Francisco Chronicle: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's eleventh news conference was held at 8 p.m. on Thursday, July 30, 1970, in the Santa Monica Room of the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, Calif. It was broadcast live on television and radio.

The privilege of closing the news conference with "Thank you, Mr. President," traditionally accorded to the senior wire service reporter, was given at the President's request to Earl Charles (Squire) Behrens, the senior California correspondent present. Squire Behrens was presented the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Nixon on April 22, 1970.

241 Remarks to Reporters Announcing Acceptance by Middle East Nations of United States Cease-Fire Proposal. *July* 31, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, the Secretary of State and I have been meeting for the past two hours and a half on various foreign policy matters, but particularly concentrating on the problems of the Mideast. The Secretary has made a report to me on the latest developments, and I have a prepared statement which will be issued to all of you immediately after this statement.

With regard to the developments in the Mideast, as you know, on June 25th the Secretary announced that the United States was undertaking a major political

initiative, and our objective was to encourage the parties to the conflict to stop shooting and to start talking under the auspices of United Nations Ambassador Jarring [1] in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.

The Israeli Government is now in the process of drafting its detailed reply to the United States. However, I am pleased to say that we have been informed by the Government of Israel of the cabinet vote to accept the United States proposal, and I am gratified that now all three governments to whom we addressed our initiative have responded positively and accepted the U.S. proposal.

We do not underestimate the difficulties which still lie ahead. The acceptance of the U.S. proposal by the governments principally concerned, important as it is, is only a first step. It will require moderation, flexibility, and a willingness by both sides to accept something less than their maximum position if progress toward a just and lasting peace between the parties is to be made. But the cease-fire and the negotiations that now seem within reach are an essential beginning.

In this connection I want to reiterate one point, a point that I made last night in my press conference. It is an integral part of our cease-fire proposal that neither side is to use the cease-fire period to improve its military position in the area of the cease-fire lines. All would have to refrain from emplacing new missiles or other installations and from undertaking a military buildup of any kind in such an area.

For our part, we have been engaged since early 1969 in cooperative efforts with the Governments of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France to help move the Middle East conflict toward a peaceful settlement. We expect these efforts to continue. We firmly believe, however, that the focus of future efforts must be on the parties directly concerned under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring's mission. We wish him and the parties well in their efforts, and we stand ready to help whenever and wherever we can.

In that connection, in the same area, we have made two appointments to ambassadorial positions today, two of our most distinguished and able Ambassadors. To Jordan, Mr. Dean Brown, and to Saudi Arabia, Mr. Nicholas Thacher.

I will say finally, that I believe that all of those who have worked on this initiative within our own Government and particularly those in the State Department, deserve a great deal of credit for the progress that has been made.

As we have indicated, we still have a long way to go before we achieve the results that we hope can be achieved. But in a situation where a year and a half ago there seemed to be no hope, there now appears some hope—some hope that a peaceful settlement can be arrived at.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. in the San Clemente Inn in San Clemente, Calif.

[1] Gunnar Jarring, Sweden's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations to the Middle East.

242 Statement About the Formation of a National Reading Council. *July* 31, 1970

IN MY message to Congress on education reform this past March, I proposed that we take new steps to achieve the Right to Read for every young American. In that same message, I also earmarked additional funds to be devoted to this effort. Today we are taking a very important next step toward the Right to Read objective. At my request Secretary Richardson and Acting Education Commissioner [Dr. Terrel H.] Bell are today naming the initial members of a National Reading Council which will focus and coordinate the Nation's efforts in reading.

Walter W. Straley, vice president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, has accepted my invitation to serve as Chairman of the Council. And I am pleased to announce that Mrs. Nixon will serve as Honorary Chairman.

The National Reading Council is a volunteer group of distinguished citizens from many different fields, including education, business and industry, government, labor, the arts, entertainment, sports, communications, and science. The Council will work closely with private and public organizations as well as professional educators and others to strengthen existing reading programs and to foster innovation in this field. In order to link the Council's work most directly to Federal activities in this field, the National Reading Council will report through the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to the President.

I hope that the Council will serve as a catalyst for the Nation in producing dramatic improvement in reading ability for those requiring it, and in encouraging reading by all our young people. Although illiteracy is not generally recognized as a major problem in this country, there are millions of Americans who read poorly or not at all, and many more who have never discovered the pleasures of recreational reading. They include people of all ages, backgrounds, and income levels, and are found in rural, suburban, and urban areas.

The ability to read is essential to the fulfillment of each person's potential and I expect the National Reading Council, under Mr. Straley's capable leadership, to do much to enhance that ability. With its help, the Right to Read can become a reality by the end of this decade.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

243 Remarks on Arrival at Denver, Colorado. *August* 3, 1970

Governor Love, Senator Allott, Congressman Brotzman, Mayor McNichols, all of the distinguished guests, and all of the people who have been so very gracious to welcome us to Colorado on this beautiful day:

We always appreciate the welcomes we get when we come to Colorado and to

Denver. But today when I learned it was a holiday—the admission day for Colorado to the Union, the Centennial State, I know in 1976 that you will celebrate the 100th year, on August 3d—when I knew it was a holiday, I really didn't expect to see this great crowd here. There are so many beautiful places you can go here. Now I'll be your Chamber of Commerce for a moment.

And for all of you to come the long way to the airport, to park your cars—and we saw them parked for miles—to walk and stand here, that is a very, very warm and gracious thing to do. We thank you very much for what you've done.

And I'd like to say just another word, if I could, about your Governor and your State, and what it means to the Nation. Your Governor, of course, is the Chairman of the Governors' Conference, which is an indication of the high respect that he's held, in not only Colorado but the Nation.

This State is the State we have selected for one of our key meetings that we've been having around the country in which, rather than having the States and the counties and the cities come to Washington, we bring Washington and the White House to the people right here where it belongs.

And one of the men who, when I was running for office, constantly insisted that that ought to be done, was the Governor of this State, also your two Senators, Senator Allott and Senator Dominick. They feel that it is enormously important that we in Washington know the country better and that the country know, of course, our leaders in Washington better.

I want to say, too, that in terms of this State, just on a completely nonpolitical vein—and I know that the Mayor will appreciate this and also the Governor, and the Senator, the Congressman, and the others—as I went down the line here I was trying to find somebody from Colorado.

Anybody from Colorado here?

As I went down the line, I saw somebody from New Jersey, and another from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and California, of course.

How many from California?

And then really to cap the climax, though, I saw a lady over here with her grandchildren. She said that they were her grandchildren. I thought they were her children. But anyway, she said she was from Hawaii, having a vacation in Colorado. Now that shows you that Colorado must be the place.

We just want to say that this is a State that has many pleasant memories for us, going back over many years, and we're glad to be back and to be welcomed in this way.

We feel that coming here, discussing the key problem of law enforcement and how we in Washington can be more helpful to the States, and the cities, and the counties in waging a winning war against those who have been responsible for the rising crime in this country—we feel that coming here, in a State and in a city that has such an outstanding record in this field was the proper thing to do.

We thank you again for welcoming us. I wish we could shake hands with all of you, but time will not permit it. We'll just say to you, you're very lucky to be here in Colorado, whether you live here or whether you're visting here. It's a great State and we are glad to have a few hours here with you today.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. at Stapleton International Airport.

244 Remarks on Arrival at the Federal Office Building in Denver, Colorado. *August* 3, 1970

Governor and Mrs. Love, Senator Allott, Congressman Brotzman, Mayor McNichols, all the distinguished guests:

I spoke briefly at the airport to the crowd that was there. And I simply want to reiterate what I tried to say there.

I've been to this State many times, the first time as a Congressman 22 years ago. And I've always been tremendously moved by the welcomes we've received. But when I realized that today is a holiday, when I realized that all of you could be going to the mountains and doing other things, all the wonderful things that are available, and for you to be out here, believe me, this is the best welcome we've ever had. We thank you very much.

We are here as part of our program to bring the White House and to bring Washington to the country. And it seems to me very appropriate that the subject that we have chosen for discussion in Denver is the subject of law enforcement, respect for law, justice in this country. I say that because of the record of the Governor of this State, the record of this city, of this county, in so many areas.

And what we are going to do today—we are going to listen to the law enforcement representatives from some of the larger States, from California, New York, Illinois. We're also going to hear from your own officials because in each State we feel that we can learn things that will enable us to do a better job all over the country.

Let me give you one example to prove how important this job is and how national its ramifications are.

Three days ago when I picked up the Los Angeles paper, I read a very tragic story. A 17-year old boy had committed suicide. I read the story and found out why. He had been on heroin. Understand, he's just 17 years of age. For 2 years he had had to have $75 a day in order to stay on heroin. When he couldn't get the $75 a day, he killed himself. I felt for that boy, I know as all of you do—all of our young people, or other people, who may be hooked, as they say, on narcotics—we have the greatest sympathy for them.

But let me say that I have no sympathy for the pushers and the peddlers and the others in this country who are responsible for that. What we need here is a program which will get after those who make hundreds of millions of dollars a year—hundreds of millions of dollars every year, more than that—selling drugs and narcotics to young people, destroying their lives and ruining them. That is why we're meeting here, one of the reasons, because we have a national program on narcotics.

Now there's something you can do. We need a better law from the Congress of the United States. For 12 months the Congress of the United States has had on its desk a bill that would deal with narcotics and dangerous drugs, and they've done nothing about it.

Now I understand why, in some instances, the Congress will not pass this or that or the other thing. But this isn't a Democratic problem or a Republican problem. It's an American problem, and it's time for Congressmen and members of both parties to get together and give

us the tools so that we can enforce the law of this country and reestablish freedom from fear all over this country—which we can.

And in that connection, I say one final thing—I know you've been standing here; you are warm—I have been very impressed by the program of law enforcement in this State, in this county, and particularly the program of rehabilitation from drugs by your District Attorney, Mr. McKevitt. It is that kind of program that we need all over the country. That's some of the things we are going to talk about in here.

So as you look in this building and wonder, what are they doing for those 2 hours, I can assure you what we're doing, what we will be thinking about, are all of those young people we saw along the roads as we came in. We want them to grow up in a world of peace.

I hear the young people who call for peace now. Let me say we are going to have peace but, my friends, let's have a peace that will not only be now but for the years to come. That's the kind of peace that we want.

I do not want this 10-year-old that I see standing here to pay for the mistakes that our generation makes now. So we're going to bring peace. We are going to bring it in a way that those who would start war are discouraged from starting it.

We're on the road. We're bringing boys home from Vietnam. More will come home. The war will be ended. But most important, we're going to build an order in the world, we trust, that will provide an opportunity for all these young people to grow up in a world of peace. That's what we are trying to do. That's what we ask your support for.

And so finally, again, on this beautiful day, I think you should be interested to know that, as I said at the airport, what proved to me that Colorado must be the place was that I went down the line; I met people from New Jersey, from Wisconsin, from California, from Peoria, Illinois, from Atlanta, Georgia. I had to go down 10 people before I said, "Are you from Colorado?" He said, "Yes."

And so as I introduced all these people to the Governor—of course, I represent them all—I said, "Governor, you better be nice to them because pretty soon they'll be living here, too. They like it here."

Thank you very much.

I want to present the Attorney General of the United States; Senator Allott, who has been of such great assistance in all of these fields; Congressman Don Brotzman; your District Attorney, Mike McKevitt; another one of our participants, Bill Gossard [1]; and the District Attorney from Reno, Nevada [William J. Raggio], who will participate in our meeting.

It takes young, strong men to do the job, and they will do it, believe me.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:14 p.m. before meeting with directors of State Planning Agencies of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by John N. Mitchell, Attorney General, and Richard W. Velde and Clarence M. Coster, Associate Administrators, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice, on the meeting.

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[1] Bill Gossard was the Republican candidate for Congress from the Fourth District of Colorado.

245 Remarks to Newsmen in Denver, Colorado. *August* 3, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, we are going to have a meeting with the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration people from selected States. The participants primarily will be from California, New York, Illinois, and Colorado.

During the course of the afternoon, the Attorney General and representatives of the Justice Department, as well as some of those representing the various States, will come in to brief the press as to the matters that we have considered.

The purpose of my appearance here is to set the stage for this meeting in terms of what it means as far as congressional action is concerned, and what it can mean in terms of support of the people of the country generally.

It happens that Colorado, according to the Attorney General, has one of the most outstanding all-around records of any State of the Union in this field of law enforcement and justice under law.

It doesn't mean that there aren't crimes here. There are crimes every place. And it doesn't mean there are not some weaknesses. There are weaknesses. But Colorado has been one of the most progressive States in this respect. That is one of the reasons we selected Denver for this meeting.

We also wanted the opportunity to point out the fact that at a time that we are cutting budgets, that there is one area where we are drastically increasing budgets.

In this particular field, aid from the Federal Government to the States and to cities for law enforcement administration rose from approximately $60 million in 1969, fiscal 1969, to $280 million in 1970, and this year's budget will be in the neighborhood of $450 million to $500 million.

We feel that this is the correct priority—the correct priority because the cost of crime to the country, not just in human terms but also in terms of the billions of dollars that the criminal elements take out of our society justifies this kind of investment, an investment not only in law enforcement but in crime prevention.

One of the matters that we are going to consider here, for example, is the matter of the treatment of narcotics, the methadone treatment, which has, in this particular county under the District Attorney, Mr. McKevitt, had, we think, rather outstanding success.

With regard to the Congress generally, and I do not say this in any partisan sense, I pointed out at San Clemente a few days ago that its batting average on the various pieces of major legislation we have requested in the fight against crime was a very poor one, 1 out of 13, despite the fact that the Congress has had these various measures before it for over 12 months.

Now, if we don't get a better batting average than 1 out of 13, we are going to have to get some new batters at the plate. I am not speaking in terms of whether they be Republican or Democratic batters, because crime, as I said outside there, is not something that has any partisan label on it. Law enforcement has no partisan label on it. We have participation today of people of all branches of our government and of both parties.

But we do need a sense of urgency on the part of the Congress to pass more of

the national legislation, to add to the District of Columbia bill that has already been passed, to deal with this problem: organized crime, narcotics, the whole area of pornography, and the rest. These are matters that are before the Congress. They deserve priority. And Congress should not treat this as a business-as-usual matter. This shouldn't be treated on a 9:00 to 5:00 basis.

If necessary, the Congress, before it goes back to the people for election, should hold extra sessions in order to pass these major measures, these measures which have already been considered by committee at very great length.

They can be acted upon. They should be acted upon. They aren't going to solve the problem immediately, but without them we are not going to be able to give the assistance to the States and the local communities where the primary responsibility rests, the assistance that they need, because simply providing the dollars isn't enough.

We need the other legislation where the Federal Government can use its source of information and its officials throughout the country to assist local officials in a coordinated program in this field.

Another point that I would like to make is with regard to the responsibility of the American people, and also of those in the news media in this field.

What I say is not to be interpreted as any criticism of the news media. What I say now is simply an observation of the kind of times we live in and how attitudes develop among our young people.

Over the last weekend I saw a movie—I don't see too many movies but I try to see them on weekends when I am at the Western White House or in Florida—and the movie that I selected, or, as a matter of fact, my daughter Tricia selected it, was "Chisum" with John Wayne. It was a western. And as I looked at that movie, I said, "Well, it was a very good western. John Wayne is a very fine actor and it was a fine supporting cast. But it was just basically another western, far better than average movies, better than average westerns."

I wondered why it is that the western survives year after year after year. A good western will outdraw some of the other subjects. Perhaps one of the reasons, in addition to the excitement, the gun play, and the rest, which perhaps is part of it but they can get that in other kinds of movies—but one of the reasons is, perhaps, and this may be a square observation—is that the good guys come out ahead in the westerns; the bad guys lose.

In the end, as this movie particularly pointed out, even in the old West, the time before New Mexico was a State, there was a time when there was no law. But the law eventually came, and the law was important from the standpoint of not only prosecuting the guilty, but also seeing that those who were guilty had a proper trial.

Now, as we look at the situation today, I think the main concern that I have is the attitudes that are created among many of our younger people and also perhaps older people as well, in which they tend to glorify and to make heroes out of those who engage in criminal activities. This is not done intentionally by the press. It is not done intentionally by radio and television, I know. It is done perhaps because people want to read or see that kind of story.

I noted, for example, the coverage of the Charles Manson case when I was in Los Angeles, front page every day in the papers. It usually got a couple of minutes

in the evening news. Here is a man who was guilty, directly or indirectly, of eight murders without reason.

Here is a man, yet, who, as far as the coverage was concerned, appeared to be rather a glamorous figure, a glamorous figure to the young people whom he had brought into his operations and, also, another thing that was noted was the fact that two lawyers in the case—two lawyers who were, as anyone who could read any of the stories could tell, who were guilty of the most outrageous, contemptuous action in the courtroom and who were ordered to jail overnight by the judge—seem to be more the oppressed, and the judge seemed to be the villain.

Let us understand, all judges are not heroes. All policemen are not heroes. And all those charged with crime are not guilty. But let us well understand, too, that the system, the system in which we protect the rights of the innocent, in which the guilty man receives a fair trial and gets the best possible defense, that system must be preserved.[1]

And unless we stand up for the system, unless we see that order in the courtroom is respected, unless we quit glorifying those who deliberately disrupt, and unless we begin to recognize that when a judge necessarily, after intense provocation, must hold individuals in contempt of court, that judge is justified, that he is acting in our behalf, then the system will break down. The innocent will suffer, but more important, and just as important, I should say, the guilty will suffer as well because in a society without law, the guilty then have no trials.

I add finally this point, that on the other side of the coin, certainly, we find that our press and media are doing a very necessary job in alerting the American people to the dangers of narcotics and drugs for our young people, the necessity for a program of law and order and justice, and all of this is part of this program that we are attempting to talk about today.

I simply summarize it in this way: The Federal Government will act as forcefully as we can to the extent that we can, recognizing that the primary responsibility is in the States and the local communities.

As Governor Love will tell you, the States and the local communities are trying to upgrade their law enforcement, upgrade it in terms not only of the enforcement of the law but of the quality of the enforcement and respect for law, laws that deserve respect.

But in the final analysis, unless the

[1] In a meeting with reporters in Denver at 2:18 p.m., August 3, 1970, White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said:

"The President, in his remarks to you in this room earlier, was, of course, referring to the focus of attention and the dramatics that are oftentimes put on various criminal acts, alleged criminal acts.

"Quite obviously, the President in his remarks regarding the trial now underway was referring to allegations that had been raised and are now in a court of law.

"If you take the President's remarks in the context of what he was saying, there is no attempt to impute liability to any accused. The gist of his statement was just the contrary.

"I think when he concluded his statement in reference to the system, in concluding his remarks to you, he made it very clear that it is important that in our system, as it does exist, that individuals have the right of fair trial, although, apparently, many of you understood it to mean something other than as the President intended it in his total remarks, to suggest that he was referring to something other than the obvious, and that is the fact that he was referring to the allegations against Mr. Manson and the others on trial in Los Angeles."

American people have within their hearts a respect for the system, the system of law and order and justice which we have inherited from over hundreds of years, then anything that we do at the governmental level will not be successful.

And it is that system that is now under attack in so many areas.

So we can be concerned about those charged with crime, we can be concerned about any evidences that those who are enforcing the law are going beyond their powers. But above all, let us remember that this system of law and order and justice must be preserved, and we must speak up for it. We must come to its defense and we must not consider that those—the judges, the police, and the others—who are simply doing their duty, that they are the villains and that those who are provoking them are always in the right.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:38 p.m. at the Federal Building.

246 Statement About Remarks in Denver, Colorado. *August* 3, 1970

I'VE BEEN informed that my comment in Denver regarding the Tate murder trial in Los Angeles may continue to be misunderstood despite the unequivocal statement made at the time by my Press Secretary.

My remarks were in the context of my expression of a tendency on the part of some to glamorize those identified with a crime.

The last thing I would do is prejudice the legal rights of any person, in any circumstances.

To set the record straight, I do not know and did not intend to speculate as to whether the Tate defendants are guilty, in fact, or not. All of the facts in the case have not yet been presented. The defendants should be presumed to be innocent at this stage of their trial.

To repeat what I said at the LEAA Conference in Denver, our American system of justice requires the constant support of every citizen, to insure a fair trial for the guilty and innocent alike.

NOTE: The statement, prepared aboard Air Force One en route from Denver to Washington, D.C., was given to reporters on arrival at Andrews Air Force Base, Md.

247 Remarks of Welcome to President Joseph Désiré Mobutu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *August* 4, 1970

Mr. President, Madame Mobutu, the distinguished members of your party, and our guests:

Mr. President, it is a special privilege for me to welcome you today to the White House. You are a young leader of a young country. In fact, the Congo is the youngest country of all those that have been represented by state visits since I have been President of this country.

I have the privilege of knowing your country and of knowing your people,

and I can tell the American people that while your country is young—only 10 years of age—that it has had a period of progress in that period which has been an example for nations throughout the world.

You have moved forward economically, you have established unity in your country, and you have a vitality which impresses every visitor when he comes to the Congo.

I have been looking forward to this visit so that the people of the United States could know you and, through you, know your people and your country. We know that you will be meeting with our Government leaders and also later with business leaders in New York, who may be interested in making an investment in the Congo.

My advice to them very simply would be this: The Congo is a good investment not only because of its natural wealth but because of a wealth even more important than its natural resources, a strong and vigorous and progressive people, and a stable leadership.

You come from the heart of Africa and I can assure you that the hearts of all Americans go to your country and to you as you go forward in a program of progress and peace for your people and for all the people of Africa.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Mobutu, was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

President Mobutu responded in French. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply touched by the very kind words, the very touching words that you have just spoken for my country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for my wife, and the members of my party.

Mr. President, you have stressed that my country, in the heart of the African Continent, has resolved its economic problems and restored stability and order.

I will tell you when we meet later to explore the bilateral questions between the United States and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but I should like to tell you now also that in coming here I bring you a message from the people of the Congo, a message to your people, to thank you for the aid that the American people have given to my country for the last 10 years.

There is a saying in my country that it is in times of need that you know your friends and, indeed, the United States has stood by us and this we shall never forget.

Mr. President, thank you for your welcome. Thank you, Mrs. Nixon, to whom I present my most respectful homage. Thank you, to you and the members of your Government, for this welcome extended to me and to my wife.

Thank you, Mr. President.

248 Toasts of the President and President Mobutu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *August* 4, 1970

Mr. President, Mrs. Mobutu, our distinguished guests:

We welcome all of you to this room tonight to honor the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But we particularly want to honor and respect tonight two of our guests who are with us: Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower, whose husband was President of the United States when the Congo was born—she came from Gettysburg and wanted to be here for this dinner tonight—and Justice Thurgood Marshall, who has had a very difficult time over these last few months in the hospital, but who has fully recovered and who attends his first White House

dinner since that time. We are very happy to have him here.

Mr. President, since I came into office over 18 months ago, you are the youngest head of state to be honored in this room, and you represent the youngest nation. But though you are a young man and you come from a young nation, there are things we can learn from you.

Tomorrow I have a meeting scheduled with my Cabinet on the budget. I find in studying your administration that you not only have a balanced budget but a favorable balance of trade, and I'd like to know your secret before our meeting with the Cabinet.

This morning when I welcomed you on the South Lawn, I told our Americans listening on television that the Congo was a good investment. I would like to tell this very special group in this room why I consider the Democratic Republic of the Congo a good investment.

I could say it was a good investment because it is one of the richest countries in the world in terms of natural resources. But it has far more than that. It has, also, people who are able to develop that wealth if given the chance to do so.

In my visit to your country in 1967, I was impressed, of course, by my meeting with you and other government leaders. But I was impressed, too, when I visited a shipyard and the university and a factory and walked over the streets of Kinshasa, and I saw the people, working hard, strong, vigorous, vital and very proud—proud of their country, and with great dignity.

And when we combine rich natural resources with a strong, vigorous people, and a leader who is able to provide the stability and the vision for progress for that country, then that country is a good investment, a good investment for its own people or for others who may desire to participate in its growth.

I am sure that as we look back over the 10 years of the history of this country, we think of how time has capsuled in this century. We think of the fact, as we sit in this room with the great picture of Abraham Lincoln, the portrait, overlooking the room, that a war between our States occurred 100 years ago, and 100 years, virtually, after we were founded.

In 10 years the Congo was born, survived a civil war, and now is a strong, effective, and progressive leader in the exciting new continent, the new Continent of Africa.

An enormous amount of the credit for that development goes to its leaders and particularly to our honored guest tonight. I know that all Americans, as they think of the Congo, know that the President has often referred to his country as being the heart of Africa. I think all of us at this table tonight would speak from our hearts to the heart of Africa when we raise our glasses to the health of the President of the Congo and Mrs. Mobutu.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

President Mobutu responded in French. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests:

I followed very closely your brilliant presentation, Mr. President. And now I should like to express on behalf of my wife and my delegation and in the name of my people—what I should like to say here tonight, Mr. President, publicly, is, first of all, all our thanks to your country for everything that you have done for my country for more than the last 10 years.

This morning in response to your kind words

of welcome, and at the State Department in response to Secretary Rogers' toast, I said this very forcefully, that in coming here I was bringing the message of gratitude and friendship to the American people, and I said to Secretary Rogers that we have a saying in the Congo that it is in adversity that you know your friends.

My country, beset with problems and difficulties from 1960 to 1965, my country had added a word to the international vocabulary. That word was Congolization. To "Congolize" was to spread chaos, was to spread anarchy, was to set a bad example, the bad example of a developing country, giving it to the entire world.

But fortunately, the American people, with all its succeeding Presidents since President Kennedy, President Johnson, and yourself, Mr. President, was never discouraged and continued to follow the same consistent line of confidence in my country and today we witness the crowning moment of this task of confidence.

The Congo, thanks to your Government and to the people of the United States, stands up and is an object, if not of envy, of pride for all its friends and particularly for the United States.

I should like to say that my official visit here has as its central purpose to say thank you with all our hearts for all you have done and for all you will be doing to assist us in our economic and financial recovery in the heart of Africa.

Since I have had the opportunity to speak here tonight, I must express publicly that we are setting an excellent example of cooperation between an industrialized country and a developing country. We are the living demonstration in concrete terms—the relations between the United States and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are a demonstration of what has happened because you have helped us, and we are showing proof that this aid was not wasted, that we have used diligently the aid given to us for our recovery, for our march towards progress.

I am sure, Mr. President, that your voice will be heard by the Americans to whom you have said that the Congo is a good investment. You are right. This means for American investors, particularly of the private sector, that our recovery has been effective; that we have political stability, order, peace, and calm in the Congo; that the Congolese people is cured from its growing pains; that a people without a leader has become a people with discipline, work, and creative energy.

You have helped us launch the Zaire Operation[1] which has succeeded. Our country, which was the sick child of Africa, now sets an example for all the countries of the developing world of what can happen with will, with determination, and this is a marvelous example we can show to the whole world.

Mr. President, you were speaking of what the American investors value most. What they want in a young country is the stability, and that we have; resources, and that we have also. But even more than our investment code which guarantees these investments, there is the fact that neither in our philosophical doctrine nor in our economic concept is there room for the concept of nationalization. We respect private ownership and we see great profits to be derived from this policy.

Confusion in the early stages of our history was taken advantage of to make people believe, and to make particularly American investors believe, that we would nationalize, but this is not true. There is no single private owner that can say that it was ever nationalized or that it will be. This will never be.

There is the unfortunate case of Union Minière,[2] which is often cited. I do not want to go into past history, but Bossuet has said, "The past can set an example for what we should do in the future."

But I believe that the philosophy of the investors should be to pursue a course of honesty and abide by the laws of the country to which they wish, not to take advantage of the lack of cadres or trained personnel and if by chance the powers begin to open their eyes and be vigi-

[1] A 1967 monetary reform program.

[2] Union Minière du Haut Katanga, a Belgian-owned copper mining company which was nationalized in 1966 by the Congolese Government. A final settlement between the government and the company was agreed upon in 1969.

lant, they should not then say, "We are being nationalized"—this is not good; not a good philosophy to follow.

I believe, Mr. President, that perhaps I went a bit astray tonight. I merely wanted to reply to you, to tell you how much my wife, my delegation, and myself are responsive to your warm welcome, the welcome that you and Mrs. Nixon, to whom I pay particular tribute, have given us the welcome of your government and your people. We are touched by it very, very deeply.

We can truly tell our people that here in America we have a people who have understood us through the good times and the bad times, that demonstration has been made that we are an example of the cooperation between an industrialized country and a developing country in the help we have received from you to our march on progress. This is something to make you proud and to this I should like to raise the glass of friendship between our two peoples.

249 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the National Wilderness Preservation System. *August* 5, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Sixth Annual Report on the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and to affirm this Administration's intent to pursue the objectives of the National Wilderness Act aggressively in the coming months.

Wilderness is a magnificent part of the American heritage. The wilderness that witnessed the nation's birth no longer spreads from one ocean to the other, but neither has it all been tamed. Many of these untamed lands, majestic reminders of primeval America, have been reserved and now comprise the National Wilderness Preservation System. We must do more now to preserve additional areas of this priceless national heritage.

During 1969, I signed into law the addition of two new units to the National Wilderness Preservation System. However, I am convinced that in the past we have moved too slowly, in both the executive and the legislative branches, towards the goal of completion of our national wilderness system.

I have asked that the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior begin immediately to augment their efforts in the study of possible wilderness areas, as directed by the Act, and to accelerate the study schedules which they have been following. I have asked them to review their needs for additional resources and will ask the Congress for any additional funding which may be needed to make this new wilderness effort possible.

On the legislative side, the Congress now has before it twenty wilderness proposals transmitted by the previous Administration and endorsed by this Administration. Early action on these measures would represent the quickest way to expand our wilderness system. Therefore, I urge the Congress to give speedy and favorable consideration to as many of these proposals as possible at this session of the Congress.

I look forward to the next annual re-

port on the wilderness system, confident that I will be able to report substantial and encouraging progress on both the study and the enactment of wilderness proposals. I cannot stress too strongly my conviction that we must push vigorously ahead to preserve for future generations the opportunity to enjoy the singular encounter with nature which only wilderness can provide.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 5, 1970

NOTE: The 27-page report is entitled "Sixth Joint Annual Report of the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior Concerning the Status of the National Wilderness Preservation System."

250 Memorandum on Federal Reporting and Paperwork. *August* 5, 1970

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

SUBJECT: Improving Federal Reporting and Reducing Related Paperwork

Since my inauguration, I have repeatedly stressed the need to streamline the management activities of the executive branch. As an important part of this effort, I am requesting all agencies and departments to participate in a Government-wide project to analyze paperwork requirements and discard those reports that fail to meet rigorous standards of need. In addition, we must examine our information control system and develop efficient alternatives to traditional reporting methods.

I have therefore established two goals for fiscal year 1971:

(1) A reduction of five million man-hours in the time expended by the public in filling out administrative forms and inquiries under the Federal Reports Act.

(2) A reduction of 200 million dollars in executive branch funds expended for reporting and related paperwork.

The Office of Management and Budget has issued instructions to you implementing this project. Mr. Kunzig, Administrator, General Services Administration, will assume the lead in coordinating this project.

I expect all of you to give this effort your full support and to report your accomplishments to me by the end of fiscal year 1971.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the memorandum by Dwight A. Ink, Assistant Director for Organization and Management Systems, and Norman S. Peterson, Management Improvement Assistant, Office of Management and Budget.

251 Statement on Appointing Frank Borman as Special Representative on Prisoners of War. *August* 7, 1970

NO GOAL is more important to my administration than securing the humane treatment and earliest possible release of all Americans held by the enemy forces in Southeast Asia. To further that cause, I am today appointing Frank Borman as

my Special Representative on Prisoners of War.

Colonel Borman recently retired from the United States Air Force where he had a most distinguished career culminated by 8 years in our space program. He commanded Apollo 8 on our first manned lunar orbit.

In making this announcement I wish to emphasize again my conviction that the treatment of prisoners of war should be kept separate from the political and military issues of the Vietnam conflict—or any conflict. This is a question of civilized standards and basic humanity, as well as a matter of solemn legal obligations stated in the Geneva Convention of 1949, by which both sides in this conflict are bound. There should be no disagreement on humane treatment for prisoners of war.

For our part, we are ready to proceed at once to arrange for the release of such prisoners. We believe that negotiations toward this end should be pursued in the Paris talks as well as through other avenues. The fact that our previous efforts have brought no progress should not prevent us from persisting.

Colonel Borman, who has already met with the responsible authorities here in Washington, will undertake his efforts immediately. In a special mission during which he will be on leave of absence from his executive position with Eastern Air Lines, he will visit countries around the world and seek the help of third parties. He will also visit Paris for discussions with Ambassadors Bruce and Habib. Some of his actions will, of course, be private and unpublicized, in the hope that this will enhance the possibilities of success.

The United States has no desire to make a political issue of prisoners of war. What we seek is humane treatment for our men, and their early release. I am deeply grateful to Frank Borman for accepting the key role in this most important endeavor.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news conference by Frank Borman on his appointment.

On September 2, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Mr. Borman on his return from a visit to 12 countries to discuss exchange of U.S. prisoners of war in Vietnam.

252 Remarks on Signing the Employment Security Amendments of 1970. *August* 10, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the press:

This is an historic occasion for a number of reasons. This legislation I consider to be one of the most important pieces of legislation that has been enacted since this administration came into office. It couldn't have been enacted and signed today had it not been for bipartisan support, had it not also been due to the support of leaders of organized labor as well as management.

The fact that members of the House and Senate Finance Committees and the Ways and Means Committees worked together made it possible for this historic piece of legislation to become law.

I should point out that in just 3 days we will celebrate the 35th anniversary of the unemployment insurance system. It was

passed during the depth of the depression in 1935 and since that time has been extended on several occasions to many other workers.

In 1958 it was extended temporarily to a number of other workers and again in 1961. However, those extensions which were temporary, were to deal with the situation [of] possible unemployment in the future, and dealt with it too late and consequently, what we need now and what we have in this bill is a permanent extension of unemployment insurance to cover 4½ million additional workers.

This will bring the total in the United States of workers covered by unemployment insurance to 63,500,000.

I should point out, too, that as we pass this legislation and as it becomes law it, of course, will require the cooperation of the States. The Secretary of Labor will be meeting with the Governors of the States at the Governors' Conference later today urging them to act at the State level so that they may cooperate with the Federal Government in seeing that this extension becomes active all over the States of the Union.

The final point I would like to make is one that I know all the members of the committees and those others present at this ceremony will think is quite valid on this occasion.

We are moving from a wartime to a peacetime economy. As all of us know, we've had over 800,000 men either released from the Armed Forces as a result of reduction of our Armed Forces, part of that due to the reduction of our forces in Vietnam, and also the reduction of force of people working in defense plants.

This total of 800,000 will be absorbed in the American work force, in the private sector, and also in some Government activities. I think all of us certainly approve of the fact that we are moving Americans away from activities that have to do with war and into those activities that have to do with peace.

But in that transition period it is essential that Government provide, as this bill helps to provide, that cushion that is so essential, so essential in the period when men through no fault of their own move either from the armed services or from defense plants and are looking for work in that period.

I want to express my appreciation to the members of the committee, Democrats and Republicans, who have made it possible for this historic piece of legislation to be passed.

One other historical and personal note I'd like to make at this point, and I think all of the members of the committee regardless of partisanship will share my feelings on this occasion: I recall just 10 years ago, in fact, a little over 10 years ago in the spring of 1960, that the late James Mitchell, who was then Secretary of Labor, strongly urged that there be this permanent extension of unemployment insurance coverage. He fought for it within the administration. He was unsuccessful in getting that extension at that time.

While this comes now in 1970, 10 years later, it is the realization not only of a dream that he had and a program that he strongly favored but one that was also strongly favored by every Secretary of Labor, be they in Democratic or Republican administrations since that time.

Thank you very much.

[As the President presented signing pens to Members of Congress and others present for the ceremony, he continued speaking:]

Who's the lowest ranking Senate man?

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. HANSEN. I am.

THE PRESIDENT. You are? Fine.

I do that with great feeling because I was the lowest man, as I have said often to many of you here, the lowest man on the Labor Committee in the 80th Congress. John Kennedy was the lowest ranking member on the Democratic side. So, don't be discouraged.

We also have pens for all of the rest of you, too.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:09 a.m. in the Blue Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 14705) is Public Law 91-373 (84 Stat. 695).

253 Statement on Signing the Employment Security Amendments of 1970. *August* 10, 1970

TODAY I am signing into law a bill that includes most of my proposals for the most significant improvements in the unemployment insurance program since passage of the original legislation in 1935.

This historic bill which I sent to the Congress more than 12 months ago will:

(1) Expand coverage more than any previous bill;

(2) Introduce an innovative program of extended benefits in times of high unemployment; and

(3) Improve the financing and administration of the unemployment insurance program.

The extension of insurance coverage to 4.8 million additional workers is an example of this administration's dedication to helping the American workingman—including the poor and the minority worker. The new coverage will include employees in State hospitals and universities, small businesses, and nonprofit institutions in jobs which tend to have low wages and unstable employment. The increased security of unemployment insurance coverage is a distinct benefit for these workers.

Unfortunately, the Congress did not respond to my call for extension of coverage to workers on large commercial farms. These farm workers deserve this added protection, and it is my intention to resubmit legislation to help them gain this objective. At the same time, I hope individual States will, on their own initiative, extend coverage to these agricultural workers.

I sign this legislation with pride since it represents a prime example of this administration's commitment to recognizing problems in advance, and to offering solutions which can be considered in a rational and orderly manner—rather than in a crisis atmosphere.

This philosophy is best indicated in the bill's provision of permanent authority for States to *extend unemployment benefits up to 13 additional weeks* in times of high unemployment. Similar provisions were enacted in 1958 and 1961, but only on a temporary basis. In each instance the delay in congressional action caused hardships which could have been avoided if the automatic "triggers" included in the present bill had been in effect.

The extended benefits provision will greatly increase the economic stabilizing features of unemployment insurance, since it authorizes automatic increases in the duration of weekly benefits paid during periods of extended unemployment. I,

therefore, call on all States to make the changes in their own unemployment insurance laws which are necessary to take advantage of this new law as soon as possible.

Similarly, I would like to renew my call for the States to increase the maximum benefits available to workers. Since I first voiced my concern over a year ago about the inadequacy of benefits—particularly for family breadwinners—there has been some progress. However, maximums are still too low to provide adequate benefits for the great majority of workers and more rapid progress is required.

This legislation represents the best kind of insurance—insurance that is now more comprehensive and substantial, but which, by virtue of its presence, is less likely to be needed.

As we move away from a wartime economy toward a peacetime economy, we have as our goal high employment without the kind of runaway inflation that cheats the worker out of his pay increases.

Even in this period of transition to a healthy consumer economy, we must counter the kind of unemployment—and its effects—that was considered normal in the early sixties.

This new unemployment insurance law that I sign today is also one more bulwark against the possibility of any future downturn, and strong evidence that this Nation will not permit the burden of the fight against the high cost of living to fall on the American workingman.

The reform of the unemployment insurance system is an essential element of the administration's broader, government-wide effort to reform all programs which provide direct payments to individuals to meet their basic needs on an equitable and dignified basis. Besides unemployment insurance, which is an earned benefit, all of the programs of the Federal Government that come under the general heading of income maintenance—social security, welfare, housing subsidies, food stamps, and also our tax laws—need to be viewed as an interrelated system.

Payments of unemployment compensation are $3 billion annually. This important reform of the unemployment insurance system, which I sign into law today, has been carefully developed to provide employment security, equity, and dignity for the workingman throughout his working life.

254 Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. *August* 10, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

This first report to the Congress on the state of the Nation's environment is an historic milestone. It represents the first time in the history of nations that a people has paused, consciously and systematically, to take comprehensive stock of the quality of its surroundings.

It comes not a moment too soon. The recent upsurge of public concern over environmental questions reflects a belated recognition that man has been too cavalier in his relations with nature. Unless we arrest the depredations that have been inflicted so carelessly on our natural systems—which exist in an intricate set of balances—we face the prospect of ecological disaster.

The hopeful side is that such a prospect *can* be avoided. Although recognition of the danger has come late, it has come forcefully. There still are large gaps in our environmental knowledge, but a great deal of what needs to be done can be identified. Much of this has already been begun, and much more can be started quickly if we act now.

Scope of the Council's Report

The accompanying report by the Council on Environmental Quality seeks to describe the conditions of our environment, and to identify major trends, problems, actions underway and opportunities for the future. This first report by the Council is necessarily incomplete in some respects, especially in the identification of trends. The National Environmental Policy Act, which created the Council, became law only at the beginning of this year. Existing systems for measuring and monitoring environmental conditions and trends, and for developing indicators of environmental quality, are still inadequate. There also is a great deal yet to be learned about the significance of these facts for the human condition.

However, the report will, I think, be of great value to the Congress (and also to the Executive Branch) by assembling in one comprehensive document a wealth of facts, analyses and recommendations concerning a wide range of our most pressing environmental challenges. It should also serve a major educational purpose, by clarifying for a broad public what those challenges are and where the principal dangers and opportunities lie.

Substantively as well as historically, this first report is an important document. No one can read it and remain complacent about the environmental threats we confront, or about the need both to do more and to learn more about those threats.

Getting at the Roots

"Environment" is not an abstract concern, or simply a matter of aesthetics, or of personal taste—although it can and should involve these as well. Man is shaped to a great extent by his surroundings. Our physical nature, our mental health, our culture and institutions, our opportunities for challenge and fulfillment, our very survival—all of these are directly related to and affected by the environment in which we live. They depend upon the continued healthy functioning of the natural systems of the Earth.

Environmental deterioration is not a new phenomenon. But both the rate of deterioration and its critical impact have risen sharply in the years since the Second World War. Rapid population increases here and abroad, urbanization, the technology explosion and the patterns of economic growth have all contributed to our environmental crisis. While growth has brought extraordinary benefits, it has not been accompanied by sufficiently foresighted efforts to guide its development.

At the same time, in many localities determined action has brought positive improvements in the quality of air or water—demonstrating that, if we have the will and make the effort, we can meet environmental goals. We also have made important beginnings in developing the institutions and processes upon which any fundamental, long-range environmental improvement must be based.

The basic causes of our environmental

troubles are complex and deeply imbedded. They include: our past tendency to emphasize quantitative growth at the expense of qualitative growth; the failure of our economy to provide full accounting for the social costs of environmental pollution; the failure to take environmental factors into account as a normal and necessary part of our planning and decision-making; the inadequacy of our institutions for dealing with problems that cut across traditional political boundaries; our dependence on conveniences, without regard for their impact on the environment; and more fundamentally, our failure to perceive the environment as a totality and to understand and to recognize the fundamental interdependence of all its parts, including man himself.

It should be obvious that we cannot correct such deep-rooted causes overnight. Nor can we simply legislate them away. We need new knowledge, new perceptions, new attitudes—and these must extend to all levels of government and throughout the private sector as well: to industry; to the professions; to each individual citizen in his job and in his home. We must seek nothing less than a basic reform in the way our society looks at problems and makes decisions.

Our educational system has a key role to play in bringing about this reform. We must train professional environmental managers to deal with pollution, land planning, and all the other technical requirements of a high quality environment. It is also vital that our entire society develop a new understanding and a new awareness of man's relation to his environment—what might be called "environmental literacy." This will require the development and teaching of environmental concepts at every point in the educational process.

While education may provide ultimate answers to long-range environmental problems, however, we cannot afford to defer reforms which are needed now. We have already begun to provide the institutional framework for effective environmental improvement.

Organizing for Improvement

As my first official act of the decade, on January first I signed into law the National Environmental Policy Act. That Act established the Council on Environmental Quality. I have charged the Council with coordinating all environmental quality programs and with making a thorough review of all other Federal programs which affect the environment.

Federal agencies are now required to file with the Council and the public a statement setting out in detail the environmental implications of all proposals for legislation and for other major activities with a significant environmental impact. With the help of this provision, I intend to ensure that environmental considerations are taken into account at the earliest possible stage of the decision-making process.

On July 9 I sent to the Congress a reorganization plan which would establish an Environmental Protection Agency, consolidating the major environmental pollution responsibilities of the Federal Government. This reform is long overdue.

Responsibility for anti-pollution and related programs is now fragmented among several Departments and agencies, thus weakening our overall Federal effort. Air pollution, water pollution and solid wastes are different forms of a single problem,

and it becomes increasingly evident that broad systems approaches are going to be needed to bring our pollution problems under control. The reorganization would give unified direction to our war on pollution and provide a stronger organizational base for our stepped-up effort.

The Council on Environmental Quality has begun the vital task of identifying indicators of environmental quality and determining the requirements for monitoring systems, in order to enable us to assess environmental trends. These systems are needed to give early warning of environmental problems. They will provide data for determining environmental needs and establishing priorities, and for assessing the effectiveness of programs to improve the environment. The development of such monitoring systems is essential to effective environmental management.

There is also a need to develop new knowledge through research. We need to know far more, for example, about the effects of specific pollutants, about ecological relationships, and about human behavior in relation to environmental factors. The Environmental Protection Agency should develop an integrated research program aimed at pollution control. The Council on Environmental Quality will continue, in cooperation with the Office of Science and Technology, to review and coordinate our overall environmental research effort, as well as to undertake its own environmental studies and research.

These actions represent important additions to the institutional, procedural, and informational base for effective environmental management. They hold the promise of a real leap forward in the years to come. At the same time, we must move ahead now in those areas in which we already possess the knowledge and capability for effective action.

Recent Actions and Recommendations

On February 10 of this year, I sent to the Congress a special message on the environment. This presented a 37-point action program, with special emphasis on strengthening our fight against water and air pollution.

In the field of water pollution, my major legislative recommendations included:

—Authorization of $4 billion to cover the Federal share of a $10 billion program to provide treatment facilities.

—Establishment of an Environmental Financing Authority to help finance the State and local share of treatment plants.

—Reform of the method by which funds are allocated under the treatment grant programs.

—Greatly strengthened enforcement authority, including provisions for fines of up to $10,000 a day for violations.

Among my major legislative recommendations for the control of air pollution were:

—More stringent procedures for reducing pollution from motor vehicles.

—Establishment of national air quality standards.

—Establishment of national emissions standards for extremely hazardous pollutants.

—A major strengthening of enforcement procedures, including extension of Federal air pollution control

authority to both inter- and intrastate situations and provision for fines of up to $10,000 a day for violators.

Other legislative actions recommended in my February 10 message included:

—Appropriation in 1971 of the full $327 million authorized under the Land and Water Conservation Fund to provide additional parks and recreation areas, with increased emphasis on locating new recreation facilities in crowded urban areas.

—Establishment of new procedures to encourage and finance the relocation of Federal facilities now occupying land that could better be turned to public recreational use.

—Authorizing the transfer of surplus real property to State and local governments for park and recreational purposes at public benefit discounts of up to 100 percent.

In addition, the message spelled out 14 separate measures I was taking by administrative action or Executive Order. These included such wide-ranging initiatives as launching an extensive Federal research and development program in unconventionally-powered, low-pollution vehicles, requiring the development of comprehensive river basin plans for water pollution control, re-directing research on solid waste management to place greater emphasis on re-cycling and re-use, and the establishment of a Property Review Board to recommend specific Federal properties for conversion to recreational use.

I again urge the Congress to act soon and favorably on the legislative proposals contained in that message. They are vital to our growing effort to protect and improve our environment.

I consider the recommendations in my February 10 message only a beginning—although an important one. I said at the time that we must do much more and that we would do more as we gained experience and knowledge. Our Administration is living up to that commitment.

Previously, on February 4, I had issued an Executive Order directing a prompt clean-up of air and water pollution caused by Federal agencies. This task is well underway. As I said then, the Federal Government should set an example for the rest of the country. We are doing so.

On April 15, I sent legislation to the Congress that will, if enacted, bring to an end the dumping of dredged spoils into the Great Lakes as soon as disposal sites are available. At the same time, I directed the Council on Environmental Quality to make a study of ocean disposal of wastes and report to me by September 1.

On May 19, I proposed enactment of a special tax on lead additives in gasoline, to encourage industry to provide low or non-leaded gasoline.

On May 20, I sent to the Congress a special message dealing with oil pollution caused by marine transportation of oil. The comprehensive, 10-point program set out in the message included legislative proposals, the announcement of administrative actions, and the forwarding to the Senate of two international conventions and amendments to a third for ratification. The nations of the world must take aggressive action to end the growing pollution of the oceans.

On May 23, I announced that the United States would propose a new treaty placing the natural resources of the deep sea bed beyond the 200 meter depth under international regulation.

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On June 4, a revised National Contingency Plan for dealing with oil spills was announced at my direction by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

On June 11, I sent a message to the Congress requesting the enactment of legislation cancelling twenty Federal oil leases for off-shore drilling which had been granted in 1968 in the Santa Barbara Channel and creating a Marine Sanctuary.

As I mentioned above, on July 9 I sent to the Congress a reorganization plan to create a new Environmental Protection Agency. On the same date, I sent another reorganization plan to consolidate Federal marine resource management functions in a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, within the Department of Commerce. This would provide better coordination and direction of our vital ocean resource programs.

Toward a Land Use Policy

Lately, our attention as a people has repeatedly and insistently been seized by urgent concerns and immediate crises: by the sudden blanketing of cities or even whole regions with dense clouds of smog, for example, or the discovery of mercury pollution in rivers. But as we take the longer view, we find another challenge looming large: the mounting pressures of population. Both the size and the distribution of our population have critical relevance to the quality of our environment and thus to the quality of our lives.

Population growth poses an urgent problem of global dimensions. If the United States is to have an effective voice in world population policies, it must demonstrate willingness to face its own population problems at home.

The particular impact of any given level of population growth depends in large measure on patterns of land use. Three quarters of our people now live in urban areas, and if present trends continue most of them in the future will live in a few mammoth urban concentrations. These concentrations put enormous pressure on transportation, sanitation and other public services. They sometimes create demands that exceed the resource capacity of the region, as in the case of water supply. They can aggravate pollution, overcrowd recreation facilities, limit open space, and make the restorative world of nature ever more remote from everyday life. Yet we would be blind not to recognize that for the most part the movement of people to the cities has been the result neither of perversity nor of happenstance, but rather of natural human aspirations for the better jobs, schools, medical services, cultural opportunities and excitement that have traditionally been associated with urban life.

If the aspirations which have drawn Americans to the city in the first instance and subsequently from the city core to the suburbs are often proving illusory, the solution does not lie in seeking escape from urban life. Our challenge is to find ways to promote the amenities of life in the midst of urban development: in short, to make urban life fulfilling rather than frustrating. Along with the essentials of jobs and housing, we must also provide open spaces and outdoor recreation opportunities, maintain acceptable levels of air and water quality, reduce noise and litter, and develop cityscapes that delight the eye and uplift the spirit.

By the same token, it is essential that we also make rural life itself more attractive, thus encouraging orderly growth in rural areas. The creation of greater economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities in rural parts of the country will lead to the strengthening of small cities and towns, contributing to the establishment of new growth centers in the nation's heartland region.

Throughout the nation there is a critical need for more effective land use planning, and for better controls over use of the land and the living systems that depend on it. Throughout our history, our greatest resource has been our land—forests and plains, mountains and marshlands, rivers and lakes. Our land has sustained us. It has given us a love of freedom, a sense of security, and courage to test the unknown.

We have treated our land as if it were a limitless resource. Traditionally, Americans have felt that what they do with their own land is their own business. This attitude has been a natural outgrowth of the pioneer spirit. Today, we are coming to realize that our land is finite, while our population is growing. The uses to which our generation puts the land can either expand or severely limit the choices our children will have. The time has come when we must accept the idea that none of us has the right to abuse the land, and that on the contrary society as a whole has a legitimate interest in proper land use. There is a national interest in effective land use planning all across the nation.

I believe that the problems of urbanization which I have described, of resource management, and of land and water use generally can only be met by comprehensive approaches which take into account the widest range of social, economic, and ecological concerns. I believe we must work toward development of a National Land Use Policy to be carried out by an effective partnership of Federal, State and local governments together, and, where appropriate, with new regional institutional arrangements.

Recycling of Wastes

The prospect of increasing population density adds urgency to the need for greater emphasis on recycling of "waste" products. More people means greater consumption—and thus more rapid depletion—of scarce natural resources; greater consumption means more "waste" to dispose of—whether in the form of solid wastes, or of the pollutants that foul our air and water.

Yet much of this waste is unnecessary. Essentially, waste is a human invention: Natural systems are generally "closed" systems. Energy is transformed into vegetation, vegetation into animal life, and the latter returns to the air and soil to be recycled once again. Man, on the other hand, has developed "open" systems—ending all too often in an open sewer or an open dump.

We can no longer afford the indiscriminate waste of our natural resources; neither should we accept as inevitable the mounting costs of waste removal. We must move increasingly toward closed systems that recycle what now are considered wastes back into useful and productive purposes. This poses a major challenge—and a major opportunity—for private industry. The Council on Environmental Quality is working to foster development of such systems. Establishment of the pro-

posed Environmental Protection Agency would greatly increase our ability to address this need systematically and creatively.

Everyone's Task

As our government has moved ahead to improve our environmental management, it has been greatly heartening to me to see the extent and effectiveness of citizen concern and activity, and especially the commitment of young people to the task. The job of building a better environment is not one for government alone. It must engage the enthusiasm and commitment of our entire society. Citizen organizations have been in the forefront of action to support strengthened environmental programs. The Citizens Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality, under the chairmanship of Laurance S. Rockefeller, has provided an important link between the Federal Government's effort and this broad-ranging citizen activity.

Similarly, the active participation of the business community is essential. The government's regulation and enforcement activities will continue to be strengthened. Performance standards must be upgraded as rapidly as feasible. But regulation cannot do the whole job. Forward-looking initiatives by business itself are also vital—in research, in the development of new products and processes, in continuing and increased investment in pollution abatement equipment.

On the international front, the level of environmental concern and action has been rapidly rising. Many of our most pressing environmental problems know no political boundaries. Environmental monitoring and pollution of the seas are examples of major needs that require international cooperation, and that also provide an opportunity for the world's nations to work together for their common benefit.

In dealing with the environment we must learn not how to master nature but how to master ourselves, our institutions, and our technology. We must achieve a new awareness of our dependence on our surroundings and on the natural systems which support all life, but awareness must be coupled with a full realization of our enormous capability to alter these surroundings. Nowhere is this capability greater than in the United States, and this country must lead the way in showing that our human and technological resources can be devoted to a better life and an improved environment for ourselves and our inheritors on this planet.

Our environmental problems are very serious, indeed urgent, but they do not justify either panic or hysteria. The problems are highly complex, and their resolution will require rational, systematic approaches, hard work and patience. There must be a *national* commitment and a *rational* commitment.

The accompanying report by the Council describes the principal problems we face now and can expect to face in the future, and it provides us with perceptive guidelines for meeting them. These deserve the most careful consideration. They point the directions in which we must move as rapidly as circumstances permit.

The newly aroused concern with our natural environment embraces old and young alike, in all walks of life. For the young, it has a special urgency. They know that it involves not only our own lives now but the future of mankind. For

their parents, it has a special poignancy—because ours is the first generation to feel the pangs of concern for the environmental legacy we leave to our children.

At the heart of this concern for the environment lies our concern for the human condition: for the welfare of man himself, now and in the future. As we look ahead to the end of this new decade of heightened environmental awareness, therefore, we should set ourselves a higher goal than merely remedying the damage wrought in decades past. We should strive for an environment that not only sustains life but enriches life, harmonizing the works of man and nature for the greater good of all.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 10, 1970

NOTE: The message is published in the report entitled "Environmental Quality: The First Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality" (Government Printing Office, 326 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released a summary of the report and the transcript of a news briefing on it by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Dr. Gordon J. F. MacDonald and Robert Cahn, members, and Alvin L. Alm, senior staff member for environmental pollution, Council on Environmental Quality.

255 Remarks on Inscribing a Copy of the Report of the Council on Environmental Quality for the Council Staff. *August* 10, 1970

AS ALL of you are aware, the purpose of this meeting is simply to inscribe for the Council a copy of the report that I understand has already been sent to the Congress and Chairman Train has already briefed the press this morning on at 9 o'clock. So I will inscribe this one.

I would like to say, too, while we are sitting here in the room, that this is, of course, a historic report, historic because it is the first one. It, however, will be we hope the beginning of not only reports but action by this Council in the field of the environment.

It seems to me that this committee, this Council, has one of the most difficult and, at the same time, one of the most challenging assignments of any of the many government institutions that we have in Washington or throughout the country.

It seems at first blush when you consider the problems of the environment that there is an irreconcilable conflict when you speak of the quality of life between economic growth and clean air, clean water, open space, all those things that we associate with a good environment.

Those who argue at one extreme, of course, would say that we must stop economic growth or actually retard it in order to save the environment.

As I have often pointed out, there is not an irreconcilable conflict between the two. The fact that we have growth in itself improves the environment and if anybody has any doubt about that, visit any of those many countries in which over 2½ billion peoples in the world live, in which they don't have economic growth and see whether that environment, insofar as the quality of life, is one we would want for our people.

On the other side of the coin, we realize, the fact that we are the richest, most

productive nation in the world gives us the resources with which to deal with the environment, deal with it effectively; in other words, to take the genius which created the problems in the first place and turn it to the solutions of the problems.

This seems to be, of course, a problem that is insoluble because two great forces come into conflict. Actually, like so many things in government, it is one of those problems where reasonable people considering all of the difficulties can find solutions.

I think the Council has in its report approached this problem with, it seems to me, great statesmanship, with some strong recommendations, and we are committed in this field to a program that we think that not just this generation, but more important, the generation that the young people, the interns and the staff, will be living in 25 or 30 years from now—that you will thank us for it because when you are as old as I am, those of you who are in college, around the year 2000 or a little after that, if we don't do the things that this Environmental Council and others who are working on the environment have recognized now about the air, water, and open space here in America, we will have the richest country in the world but a country in which we can't drink the water, where we can't breathe the air, and in which our children, your children, will not be able to have the beautiful open spaces that you usually think of which characterize the American landscape.

So I am glad you have the summer interns here.

Every time that you work on a problem you recognize that while the smog rolls in and suffocates the whole eastern seaboard for a few days, then it goes away, and then we tend again to think, "Well, that was only a temporary phenomenon." When it rolls in as it does on the west coast from time to time, even now in southern California, as I know, and as you know, Doctor, we tend to think that is a temporary phenomenon.

But all of us who have studied this problem know that unless we deal with this, it is not going to be temporary. It is going to be a permanent affliction of all of the industrial societies in the world.

That is why I have such strong convictions that this Council, a council that I don't meet with very often, but a council with very high quality, is engaged in the work of enormous importance to this Nation, and incidentally through the work you do in this Nation that you are engaged in, work that will be an example for other nations, other nations like Japan, the European industrial societies, and the new nations or the newly developing nations in Asia, in Africa and Latin America, which 50 years from now will be confronted with the same problems unless they decide now they are not going to make the same mistakes.

With that, we thank you for your work.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:36 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

256 Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Report of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships. *August* 11, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting the first Report of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the period December 16, 1968 to June 30, 1970.

The Corporation was created under Title IX of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 as a private organization to work in partnership with local sponsors and builders, helping to produce housing responsive to local needs. The past year has demonstrated the possibilities of the Corporation. We should be particularly proud of the success of the initial financing program, which raised more than $42 million in risk capital. These funds will enable the Corporation to assist in the production of more than 100,000 units of low and moderate income housing over the next few years.

It is my belief that the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships will make an important contribution to solving our Nation's housing problems. I commend this Report to your attention.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 11, 1970

NOTE: The report is entitled "National Corporation for Housing Partnerships: First Annual Report" (22 pp. and appendixes).

257 Remarks Announcing the Vetoing of Two Appropriations Bills. *August* 11, 1970

I HAVE a brief statement that I would like to read with regard to two bills that have come to my desk that I am taking action on today and messages that I sent to the Congress.

I am today vetoing two bills the Congress has passed that would spend nearly $1 billion more than my budget recommendation. In both cases, my original budget proposals were generous. In both cases, the level proposed by Congress is a threat to every American's pocketbook.

First, the independent offices appropriations bill, which includes funds for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. My original request for urban development and related expenditures was double the outlays in the previous administration. This bill exceeds my budget request by $541 million.

I am vetoing this bill because it would help drive up the prices that everyone pays for the things he buys. It would help drive up interest rates and taxes. It would harm the people it is most designed to help.

The other measure I am vetoing is the appropriations bill for the Office of Education. It is for $453 million over my budget request and that budget request would have produced 28 percent more in outlays than in the last fiscal year of the previous administration.

I realize that an election year is a tempting time for people in politics to say yes to every spending bill. But if I were to sign these bills that spend nearly $1 bil-

lion more than we can now afford, I would be saying yes to higher prices, yes to higher interest rates, yes to higher taxes.

When it comes to spending the people's money the Congress understandably is sometimes affected by proposals that would benefit some of the people.

The responsibility of the President is to weigh the interests of all the people. By the action I am taking today, I am saying no to bigger spending and no to higher prices in the interests of all the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:43 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

258 Vetoes of Appropriations Bills for the Office of Education and for Independent Offices and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. *August* 11, 1970

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 16916, an Act making appropriations for the Office of Education for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes.

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 17548, an Act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes.

[The two veto messages were identical except for the opening paragraphs, printed above. The remaining text common to both messages follows:]

I am determined to hold the line against a dangerous budget deficit.

I am determined to hold the line against the kind of big spending that would drive up prices or demand higher taxes.

For that reason, I am today returning, without my approval, two bills the Congress has passed that would increase the Federal budget deficit by nearly one billion dollars.

1. *The Independent Offices Appropriations bill,* which includes funds for urban development, exceeds my budget request by $541 million. I am mindful of the urgent needs of our cities, which is why my original request for urban renewal, water and sewer grants and housing subsidies was *double* the outlays in the last fiscal year of the previous Administration.

I am vetoing this bill because it would help drive up the cost of living, harming the people it is most designed to help. This kind of excessive spending would also help cause the kind of huge deficits that drive up interest rates, which would make it impossible to speed the recovery of the housing industry.

2. *The appropriation for the Office of Education* is $453 million over my budget request.

My request would have produced 28% more spending than in the last fiscal year of the previous Administration.

My budget asked $3.97 billion for the educational purposes covered by this bill—an increase of $972 million in spending over fiscal 1969. In addition I have committed myself to ask the Congress for an extra $350 million to fully fund the school desegregation program as soon as the Congress provides authorizing legislation.

This is only part of what the Federal government provides for education programs generally. *Total* spending on Federally supported education programs will reach nearly $12 billion in 1971, the highest figure in history and substantially more than was provided for 1969. Thus the question is not one of cutting the present level of school funds. It is not even one of whether to increase school funds. It simply is a question of how *much* they are to be increased—and for what purposes.

Last March I stressed the urgent need for wide-ranging reforms in Federal aid to education. This bill raises the spending on old approaches that experience has proved inadequate, rather than moving boldly on the new approaches that we need—and it cuts requested funds for such forward-looking programs as dropout prevention, educational opportunity grants and research.

My veto of both these bills is painful, but necessary to hold down the rising cost of living.

We cannot have something for nothing. When we spend more than our tax system can produce, the average American either has to pay for it in higher prices or in higher taxes.

At election time it is tempting for people in politics to say "yes" to every spending bill.

If I were to sign these bills that spend more than we can now afford, I would be saying yes to a higher cost of living, yes to higher interest rates, yes to higher taxes.

I flatly refuse to go along with the kind of big spending that is wrong for all the American people. That is why I must veto these bills which add an extra billion dollars of pressure on prices.

Taken individually, there is much that can be said in favor of every spending bill, including the ones I have vetoed.

But a President is not elected to see any one bill in isolation. He must see them as part of a whole, because his constituency is 200 million Americans.

Acting in the best interest of the nation as a whole, and concerned with the average family struggling to make their incomes meet rising prices, I have drawn the line against increased spending.

I urge the Congress to reconsider the spending course it has taken, and to place first priority on achieving our goal: a healthy economy, expanding through peacetime activities, with reasonable price stability.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 11, 1970

NOTE: H.R. 16916 was enacted over the President's veto as Public Law 91-380 (84 Stat. 800), on August 18, 1970.

The President's veto of H.R. 17548 was sustained.

259 Remarks on Signing the Postal Reorganization Act. *August* 12, 1970

Mr. Vice President, Members of the Cabinet, Members of the Congress, former Postmasters General, Mr. Postmaster General, all of our distinguished guests on this occasion:

As the Postmaster General has very eloquently pointed out, this is an historic occasion, because this particular Department is one that goes back earlier than the Constitution itself.

As I was reading some of the history of Postmasters General I have found there have been 63, 63 including the three who held this office before the Constitution. I also found that there have been some rather vivid struggles by Postmasters General to stay in President's Cabinets. Perhaps the most dramatic was Montgomery Blair, Lincoln's Postmaster General, who for 3 years was under attack and finally was removed from Lincoln's Cabinet.

I think what distinguishes the present Postmaster General is that he is probably the first who holds this office who instead of fighting to stay in the President's Cabinet has fought to get out. And now he is getting out of the President's Cabinet.

I know that you are aware of the fact that when he assumed this office that the chances of this postal reform being approved, and now being signed today, were considered to be very, very small. I told him that, because he said, "I will not take the office unless the Kappel Commission's report [1] can eventually be in whole or in part approved by the Congress and enacted into law."

But he continued to work. And when the odds seemed most difficult, he became stronger and stronger. And finally, this day has come, a day that many thought could not come when he assumed this office over 18 months ago.

I think perhaps the best way to describe the present Postmaster General, Mr. Blount, "Red" Blount as he is called, is to go back into our history to one of America's famous humorists, Josh Billings. He was referring to the postage stamp. He said, "Observe the postage stamp. Its usefulness depends on its ability to stick to something until it gets there."

Postmaster General Blount has shown that ability, the ability of the postage stamp, to stick to something until it gets there.

I know that he would be the first to say that he could not have done this without a great deal of support.

First, the support of the Kappel Commission, the Kappel Commission appointed by President Johnson, supported by him, a bipartisan commission. And I am glad that so many members of that Commission are here today for this occasion.

Second, the support of the Congress of the United States, and I use the word Congress in terms that are not partisan. We could not have this measure had it not been for the bipartisan support, Democrats and Republicans, working together for this reform legislation. And I am very happy that so many members of both the Post Office and the Civil Service Committees of the House and

[1] The report, dated June 1968, is entitled "Towards Postal Excellence: The Report of the President's Commission on Postal Organization" (Government Printing Office, 212 pp.). The Commission was chaired by Frederick R. Kappel.

Senate and of the House and Senate leadership are here today, because both parties and both Houses deserve credit for what has happened here today.

Third, the support of management in the Post Office Department, a fine team that the Postmaster General has assembled, who worked for the accomplishment of this reform.

Fourth, the support of the postal unions, the postal unions who represent hundreds of thousands of postal workers. Without their support and also the personal support of Mr. George Meany and his organization, this reform could not have been accomplished. We are glad that they are all represented here today.

Now, as a result of all of these groups working together, Republicans and Democrats, management and labor, public citizens and private citizens, we have accomplished something that very few thought could be accomplished even 18 months ago. This is the American system at its best. This is the American system working in a way that we all like to see it work, where we put the country above the party and where we put service to the people above any other interest.

I perhaps could say on this occasion that as we stand here we recognize that as a result of what is being done today three things generally are going to be accomplished:

First, there is going to be better operation of this department, something that every Postmaster General, the many represented here and all those in our history, have always wanted, more efficiency.

Second, there is going to be better service to those that receive the mail. I wrote the Postmaster General 3 days ago telling him some of the things that I have said here today. I don't think he has received the letter yet.

We also are going to see as a result of this better working conditions and better pay over the years for the hundreds of thousands of people who work very proudly for the Post Office Department here in Washington and across the country.

All of this has been accomplished because men and women worked together for a common purpose that we agree was in the interest of the whole Nation.

So I say on this occasion that it is historic, historic because the Postmaster General leaves the President's Cabinet and this new organization is set up.

I think it would only be proper on this occasion if we were to introduce those who are present who are former Postmasters General, because some of the great men in America's political history are here and two men who served for 8 years as Postmasters General. I think there were only four in our history who served 8 years or longer.

Mr. Jim Farley, would you please stand up?

Mr. Arthur Summerfield, who served under President Eisenhower for 8 years;

Mr. Edward Day from Los Angeles, who served under President Kennedy;

Mr. Gronouski, who served not only in this position but as our Ambassador to Poland;

Mr. Larry O'Brien. I understand, incidentally, that among the many things that Mr. Larry O'Brien and Mr. Rogers Morton discuss, there are very few that they agree upon, but there is one thing that they do agree upon: There is no Republican way or Democratic way to deliver the mail. There is only the right way

and that is what this occasion is all about.

And Mr. Marvin Watson.

Now, finally, ladies and gentlemen, as we move from one era to another, let me, in indicating the promise of the future, pay proper respect to the past. The Post Office Department has been a political department and as each administration changes the offices have changed.

That does not mean, however, that within the postal service for over 195 years there have not been some of the most dedicated Americans.

I am very proud, as all of us are very proud, of the record of this department. We are proud of the men and women who have served in it, some of them I am sure under working conditions and for pay that was less than they perhaps could have received in other positions.

As we look to that past, a very proud past, I think what we all feel today is that hundreds of thousands of people in the Post Office Department can look to a better future, a better future for them, and as the future is better for them it means better service for all of the American people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Great Hall at the Post Office Department. As enacted, the bill (H.R. 17070) is Public Law 91-375 (84 Stat. 719).

260 Statement on Signing Bill To Increase Rates of Compensation for Disabled Veterans. *August* 12, 1970

THE Veterans Disability Compensation Rate Increase bill (S. 3348), which I am signing today, will increase the compensation payments and dependency allowances for service-disabled veterans. These increases—retroactive to July 1, 1970—will vary with the degree of disability, but we estimate that the average recipient will realize an increase in benefits of about 11 percent. This bill will also make it easier for former prisoners of war to obtain compensation for disabilities arising from their imprisonment.

Although this legislation calls for spending that would be well above the budget for fiscal year 1971, I sign it because I recognize the Nation's debt to those who have served in the Armed Forces and its special obligation to those who have been disabled in its service. We must make every effort to fulfill all of our responsibilities to those who have done so much for us.

I also recognize that the rising cost of living places special burdens on those who depend upon a monthly benefit check for a significant part of their income. This is a point that I have made frequently with respect to social security recipients and I believe that it is also true of disabled veterans. Benefits for our two million disabled veterans have lagged behind the rise in the cost of living. This bill will allow them to catch up.

In signing this legislation, I am acceding to an increase of some $218 million in the budget for the current fiscal year. This added money must come by offsetting reductions in other Federal spending programs, if we are to avoid further inflationary pressures.

The President has discretionary author-

ity to make certain administrative reductions in the level of Federal spending. I feel that I must use that authority at this time in order to pay for the increased spending called for in this veterans bill.

I have ordered spending reductions equaling the $218 million from other Federal programs, including the following:

Medicaid, by changing administrative regulations to reduce certain excessive charges far above the national average imposed by some medical institutions;

GSA, by cutting supply purchases and deferring some Federal construction in areas where unemployment is not a major problem;

Federal land acquisition, by imposing restrictions upon expenditures for this purpose in several areas;

Atomic Energy Commission, by reducing certain planned expenditures.

I have carefully considered the need for these adjustments and I am convinced that they are in the public interest. It would be most regrettable if our efforts to help disabled veterans cope with the cost of living had the effect of aggravating that same problem for other Americans by increasing the Federal deficit. We cannot permit that to occur.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 3348 is Public Law 91-376 (84 Stat. 787).

261 Message to the Senate Transmitting Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. *August* 13, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification. The Additional Protocol was signed on behalf of the United States on April 1, 1968.

For the information of the Senate, I transmit also the report by the Secretary of State with respect to the Protocol and a copy of the Treaty to which it relates.

The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, done at Mexico City February 14, 1967, is the first successful attempt to create a nuclear free zone in a populated region of the world. The Treaty is limited to states located in the Latin American region and is already in force among 16 Latin American nations.

Additional Protocol II is designed for nuclear-weapon states, which are not eligible to sign the Treaty itself. It calls upon them to respect the denuclearized status of Latin America, not to contribute to violation of the Treaty, and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the Treaty parties.

It is in the best interests of the United States to assume these obligations toward the Latin American countries bound by the Treaty. By creating this nuclear-free zone the nations of Latin America have made an important contribution to peace and security in the Western Hemisphere. Ratification by the United States of Additional Protocol II would not only indicate our support for the Latin American nuclear-free zone but would reinforce our other arms control efforts such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to Additional Protocol II and give its advice and consent to ratification, subject to the statement which accompanies the report of the Secretary of State. That statement, which is similar to the one made by the United States at the time of signature, expresses our understanding concerning territories and territorial claims, transit and transport privileges, non-use of nuclear weapons, and the definition of "nuclear weapon". The statement also reaffirms our willingness to make available nuclear explosion services for peaceful purposes on a nondiscriminatory basis under appropriate international arrangements.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 13, 1970

NOTE: The texts of the Protocol and report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive H (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

262 Remarks on Arrival in New Orleans, Louisiana. *August* 14, 1970

MRS. NIXON and I want to express our great appreciation to all of you for this wonderfully warm welcome. To Al Hirt and Pete Fountain, how about a hand for them?

We've had Al at the White House. Pete, you've got to come too. We also want you to know that we have been deeply moved by the reception we have received as we have come to New Orleans. We remember our previous visits here and on this particular occasion, I simply want to remind this wonderful crowd that this is a special day in the history of the United States.

Twenty-five years ago was VJ Day. I wonder if all of you can remember that day. I was in New York with my wife in Times Square. The war was over. And I think all of us today, if we had one great thought on our mind, it is to bring peace, but a peace that will last, and that is what we are working for in Washington.

I also want you to know that this is the 25th State that I have visited since becoming President of the United States. And over these past 18 months, it is a great experience for me to go to America.

I recall that in the history books it tells us that when the Louisiana Purchase was made in 1803, that Thomas Jefferson and others said that it was necessary for the new young country to think continentally, and, of course, now that America is a continent, I find that we tend to think too much sectionally, that what really happens is that those of us in Washington sometimes become isolated from the rest of the country.

That is why I have this program, one which instead of just sitting in Washington waiting for the people to come there we are bringing the White House to all over the country. And now it is right here in Washington, D.C. [New Orleans, Louisiana].

We are going to discuss several problems with leaders of this State and leaders of the South, domestic problems, foreign problems.

But there is one thing that I want to say with regard to this special day. Coming down on the airplane were Members of the House and a Member of the Senate

and I have been met here by another Member of the House.

It happens that the entire delegation from the State of Louisiana are members of the Democratic Party. I happen to be in the other party. But I want to say this: that when I look at the record of the members of the delegation from the State of Louisiana, whether they be in the House or the Senate, that when it comes to the great issue of building a strong United States and those policies that will build a just peace, they do not think of themselves as Democrats, but as Americans first, and that is the kind of policy that we need in America today.

And so to all of them who have supported us from this State, we are grateful; to those of you in this State who have given support to us on those great international issues that are bigger than parties, because they are as big as this whole country, our deep appreciation.

And one last thing. My wife and I were here for the first time 29 years ago. And I remember how we were moved by the wonderful food and the good music, but most of all by the warmth of the hospitality.

This is a good city and it is a warm and friendly, hospitable city. May it always be that way for a President or for somebody that was nothing, as I was 29 years ago.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. at the Royal Orleans Hotel.

263 Remarks Following a Meeting in New Orleans With Leaders of Seven State Advisory Committees on Public Education. *August* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am standing here with Director Shultz, who, as you know, is Vice Chairman of this Committee [1] that has been meeting with leaders from various Southern States, seven States,[2] as a matter of fact.

He started in that responsibility when he was in the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor and has continued since he has assumed the responsibility, still in the Cabinet, as the Director of Management and Budget.

After I make a brief statement expressing some sentiments with regard to these committees and my appreciation to them for serving, Mr. Shultz will be glad to brief you on some of the developments during the meetings that have been held. He was here this morning meeting with a group from Louisiana and also has sat in as I did for the last two hours and a half with the meetings in which all of the Chairmen and Vice Chairmen from the seven States participated.

He will also be able to take some questions. After that is concluded, I believe a press reception is scheduled to which you are all invited. We will remain there until you get time to file your stories, at least as I understand.

Where is that going to be held, Mr. Ziegler?

[1] Cabinet Committee on Education.

[2] Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

MR. ZIEGLER. Right next door, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Right next door, fine.

I have had a very good day today in terms of learning what the problem is and also in hearing candidly from the Chairmen and Cochairmen of each of the committees from the seven States involved what their recommendations would be for Federal participation in helping to solve the problem.

Let me be very direct and very candid with regard to where we stand on the problem of school desegregation.

The highest court of the land has spoken. The unitary school system must replace the dual school system throughout the United States. The law having been determined, it is the responsibility of those in the Federal Government and particularly the responsibility of the President of the United States to uphold the law. And I shall meet that responsibility.

However, in upholding the law, a law which requires a very significant social change, one that has enormous ramifications as it affects the communities, the schools, the homes of so many people in the Southern States involved, there are different approaches.

One approach is simply to sit back and wait for school to open and for trouble to start, and then if trouble begins, to order in the Federal enforcers to see that the law is complied with.

I rejected that approach from the beginning. Normally that is enough. When the Congress passes a law or when the Supreme Court decides or interprets a law in a certain way, it is only the responsibility of the President, the Attorney General, and others to enforce the law.

But in this instance, in the event that the law is not complied with, in the event that there are difficulties, as has been predicted in many quarters, those who will suffer will not simply be this generation, it will be primarily the next generation, the students, the children in the school districts involved.

They will pay the price for the failure, a failure of leadership, and it is here that I point out that leadership, strong leadership, is not limited simply to enforcing the law when the law is broken. We believe, all of us, in law and order and justice. We believe in enforcing the law.

But I also believe that leadership in an instance like this requires some preventive action. We are trying to take some preventive action and we are getting magnificent cooperation from dedicated people in the seven States involved.

These are civic leaders serving without pay and many of them serving even though some of their friends and neighbors suggest that they, too, should sit on the sidelines and not borrow trouble by trying to give advice or to develop public opinion so that this orderly transition can be made.

To me, one of the most encouraging experiences that I have had since taking office was to hear each one of these leaders from the Southern States speak honestly about the problems, not glossing over the fact that there were very grave problems, telling us what was needed to be done from the Federal standpoint, telling us also what they were doing at the local level. It was encouraging to see this kind of leadership come.

Time will tell how successful we have been, but I do know this: As a result of these advisory committees being set up, we are going to find that in many districts the transition will be orderly and peaceful, whereas otherwise it could have been the

other way. And the credit will go to these outstanding Southern leaders, more credit to them actually than to the Federal officials who were there to help them.

Another point that I would like to urge on all of those who are listening here today, and many of you I know are from the Southern States, is this: Being again quite candid and quite blunt, this problem of race relations and particularly with regard to segregation in our schools is not a sectional problem. It is a national problem. It should be handled in a national way.

I have no patience with those from the North that point the finger at the South and then overlook the fact that in many Northern cities and Northern States the problem may also be a very, very difficult one.

That is why, as I approach this problem, I emphasize this is one country, this is one people, and we are going to carry out the law in that way, not in a punitive way, treating the South as basically a second class part of the Nation, but treating this part of the country with the respect that it deserves, asking its leaders to cooperate with us and we with them.

And then finally this point: One theme that every one of the participants in this meeting, the Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, white and black, participating, constantly came back to was quality education—quality education for all students, while students and black students.

One theme that they all came back to was the necessity for the survival of and the improvement of public school education.

It is this that we have worked for in this administration, and it is this that these committees will be working for as they meet and as they advise us in these very critical months ahead. What we want is quality education for this whole Nation, and particularly during this first year of transition to a unitary from a dual system.

I would say finally that it would be extremely helpful in this period if we could have the cooperation of the members of the press and the members of the media. You will find instances, I am sure, where there could be difficulties and problems. And it is your responsibility to report the news, whether it is bad or good.

But I know of no time in our Nation's history when the country needs to hear of those many, many successes where men and women of good will worked out the problem, rather than hearing only of those few instances that might be failures.

I do believe that this meeting has been most worthwhile from my standpoint. It demonstrated again that leaving Washington and coming to the country, hearing directly from the people in the country, is good for a President and good for the members of his Cabinet.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. in the West Salon of the Royal Orleans Hotel.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the meetings with the State Advisory Committees by Vice Chairman Shultz.

White House releases, dated June 24, July 23, and August 5, 6, 12, 14, and 18, 1970, announcing the formation and membership of the seven State Advisory Committees are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 813, 974, 1024, 1029, 1061, 1066, and 1080).

The transcript of a news briefing, on July 23, by Vice Chairman Shultz on the President's meeting with members of the South Carolina State Advisory Committee on Public Education is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 975).

264 Statement Urging Congressional Action on the Federal Economy Act. *August* 17, 1970

AT A TIME when the budget must be defended against excessive spending, and when every dollar must be directed to urgent national needs, an unnecessary leakage of $2 million a day by virtue of delayed action by the Congress is indefensible.

Almost 6 months ago, I sent to the Congress my Federal economy message which listed 57 actions which could be taken to reduce unnecessary Federal spending. The Congress was asked to take 15 of these actions and I was prepared to take those remaining.

My total savings target in the budget was $2,132,000,000, of which $1,150,000,000 could be achieved by executive action. The remaining $982,000,000 in savings required congressional legislative action.

In those matters requiring enactment of new laws, the Congress appears to be proceeding on only $449,000,000 of savings, 46 percent of its goal. Further, the Congress is endeavoring to prevent me from achieving $167,000,000 in savings. In total, the Congress would leave $707,000,000 unsaved in fiscal year 1971, or nearly one-third of the total I proposed.

In those areas where I have been left free by the Congress to act, I am terminating, restructuring, and reforming programs. The savings from my actions total $983,000,000 and represent 100 percent of those savings available to me and not affected by congressional action.

Because the Congress has not addressed the potential savings with a sense of urgency, an average of $2 million is being wasted every day on programs that are obsolete, low priority, or inefficient. Congressional inaction is extremely expensive.

I urge the Congress to take prompt action, as I have done, to put the public interest ahead of the special interests—to put an end to those costly "sacred cows" that have been allowed to exist long after their original purposes have been served.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by Caspar W. Weinberger, Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget.

265 Statement on Signing Bill Extending the Defense Production Act. *August* 17, 1970

I HAVE SIGNED S. 3302, which extends the Defense Production Act until June 30, 1972. If this measure were not approved, the act would expire and certain authorities essential to the conduct of our defense activities would not be available for an indefinite period.

Were it not for the need to extend the basic law, I would withhold my approval of S. 3302. This bill contains three provisions which in my view are objectionable, and does not include amendments to the Defense Production Act which were recommended by this administration.

First, the bill gives the President authority to establish controls on prices, rents, wages, and salaries at levels not less than those prevailing on May 25, 1970, and to enforce those controls by fines and injunctions. I have previously indicated that I

did not intend to exercise such authority if it were given to me. Price and wage controls simply do not fit the economic conditions which exist today. The 1969 annual report of President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers made the following comment on such controls with which I completely agree:

"Mandatory price and wage controls are no answer. Such controls freeze the market mechanism which guides the economy in responding to the changing pattern and volume of demand; they distort decisions on production and employment; they require a huge and cumbersome bureaucracy; they impose a heavy and costly burden on business; they perpetrate inevitable injustices. They are incompatible with a free enterprise economy and must be regarded as a last resort appropriate only in an extreme emergency such as all-out war."

If Congress believes that price and wage controls are needed in today's economy, despite all the evident disadvantages and against my strong recommendations, it should face up to its responsibilities and make such controls mandatory. When this bill was before the House, a motion to recommit the bill and report it back with a mandatory freeze on prices, rents, wages, and salaries was offered. The vote against the proposal was overwhelming—270 to 11.

Second, the bill establishes a Cost-Accounting Standards Board outside the executive branch of the Government, consisting of the Comptroller General and four members appointed by him, which would promulgate cost-accounting standards binding on Federal agencies and contractors and subcontractors in connection with the pricing, administration, and settlement of negotiated national defense procurement contracts in excess of $100,000.

I have no objection to this provision insofar as it provides for the establishment of cost-accounting standards. However, I am opposed to vesting that function in a board, independent of the executive branch, consisting of the Comptroller General and his appointees.

Conceivably, this aspect of the bill could be justified theoretically on the ground that the establishment of those standards will facilitate the congressional function of oversight of Federal expenditures. As a practical matter, however, the establishment of these standards will necessarily affect the negotiation and administration of Government contracts. Those functions are the responsibility of the executive branch under the Constitution.

The Comptroller General and the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants testified in favor of establishing an independent board within the executive branch. I fully agree with that approach. Since I am convinced that this provision of S. 3302 as presently formulated would unavoidably violate the fundamental principle of the separation of powers between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, I request the Congress to enact an amendment as soon as the House returns from its recess to place the functions of the Board in the executive branch.

Third, the bill limits guarantees of defense production loans under section 301 of the Defense Production Act to not more than $20 million for any single loan. Previously the act imposed no ceiling. I believe that this is an unnecessary and undesirable restriction which should be promptly repealed. It is an arbitrary limit which could interfere at some future time

with the effective conduct of defense production activities.

Fourth, the bill does not include the substantive amendments to the Defense Production Act which the administration recommended. Among other improvements, these would have authorized appropriations for activities to expand productive capacity and supply under sections 302 and 303 of the act.

I urge the Congress to move promptly to enact the amendments necessary to provide a sound Defense Production Act.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 3302 is Public Law 91-379 (84 Stat. 796), approved August 15, 1970.

266 Letter to the Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate Concerning Funding for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *August* 18, 1970

Dear Mike:

As I did last year, I am once again seeking your help in obtaining sufficient operating funds for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. For Fiscal 1971 I have requested a total of $19 million.

During the last session of Congress I wrote you on the same subject, asking that you try to win approval on the Senate floor of my full Fiscal 1970 budget request for the Commission. I was gratified then by the Senate's favorable response, but unfortunately the amount was later trimmed in Conference to $12.5 million. One result of the cut is that the Commission now faces an even greater backlog of unfinished work than it did last year, and the effectiveness of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has thus been further diminished.

In my State of the Union message this year, I made the point that "we can fulfill the American Dream only when each person has a fair chance to fulfill his own dreams." Title VII is designed to help realize that goal. However, consistent underfunding of the Commission has seriously hindered fulfillment of the high hopes raised by the Act's passage six years ago. The cost in human terms has been substantial.

In order to improve the efficiency of the Commission's operations, a joint Civil Service-Bureau of the Budget team has recently been working with the Commission's Chairman and, as a result of its study, has recommended a set of new administrative procedures. These will ensure that the new funds are put to the most effective possible use. However, the case backlog is immense, and the funds I recommended in my budget are needed.

Therefore, I am again prevailing on you in the hope that you will use your good offices toward ensuring that the relatively modest resources necessary for the Commission's efficient operation in the current fiscal year are provided. Even in a period of extreme budgetary stringency, $19 million hardly seems too much to spend on so important a goal.

I am sending this same letter to the Minority Leader.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.]

267 Statement About the Inter-American Social Development Institute. *August* 19, 1970

IN ACCORDANCE with Section 401 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969, I submitted Monday to the Senate for confirmation a Board of Directors for the Inter-American Social Development Institute.

I have also directed that $10 million of economic assistance funds be transferred to the Institute to finance its initial operations.

The Institute will provide grant support for innovative, experimental programs undertaken primarily by private nonprofit organizations. It is designed as a pilot project to bring the dynamism of U.S. and Latin American private groups to bear on development problems through people-to-people programs, and to help broaden the participation of individuals in the processes of development.

The Institute will be limited in size and scope of operations to help keep it on a path of creative innovation. It will be separate from existing government agencies and it will not have personnel permanently assigned abroad. It is my hope that the Institute will develop a fresh approach to support new and experimental efforts by private organizations to contribute to social and institutional development, particularly in the areas of education and agriculture. The Board of Directors will, of course, establish detailed operating guidelines for the Institute.

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget will assist the Board of Directors in forming the Institute. He will also conduct by June 1971 a review of the Institute's operations and funding requirements, including its relationship to any new organizational arrangements for foreign aid programs which may be proposed.

NOTE: A White House press release, dated August 17, 1970, listing the seven nominees to the Board of Directors of the Institute is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1079).

268 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Geneva Protocol of 1925 on Chemical and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare. *August* 19, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva June 17, 1925. I transmit also the report by the Secretary of State which sets forth the understandings and the proposed reservation of the United States with respect to the Protocol.

In submitting this Protocol for approval, I consider it desirable and appropriate to make the following statements:

—The United States has renounced the first-use of lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons.

—The United States has renounced any use of biological and toxin weapons.

—Our biological and toxin programs will be confined to research for defensive purposes, strictly defined. By the example we set, we hope to contribute to an atmosphere of peace, understanding and confidence between nations and among men. The policy of the United States Government is to support international efforts to limit biological and toxin research programs to defensive purposes.

—The United States will seek further agreement on effective arms-control measures in the field of biological and chemical warfare.

Today, there are 85 parties, including all other major powers, to this basic international agreement which the United States proposed and signed in 1925. The United States always has observed the principles and objectives of this Protocol.

I consider it essential that the United States now become a party to this Protocol, and urge the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification with the reservation set forth in the Secretary's report.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
August 19, 1970

NOTE: The text of the Protocol is printed in Senate Executive J (91st Cong., 2d sess.). The report of the Secretary of State and an announcement of the forwarding of the Protocol to the Senate, released by the White House on the same day, are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 1082 and 1083).

On February 14, 1970, the White House released an announcement of the decision to renounce toxins as a method of warfare. It is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 179).

269 Letter Accepting Resignation of Dr. Lee A. DuBridge as Science Adviser to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology. *August* 19, 1970

Dear Lee:

It is with deep regret that I accept your resignation effective, as you have requested, on August 31, 1970.

Your participation in my Administration during this crucially important initial period will always be a source of satisfaction to me. The skill, the wisdom and the seasoned judgment you have brought to your responsibilities here deserve a special accolade from all of us who have had the privilege of working with you, and I trust that you will take pride in the outstanding contribution you have made to the welfare of all of your fellow citizens.

While your intention to return to private life is a loss not only for me but also for all of your colleagues in Washington, I am grateful that we will continue to have your assistance as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee. It is a pleasure to assure you of an appointment to a full four-year term on that Committee—when the vacancy occurs in December.

As you prepare to return to Southern California, I want you and Doris to know that the best wishes of the Nixons and of your many other friends here will be with you throughout the years ahead.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Lee A. DuBridge, Director, Office of Science and Technology]

NOTE: Dr. DuBridge's letter of resignation, dated August 17, 1970, and made available with the President's letter on August 19, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As I told you some time ago, I have been giving serious attention during recent months to the question of the appropriate length of my stay in government service—and when I should begin my planned retirement in California. I have always been convinced I should retire well in advance of my 70th birthday in 1971. Hence, I suggested to you this summer that you begin the search for my successor and allow me to retire at a date convenient both to him and yourself.

I am pleased that our search for a new Science Adviser has ended so successfully and at such an early date that my retirement can be initiated at once.

Accordingly, I tender my resignation as Science Adviser and Director of the Office of Science and Technology effective August 31, 1970. Needless to say, I shall make every effort to assist my successor to achieve a smooth transition in the work of my office.

Mr. President, my service as a member of your official White House family has been one of the great experiences of my life. It has been a privilege to have such a wonderful association with you and so many members of your Administration. Your keen and perceptive interest in science and technology has made my work with you most stimulating and rewarding.

These past 19 months have, of course, been difficult times in many ways. One result of the fiscal problems has been the slow down (which began in 1967) of the nation's scientific and technological enterprise has not been reversed. Much of this lag in the past year has been the result of the failure of the Congress to appropriate the full amount of the funds you requested in FY 1970 for scientific research. There is evidence that in fiscal 1971 your request for increased scientific funding will be more fully met. I hope so, and I trust that our mutual desires for the continued welfare of science will be fulfilled.

Please be assured that I shall stand ready to assist you in the future in any way I can, and I trust that you and your new Science Adviser will feel free to call on me for any help I might be able to render. The welfare of science and its benefits to the nation and to the world will continue to be my prime interest.

Sincerely yours,

LEE A. DUBRIDGE

[The President, The White House]

270 Remarks on Arrival at Puerto Vallarta, Mexico. *August* 20, 1970

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great honor for Mrs. Nixon and me to be received for the first time in Mexico on an official state visit.

Since our meeting at Amistad a year ago, I have been looking forward to the chance to resume our personal acquaintanceship and our discussion of problems of mutual interest.

I think it is significant that this is the first country in Latin America to which I have been able to make a state visit. It is very appropriate that that should be so. We share a 2,000-mile common border, one of the longest in the world. That border we can say today is not a wall that divides us, but a bridge of friendship which unites us.

Mr. President, on this occasion I want

to pay tribute, too, to the leadership that you have provided for this country over the past 6 years. You will go down in history as one of Mexico's great Presidents and as one of the great leaders of this hemisphere and of the world.

You can be proud of the unprecedented progress that has occurred during your term of office; progress that is demonstrated by this new airport on which our plane has landed, an airport which I think very appropriately bears your name.

You have demonstrated not only for the people of your country, but for the people of the world, that the way to progress is through the right combination between liberty and stability. We admire and respect you for that kind of leadership that you have provided.

Finally, Mr. President, as I'm sure you know, it is for Mrs. Nixon and me a very special, personal honor to return to this country on a state visit, because of our memories of our first visit to Mexico 30 years ago—on our wedding trip—this summer.

It was then that we became acquainted with Mexico City, Cuernavaca, Toluca, Puebla, Taxco, Guadalajara, and other cities.

Many things have happened, since that time 30 years ago, to Mexico. Many changes have occurred. But one thing has not changed, and that is that there is warm friendship and warm hospitality for all of those who come as visitors to this country. It was true then and we see it today, and we are grateful for this welcome.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:55 a.m. at President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz International Airport in response to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz' welcoming remarks. President Diaz Ordaz spoke in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

His Excellency President Richard Nixon, Mrs. Nixon, distinguished guests:

The people of Mexico extend to you a heartfelt welcome when you reach the soil of Mexico.

We are glad to have you with us again and it is an opportunity to renew our friendship established in Ciudad Acuña a year ago.

During these conversations we will carry on with frankness, with the loyalty due among friends, and with the respect due to the representatives of two neighboring, friendly countries, and I am sure that the result of these conversations will be most fruitful.

In the name of Mrs. Diaz Ordaz and of myself, I beg you and Mrs. Nixon to excuse Mrs. Diaz Ordaz who was not able to be here as she would have wished because she is still convalescing from an illness.

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, in the name of the people of Mexico, in the name of the people of Jalisco, in the name of Mrs. Diaz Ordaz, my daughter, and myself, we wish that your stay here in Mexico will be most pleasant.

Thank you.

271 Toasts of the President and President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz of Mexico at a Luncheon Honoring President Nixon. *August* 20, 1970

Mr. President, our distinguished guests, Your Excellencies:

I wish to express on behalf of all of us who are the guests of you, Mr. President, and your Government, our appreciation for the words you have spoken and for the welcome you have given us.

We were particularly touched by the welcome we had as we drove through the streets of this very old, but very unique

city, one that I am sure will be an attraction for tourists all over the world.

What particularly impressed us was not simply the numbers, which certainly were very great when we consider the size of this city, but as the President said, it is sometimes possible to order people to come out. It is not possible to order them to smile.

We feel that when we come to this area, with the great capital city of Guadalajara, that we come in a sense to the heart of Mexico. The music, the dance, all of the other art, that is to many of us related to Guadalajara, reminds us of how much this State means to Mexico and to the world.

Mr. President, I am sure that all the members of my party would agree that of the many countries in the world which we have visited—and Mrs. Nixon and I have now visited over 60 countries officially and unofficially—we have never had entertainment, dance, music, and song which could surpass what we heard here which came from Guadalajara and from this State.

Mr. President, we know, too, how much effort went into the arrangements for this visit, the flags along the street, and we noted particularly the little donkeys along the street on either side of the road.

There are some who believe that a trip by the President to a foreign country might have political overtones, as we approach an election. Your welcoming us with a few donkeys shows that this is a completely bipartisan trip.

I can assure you, Mr. President, in that spirit, speaking both officially and speaking on behalf of the people of the United States, that I bring from the heart of America, from people of my party, of the other party, from all Americans, their deep affection, their respect for this great country with which we share a border of 2,000 miles.

We deeply regret that Señora Diaz Ordaz could not be with us, but we remember our meeting a year ago, and we are so delighted that your daughter could be with us here today. I would naturally expect that she, being your daughter, would have very great political sensitivity. But I had it brought home to me when I showed her the delightful and unique place card, which I had at my place, and I asked her what it was, whether it was a donkey or a horse. She said it was a horse.

I understand from Foreign Minister Carrillo Flores that all effort was made, of course, to be sure that there were no partisan overtones in this fact. He said a call was made to the American Embassy to see if there could be some proper balance, and the American Embassy couldn't furnish any elephants for the line of route.

Mr. President, these facetious references to our political battles in the United States allow me to emphasize again the point that I have mentioned earlier. We in our country are deeply grateful for the friendship that we have had with not only this nation as a government but the people of Mexico.

The thousands of Americans who each year come to Mexico come back with a very warm place in their hearts for this country and its people, just as my wife and I have had such a place in our hearts since we were here 30 years ago.

The fact that we are good friends, however, does not mean that this should be taken for granted. And the opportunity that we have had, and will have now, on two occasions within the space of a year, to talk about matters in which we have a

mutual interest and work them out in a friendly way is one that should always characterize the relations between the United States and Mexico.

The relations between our two Governments are friendly, but those relations are even more friendly, Mr. President, because the personal relations between the two men who serve as President of our two countries are friendly on a personal basis.

Mr. President, as you near the end of your term, I think you should be very gratified by the crowds that were on the streets today. As I heard them shout your name, as I saw them smile, as I saw their affection, I realized that the people of Mexico were trying to tell me, as well as you, that they had been fortunate to have as their leader, as President of this country for 6 years, one of the great men of this hemisphere.

Mr. President, in the last 6 years I think it can be said that never have the relations between the United States and Mexico been more close, more cooperative, more friendly with mutual respect. And for that reason, I think it is most appropriate that all of us rise and raise our glasses to the continuation of friendship and respect and cooperation between these two great countries in the Northern Hemisphere and to the health of the President of Mexico and Señora Diaz Ordaz.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 4 p.m. in the Hotel Delfin in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico in response to President Diaz Ordaz' toast.

President Diaz Ordaz spoke in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

His Excellency, the President of the United States of America, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

These people that you have had the opportunity to see in the streets of Puerto Vallarta are but the representation of the people of Mexico.

You have landed in Mexico on the soil of Jalisco, the State chosen by the father of our country to abolish slavery in 1812; this State that gave a General Santos Degollado and a General Ramon Corona to fight against the intervention of a foreign army and to reinstate the Mexican Republic; this land which gave brave and loyal soldiers to the revolution, which gave an Orozco to painting and an Azuela to literature; this land of men, hard-working men, who work with enthusiasm and live with joy; this land which gave us our national dance, *El Jarabe Tapatio,* the Mexican Hat Dance, its songs, and whose artisans have such hands that can shape clay as very few others can; men who have worked hard and have managed to place their State among the first in the development of our country and who are proud of their great capital, the city of Guadalajara; these people of Jalisco, as I said before, are but the representatives and the representation of the characteristics and of the qualities of this noble land of Mexico, these noble people of Mexico, and people who have one of those qualities of which we are proud, manliness, which is translated into loyalty and virtue.

It was this people who went out on the streets of the beautiful Puerto Vallarta to welcome you, Mr. President, and you, Mrs. Nixon, with an open heart, with open arms, and with a smile of friendliness; this people that know how to be friends and ask from their friends in turn only loyalty and reciprocity. And struggling against all sorts of adversities we have managed to, little by little, overcome some of the traditional obstacles that we have had and we are about to join the current of progress. We are considered susceptible but we know how to live in peace with the rest of the countries of the world. We ask to be respected because we know how to respect others, but we hope that we will be loved because we know how to love other peoples.

To this people of which I form but an insignificant part and which has so warmly greeted you at the airport, I want you to know,

Mr. President, that I feel unworthy of their warm greeting and I feel that you are most worthy of it.

In the ride into town, I expressed to you, Mr. President, that you had been far too generous with me when you have made me the object of expressions which I really did not deserve. When you came here 30 years ago—and from that visit fond memories were born for you today—when you came here, I say, as you told us at the airport, two important things were brought home to you. You told us that you noticed the difference in development between the Mexico of today and the Mexico of 30 years ago—and it is true we are a different people.

But you also pointed out to us that there is one thing that had not changed, and that is the cordiality with which visitors were received, and with that same cordiality we want to send to the people of the United States, through you, Mr. President, our own cordial salutations. With this salutation goes our confidence that these myriad of problems which necessarily exist between two neighboring countries can be always solved within the bounds of mutual respect and mutual confidence which are so necessary.

Respect, right, friendship: These are the three pillars on which our relations can be ever more cordial. These are the pillars that can permit a constant dialogue so we can understand the problems of each other and solve them within the spirit of friendship which is so necessary for the relations between our two countries.

As an expression of this friendship, I ask you to rise and toast to the prosperity, to the felicity of the peoples of the United States of America and of Mr. and Mrs. Nixon personally, who we hope will ever be our friends and will someday again return to Mexico as our friends.

272 Remarks to Reporters by the President and President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico Announcing a Boundary Agreement. *August* 20, 1970

PRESIDENT Diaz Ordaz has very well summarized the results of our discussions. I only want to add my congratulations and express appreciation to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of State, and their staffs for working out some of these, what seemed to be difficult, problems; and also to pay my respects and again express my appreciation to the President for the leadership that he has displayed in attempting to work out satisfactorily, not only the disputes of the past which have sometimes plagued the relations unnecessarily between our two countries for 100 years, but a formula for settling any dispute that may come out in the future.

It is necessary, under the Mexican Constitution, that this agreement be submitted to the Congress. I, of course, cannot speak for the Congress of Mexico. I understand that the possibility of its being approved, I believe, is very good.

As far as we are concerned, we will submit this as a treaty to the United States Senate. While we have had some difficulties with some votes in the Senate, the Secretary of State assures me that we can get a unanimous vote on this treaty.

During the course of our meeting of over two hours and a half, the President and I had an opportunity also to discuss a wide range of bilateral matters between our two countries. And one of those subjects, I think, should be mentioned: the Colorado River salinity problem.

I noted, incidentally, there was a group at the airport expressing a great interest

in this problem. We, of course, are vitally concerned about it. And I can report, with the President's approval, that we made progress in our discussions and are continuing at the working level trying to find a solution that we believe will be satisfactory.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 7:10 p.m. on the patio of the Posada Vallarta Hotel, Puerto Vallarta, Mexico following President Diaz Ordaz' remarks to reporters.

On August 21, 1970, the White House released an announcement of an agreement to conclude a boundary treaty between the United States and Mexico and a statement of principles concerning the agreement following meetings between Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Secretary of Foreign Relations for Mexico Antonio Carrillo Flores. The texts of both releases are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 1088 and 1090).

The transcript of a news briefing on the boundary agreement by Joseph F. Friedkin, Commissioner, U.S. Section, International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico; Chris G. Petrow, Country Director—Mexico, Department of State; and Arnold Nachmanoff, senior staff member, National Security Council, was also released on the same day.

President Diaz Ordaz spoke in Spanish. A translation follows:

Gentlemen of the press:

You have been following us and now President Nixon and myself, in due course, have come to see you to tell you about a very important conclusion which we have arrived at in our conversations.

The Secretary of State of the United States and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico will later, tomorrow, give you the details of this arrangement. But I wish to now say that we have reached an agreement as to all the pending disputes as far as the border is concerned where the river, the Rio Grande, divides us from El Paso to Brownsville and even 12 miles further out into the ocean.

We have not only settled all pending disputes that have been pending for more than 100 years but we have also established mechanisms and means to solve any future disputes or perhaps to avoid them.

This is a very important conclusion. It settles definitely all pending border problems of Mexico-the United States, and I wish to thank, heartily thank, all the officers of both Governments who have collaborated to make this possible.

We must remember that we are two peoples who have been married by geography and it is necessary and convenient that we should have no problems whatsoever arising from the delineation of our borders.

Thank you.

273 Toasts of the President and President Diaz Ordaz at a Luncheon Honoring the President of Mexico. *August* 21, 1970

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, and our guests:

Mr. President, you have honored all of us from the United States with the warmth of your reception and we will take away memories of this visit which will stay with us for the rest of our lives.

We thank you for giving us the opportunity of seeing a part of your great and picturesque nation, a part that most of us have never seen before, and it makes us realize that there is so much of Mexico for all of us to see and to know, to explore. And I hope that our visit here will bring many others from America and other lands to come to this wonderful nation, to

know it as we have learned to know it and to know this delightful part which has such memories for us.

Here in this place we look out upon one of the great scenic wonders of the world. And we remember the welcome of yesterday, the warm-hearted people that we saw. We look at the architecture, the old blended with the new. We realize the progress that has come here and yet what you have retained of the history, the uniqueness that has meant so much to those who have seen it for the first time. And when I hear from others who have had the opportunity to swim in this beautiful sea—an opportunity I did not have today—when I hear that here the sea is like champagne, I realize we must come back again. *Como Puerto Vallarta no hay dos.* [Puerto Vallarta has no peer.]

But Mr. President, in addition to all of these very great memories that we will take away, what will be particularly memorable in this visit is the historic agreement that has been reached in which we now settle all of the boundary disputes of the past and set up the procedure for avoiding any boundary disputes in the future between our two countries.

Without your statesmanship and the leadership of those in your Foreign Office, and without, also, the cooperation of those in our State Department, this could not have occurred. We congratulate and thank you all for making possible such a historic agreement. Because what this means is that from this time on no boundaries will ever divide us in our search for peace, for prosperity and freedom for the Mexican people and the people of the United States of America.

And, Mr. President, we would like to pay tribute to you for your leadership, not only of your own nation but in the cause of good relations between the United States and Mexico.

And I am very happy to announce to this assembly that the President has accepted our invitation to be the guest at a state dinner in his honor in San Diego, California, on September 3.

California, the State in which I was born, the State in which I now live, is one which owes so much to the Mexican people, the Mexican-Americans, for what they have contributed. And to have you present there as not only the guest of the United States but particularly as one of the final commemorative events of the bicentennial of California will be a historic moment for our country and for our State.

And so to the architect of progress for his own country and to peace and good relations between his country and our country, I ask you to rise and raise your glasses to President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. in the Camino Real Hotel, Puerto Vallarta, Mexico.

President Diaz Ordaz responded in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

First of all, I must thank you, Mr. President, and Mrs. Nixon, in the name of the people of Mexico and in my own for the great honor you have done to us by coming to visit us on a state visit.

Again, I thank you for this excellent luncheon in which so much care has been taken to select the food, the wines, and the music.

It is a beautiful feeling to hear in the strings of the Marine musicians of the United States a composition such as we have heard, "Estrellita" of Manuel Ponce.

We have offered you what we have to offer, a cordial welcome, warm friendship, and the most beautiful of all the sceneries. Perhaps there would have been more people to receive the President of the United States if this visit had

taken place in Mexico City, but we have preferred this beautiful dome rather than the smog of Mexico City.

And thank you very much, Mr. President, for the splendid commercial you have given to Puerto Vallarta and to tourism for Puerto Vallarta.

I must in all frankness say, Mr. President, that though I have never swum in these waters, I do not believe that it is the same as swimming in champagne. I believe that whoever told you this is someone who has never bathed in champagne; or, if it was someone who at one time swam in champagne, he did not know what champagne was for.

A British politician at one time said that it is very difficult to speak in public for a politician because he runs a narrow road in between the cliché and the slip of the tongue, but in Great Britain they do not have commercials on television. Here the problem is much more serious. One always wanders between the cliché, the slip of the tongue, the words of a song, and television commercials.

Perhaps it is for this reason that you in the United States tend to speak in public, recurring often to humor, which is not really the same system followed in Latin America and also in Mexico, where people who speak in public have a tendency to be tragic or dramatic or, on some occasions, melodramatic.

Among some groups I have the reputation of being a rather solemn man, but I don't believe that this is true or just, because I am not of those who believe that to be serious you have to always look at the serious side of things that are not in themselves serious. This is why I admire and try to imitate, imperfectly, those who would rather look at the humorous side of the situations that we are faced with.

All this long preamble to a speech is just to say that in this particular case there is no problem in making a speech. It is very simple because all I have to say is thank you for all you have done during this visit and what this visit has signified for us, because I just want to give my thanks and gratitude to President Nixon for the extraordinary distinction he has made me by inviting me to a state dinner in San Diego, which I understand not as a homage to me personally, but rather to the amity, the friendship, between our two peoples.

At this moment when the instantaneous nature of mass media has permitted the great majority of people in Mexico to know that land which had been ours in Ojinaga has now again formed part of the Mexican Republic, I am sure that the hearts of the people of Mexico that have received their news are overbounding with emotion.

One of the newspapers of today has said that a dispute that has lasted for a century was solved in 2 hours. The truth of the matter is that this has a long background behind it of hard work on the part of many officers of our Governments, a long task that at times seemed it would never end. And it was only through this hard work that it was possible for President Nixon and myself to reach a conclusion in 2 hours.

I wish to make public the pride I have in having had the opportunity of speaking for two hours and a half with President Nixon and having been able to reach an agreement on such a matter so important for Mexico.

Mr. President, you have many friends. And I believe I am one of them. And, as such, I have heard you express many times your desire to come to Mexico. I wish to now invite you officially and tell you that any time that you wish to come to Mexico on a state visit, you will be received with all the honors due to a head of state; any time you want to come as a simple human being, you will be left alone to enjoy Mexico.

Our arms are open toward you and you are permanently invited and you will be permanently welcome. Our courtesy, which is a combination of the Indian courtesy and the Spanish hospitality, is the Mexican courtesy which will always be open to you.

I raise my glass again and ask all of you to do the same to toast to the permanent friendship between Mexico and the United States and also to the health and personal happiness of President and Mrs. Nixon.

274 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. *August* 21, 1970

PRESIDENT Gustavo Diaz Ordaz and President Richard Nixon welcomed the opportunity to renew their personal friendship and the informal conversations begun at their meeting at Amistad Dam in September 1969. The two Presidents reviewed overall relations between the two countries and discussed specifically (1) a comprehensive boundary settlement between the two countries, (2) the problem of salinity in the waters of the lower Colorado River which are delivered to Mexico, and (3) cooperation in combatting illicit traffic in narcotics.

The two Presidents agreed on the principles which were proposed to them by their respective Secretaries for Foreign Relations to be incorporated in a treaty settling all boundary differences between the United States and Mexico and establishing procedures for averting such differences in the future. Their agreement includes the disposition of all territory that had currently been in dispute and particularly the Presidio/Ojinaga dispute pending since 1907. It also provides for the re-establishment of the middle of the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) as the boundary between the United States and Mexico, wherever it has lost this character, for measures to resolve any boundary questions that might arise as a result of future deviations of the Rio Grande and Colorado River from their present course and for the establishment of fixed maritime boundaries in the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean.

Further details on the agreement are being released jointly today by the Secretary for Foreign Relations and the Secretary of State. The two Presidents emphasized their belief that agreement on these principles is an historic achievement and, that once formalized and ratified according to constitutional procedures, the resultant treaty will be one of the most significant agreements between their two governments in this century.

The two Presidents also discussed the salinity problem that has existed on the lower Colorado River for several years. President Nixon noted that the United States, looking toward a new agreement, has proposed certain new measures that would result in significant improvements in the waters received by Mexico. President Diaz Ordaz said that the Mexican Government regards this proposal as constructive and will study it carefully. The two Presidents instructed their representatives on the International Boundary and Water Commission to examine these proposals in detail and to make appropriate recommendations. They also agreed to reiterate the policy which the two governments have followed during recent years to consult before undertaking works which could cause natural problems similar to that mentioned in this paragraph.

President Diaz Ordaz and President Nixon reaffirmed their determination to suppress the illicit international traffic in marijuana, narcotics and dangerous drugs which has endangered the well-being of both countries. They expressed satisfaction at the vigorous efforts against the illicit use of narcotics on both sides of the border and the high spirit of cooperation which prevails between the two governments. President Nixon congratulated the

Mexican Government on the success of its campaign to prevent production and illicit trafficking in narcotics. Both Presidents instructed their Attorneys General, who met simultaneously with them, and other appropriate authorities of their governments, to maintain the closest cooperation in this field.

The two Presidents also discussed the broad subject of trade between the two countries and agreed that they would seek ways to encourage a continued growth in their bilateral trade. President Nixon assured President Diaz Ordaz of his desire to encourage trade between the two countries.

The two Presidents expressed their gratification over additional recent examples of the close cooperation between the two countries, in particular the signing of (1) a Civil Air Agreement, (2) a Weather Agreement, and (3) a Treaty for the Recovery and Return of Stolen Archaeological, Historical and Cultural Properties and for the promotion of cultural exchanges between the two countries.

During their conversations, the two Presidents reiterated their desire to continue efforts to better the understanding between their two peoples and to contribute to the mutual respect and close friendship which have made the relationship between their two countries an example to all nations. They agreed that their respective Foreign Secretaries and Ambassadors should continue the discussion of matters of common interest. President Diaz Ordaz expressed to President Nixon his satisfaction with their meeting and the value he placed on their exchange of views. President Nixon congratulated President Diaz Ordaz on the many significant accomplishments of his administration, and expressed his great affection for Mexico and his deep gratitude for the warmth of the reception given him and Mrs. Nixon by the Government and the people of Mexico.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Puerto Vallarta, Mexico.

On August 21, 1970, the White House released the text of a declaration on United States and Mexican discussions on marihuana, narcotics, and dangerous drugs by Attorney General John N. Mitchell and Attorney General of Mexico Julio Sanchez Vargas.

275 Remarks at the Start of the Vice President's Asian Trip. *August* 22, 1970

Gentlemen:

In a very few minutes the Vice President will be departing on a 30,000-mile trip which will take him to Vietnam, Thailand, the Republic of China, and Korea. On this trip he will be meeting with the heads of state of each of those countries. He will be having very substantive conversations and he will be taking from me personal messages, but substantive messages, on our bilateral relations with each nation.

The Vice President, as you will recall, took a trip to this part of the world just 8 months ago, a very successful trip in terms of reassuring our allies of our basic commitments in that area of the world and informing them of the purpose of the Nixon Doctrine—a doctrine which has as its goal not withdrawing from Asia, but providing the means whereby the United States will help other nations help them-

selves so that we can have a peaceful Pacific with free nations in Asia able to defend themselves against aggression.

The Vice President will be returning on August 31 or September 1, possibly September 1, and will be reporting here at the Western White House before returning to Washington.

Perhaps you would like to say a word, Mr. Vice President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:04 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

Vice President Agnew responded as follows:

Thank you, Mr. President.

I am very pleased to undertake this mission to reaffirm the essentials of the Nixon Doctrine, which of course involve our dedication to retaining the American presence in Asia and living up to our treaty obligations there.

Of course, the people of the countries I am going to visit, the leaders, know very well that this is true, but the President feels, and I certainly agree with him, that it is wise to, in a direct personal conversation, underscore our dedication in this respect.

The visit to the Republic of Korea and China, also Thailand and Taiwan [South Vietnam], will certainly give me an opportunity to upgrade the information I had in conversations with the leaders of the three countries, except for Korea, and I am looking forward to my first visit to South Korea.

I think that the leaders of these countries will take my presence at the direct request of the President as a distinct reaffirmation of our conviction that the American presence in Southeast Asia is something that we are determined to maintain and that our friends can depend upon that.

As the President has indicated, when I return approximately September 1, I will report to him in some detail about my findings. I think it would be inappropriate to get into the substance of my discussions, but of course this is a working trip and I would expect to spend a great amount of my time in conversations with the high level officials of these countries.

276 Labor Day Statement. *August* 25, 1970

THEODORE ROOSEVELT once said that the best prize life offers is the chance to work at work worth doing. As we celebrate Labor Day for the 76th time, we pay tribute to millions of Americans who have won this prize. For today we honor the working men and women of this country, citizens whose lives are enriched by the pride they take in their work.

Too often these days we find ourselves measuring our economic output primarily in quantitative terms. Too seldom do we remember that qualitative factors are equally important in achieving a stable and prosperous economy. How much we produce is one important question, of course. But we must also ask—with greater force than we have sometimes done in the past—how well we produce, how efficiently and skillfully we provide the goods and services of our economy, how effective and attractive and reliable are the results of our work, how much pride and satisfaction those results provide to the worker.

On this Labor Day, let us remember that our high standard of living, our advancing technological accomplishments, and our managerial capacity all must continue to be supported by a highly talented labor force if this nation is to retain its proud position of international leadership and further improve the quality of life for all of its people.

Let us also remember that the turbu-

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lence and uncertainties of our time have presented serious challenges to the working men and women of America. The problems that affect all—the search for world peace, the cost of living, the need to enhance our environment—often fall with particular impact on the working man and his family. It is an important fact of American life that they continue to show their faith in their country. They are grateful for what America has provided them in the past; they are loyal to what America stands for in the present; they are determined to help America achieve an ever brighter future.

The men and women who make up our labor force can be assured that the government of the United States will work closely with them in building that future. On behalf of that government, and on behalf of all Americans, I take this opportunity to salute and to thank the working men and women of this nation.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

277 Statement Urging Senate Action on the Family Assistance Bill. *August* 28, 1970

THE MOST important piece of domestic legislation proposed by this administration is the family assistance act. It has properly been described as the most important piece of domestic legislation of the past 35 years, one of the dozen or half dozen such bills in the Nation's history.

I have emphasized the need for this welfare reform on repeated occasions since this proposal was made 1 year ago—in a speech to the National Governors' Conference, in a speech before the White House conference on hunger, nutrition, and health, in the State of the Union Message, and in my remarks in St. Louis at the 50th annual convention of the Jaycees. Most recently, I have spoken about it privately to several members of the Senate Finance Committee.

I am gravely troubled by the fact that the remaining days of the 91st Congress are fast running out and congressional action has not been completed on welfare reform. The present legislation is too far advanced, the need for reform is too great, for this to be permitted to happen.

The House of Representatives passed the family assistance act on April 16, but the bill has been delayed by the Senate Finance Committee ever since. We have made numerous proposals for modification in the plan to meet the objections of Committee members. But ultimately the Senate as a whole must be given the chance to work its will on this issue and this bill. I urge this great and conscientious Committee of the Congress to get down to the hard business of marking up a bill as expeditiously as possible.

The House of Representatives, in its detailed and meticulous examination of the administration proposal, made a number of changes which were clearly improvements, and which have been wholeheartedly accepted by the administration. The Nation is much in the debt of Congressmen Wilbur D. Mills and John W. Byrnes who led this inquiry, and who are the authors of the legislation which passed the House overwhelmingly in April.

There is every reason to think a similar process will take place in the Senate, and every reason to welcome this prospect. Thus it has been proposed that nationwide operation of the family assistance program be preceded by a period during which the program would be field-tested. This testing period would begin January 1, 1971, in a number of areas chosen by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Thereafter the program would go into effect on a nationwide scale on January 1, 1972.

With time running out, and an historical social reform at stake, I have consulted with several cosponsors of the bill including Senators Hugh Scott, Robert P. Griffin, and Wallace F. Bennett, and we have agreed that, if the Senate accepts this modifying amendment, it will be acceptable to the administration.

The Nation needs this legislation. The House of Representatives has acted. The Senate now must act. I have every confidence that it will.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed family assistance act by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan and Robert H. Finch, Counsellors to the President; and John G. Veneman, Under Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

On December 11, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Governor Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois, Governor William T. Cahill of New Jersey, Governor Russell W. Peterson of Delaware, Governor-elect Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania, and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson following their meeting with the President to discuss the family assistance plan.

278 Television Interview for CBS Morning News. *August* 31, 1970

QUESTION. Do you find it easier to concentrate here than in the East?

THE PRESIDENT. It depends on what the subject is. I think the main advantage of a place like this and Camp David and Florida, all of which I use, is that moving from place to place changes the perspective, so that you aren't in a rut, you don't think in a way that is noncreative. Of course, that doesn't mean that if you are hemmed in, in one place, that it is impossible to create.

I have found that generally when I write a speech or something like that, I have to sit in one place, and usually this is not too pleasant. You get out—all this business that you write better when you are looking out at the ocean——

Q. That is not true?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all true. A beautiful place is a place to, well, to clear the mind, and there needs to be a pause in all the heavy concentration. But when it comes to making important decisions or it comes to writing something that has to be precise, there is no substitute for just sitting in a bare room—a reporter does it with a typewriter—and that is to sit and think and have no distraction. That is the way it affects me.

Q. You have your advisers here, you have your Cabinet members, you have your Counsellors here. I wonder if you feel you can get away here from that isolation booth that you were talking about yourself?

THE PRESIDENT. It is particularly good for them, for one thing. I mean, staff people are terribly overburdened, Cabinet people and the rest. They, of course, more than I, have no control over their schedules. They have to go to the cocktail parties and dinners and so forth, and they move in the same circle; they talk to the same people.

Now, out here, of course, they tend to—but whether it is Kissinger or Ehrlichman or Haldeman or Finch or any of these people, when they come to California or Florida, they break out of that; they break out of the usual patterns.

Q. Are you able to break out and feel less isolated here, do you think?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do, because I know different people in different places. And, of course, when I am in a place like Camp David, then I break out because I am really by myself there. People are around and I can use them, but when you are sitting in an office—it is always a compulsion to be on the phone and have somebody in. In other words, you have got to have a schedule. That is particularly true when you are in Washington.

Q. I was just going to ask you a kind of a personal question. I am coming from Saigon, Cambodia, and other points east to move to Washington. What kind of advice would you have for a returning American coming back after 14 years, as to what to look for in the United States?

I am just wondering what would be your suggestions to somebody like myself as to what to watch for in the United States, as an amateur American coming back to one's own country?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would by all means not spend too long a time in Washington. What your tendency will be is to come back and sit down in Washington and be surrounded by your friends in the media and, of course, the political world, and so forth. That will not give you a perspective that is really broad enough.

It is very important to get that perspective because they are the people who affect millions of others around the country. I would get on a plane or in an automobile and drive around the country and get some feel of it.

I think some of the reporters these days who are doing that are doing a lot for themselves and a lot for good reporting. Take a fellow like Dave Broder.[1] He has been moving around the country. He goes to places like Tennessee and Evansville and Oregon, as you know, and, writes his reports, and that has been a custom for a couple of others.

That is what I would do, if I were you. Don't just come to Washington and have whatever views you do have either completely changed or just driven in.

I think my conviction—and I base that not on any recent discovery, but after having been in Washington as a Congressman, as a Senator, and as a Vice President, and also having lived in New York for 6 years and in California—is that this is a very diverse country, which is all to the good, and it is very important to get around and circulate.

We tend to generalize about youth, generalize about the race problem, generalize about what people think of the political issues, in all respects, and many times the generalizations are correct. I think one of the reasons sometimes those who report the news may sometimes miss what the national mood is is that they are talking too much among themselves—and by that

[1] David S. Broder, a reporter for the Washington Post.

I mean people who think like them, who read the same things.

Q. What is the national mood now, do you think, Mr. President, going into this fall, this school year?

THE PRESIDENT. I am unable to give an answer to that yet. I can answer it better within a month. One thing I know is that moods change in a very volatile way these days. That is another factor that is new in American politics because of television, instant news, instant appraisal of events; you will find that there is a very great change. A very great change may take place before you know it.

You take Gallup's polls which he prints from time to time on what is the number one issue. You will find that that changes dramatically almost month to month. Usually changes occur over a period of 3 or 4 years. That is the other thing. Don't ever assume that what you think today is the big issue is going to be the big issue tomorrow.

I constantly have to tell my staff, "Keep checking, checking with Congressmen, Senators, but also with people generally in the country."

Of course, that is one of the benefits you get from the mail. The mail's only usefulness is not the number but the moods, the changes that occur.

For example, naturally, the overriding interest in the war, the war in Southeast Asia, the possibilities of becoming involved in something in the Mideast, all of these are concerns that will always be number one or number two. In other words, the great issues are basically war and peace, the pocketbook and all of its ramifications—that is prices, taxes, Government spending, and the rest—and finally coming up very hard and fast and going up and down, depending upon what the latest news story is, is the whole issue related to order and justice——

Q. Civil disturbances?

THE PRESIDENT. Civil disturbances, but in a much broader context, and I include in that the problem—let's put it this way: The problem of race, race problems, those are not new. First, we have them in very great degree because of the history in this country. But they are all over the world, and they are among races. You don't have to look at the United States; you can find them in Britain; you will find them in Southeast Asia.

Q. Within the same countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Within the same countries and between various peoples. Race problems are not new and neither is the generation gap. That is not new.

What is the major concern today is how those problems will be handled, whether they will be handled in an orderly process, under our constitutional procedures, which we have usually recognized in the past should be the way, or whether people will resort to and whether society will generally accept, at least be resigned to, resorting to means outside the constitutional processes. This is the great issue of our time.

Q. What do you see in the future? Do you see a long period of civil disturbance, a long testing period?

THE PRESIDENT. We are keeping our fingers crossed, but I think that it is not insignificant to note that, despite all the dire predictions, this summer has not been the hot summer that we had expected. It has been terribly hot from the standpoint of the weather, as you know. Yet, after the tragic experiences of 2 years ago, last summer and this summer have been less.

Q. I was thinking of the revolutionaries as much as anything.

THE PRESIDENT. The revolutionaries is something else, because that is something which is a new and growing development in the United States and all over the world. Again, we have got to see this in terms not just of our own problems. That is why when we look at America's problems we say, "It is something we do." It may be. We may be contributing to it—our society.

But every foreign leader that I have talked to, in which there is supposed to be a free society, has the same problem. You have got it in the Philippines; you have it in Japan. You have got it, of course, in every industrial country of Eastern Europe and all over Latin America.

Q. In your visit throughout Southeast Asia last year, this is one of the things you discovered. You said, Mr. President, that two of the issues are the Middle East and the other being Southeast Asia, in the mail and in general response patterns that you feel about the United States. What are you saying in reply to those, for example, about the chances for something developing in the way of peace in Southeast Asia and the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT. There is nothing new to report in that respect, except that we are continuing our support of the cease-fire initiative in the Mideast, recognizing that it is fraught with difficulties on both sides. But, on the other hand, when we consider that initiative, what we have to recognize is, as difficult as it is, look how much worse it would be if it had not been started.

Q. What about the chances of peace in Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as Southeast Asia is concerned, there again, we, of course, are awaiting the beginning of some discussions in Paris with Xuan Thuy[2] returning.

Q. Do you expect new developments in Paris with that return?

THE PRESIDENT. I would predict nothing. Based on the past record, I would expect nothing.

Q. For how long a period?

THE PRESIDENT. That is just exactly the point. I wouldn't even project or predict. But I would say that as far as we are concerned, we have a new ambassador there, we are prepared for any expansion of the discussions to break the deadlock, expansions in terms of considering new initiatives.

Q. Are there any new initiatives that you are thinking about, sir, now?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't discuss that at this point. We have none at this point to discuss, except that I have pointed out that our negotiators have great flexibility and we have, over a period of a year and a half, made one new initiative after another. All of those are on the table. But in order to negotiate, of course, it doesn't mean that the movement must all come from one side. It takes two to make a deal, and I would not overlook the fact that we now must see what the other side's attitude is.

I don't say this with any prediction that anything is going to happen, because that is very dangerous in this field.

Q. One more question about Paris. Would you expect any effect on the other side to result from the Vice President's talk in the last week about a commitment by the United States to the Government of Lon Nol and Cambodia?

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[2] Xuan Thuy was the chief North Vietnamese delegate at the Paris peace talks.

THE PRESIDENT. When we talk about the other side, I think that the dope stories and also the judgment of what are supposed to be the experts, if this or that or the other thing is going to affect their negotiating position—all of that really means very little.

When you go back and look over that, I am sure most of the columnists and commentators would not like to be reminded about what they said and wrote. That is not criticism of it. The point is, the other side is not predictable, just as we may not be from time to time.

I would only suggest that at this time, as we have often said as far as we are concerned, we are in a very flexible negotiating position. We have made that point over and over again. Now we shall see whether the other side is interested in one, too.

Q. Mr. President, there was a suggestion the other day about the possibility of the United States putting military forces in the Middle East with a view toward keeping the peace under U.N. auspices, perhaps. Could you say anything about that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not comment on it at this time. I do not believe that suggestions of that type, well intentioned as they are, are going to be particularly helpful at a time when the Jarring mission is going forward.

Right now we have a cease-fire. We have at least the beginnings of the possible talks, and now for people from the outside, whoever they may be, in Government, out of Government, to make this suggestion or that suggestion as to where we move without knowing all the facts, I don't think would be particularly helpful. So I will not comment on it.

Q. Overall, Mr. President, how would you describe your own feelings with regard to the Middle East situation now? Are you optimistic? Are you expectant?

THE PRESIDENT. Neither optimistic nor expectant in the traditional sense of those words. Because if you say you are optimistic, that means we expect that it is going to succeed; if you say you are expectant, it means that I think there is some new development that is going to occur.

All I say is that the Middle East situation is one that, prior to the cease-fire, had no hope; since the cease-fire, it has some hope.

Now that does not mean that we should be overly optimistic or overly expectant that this is going to work out. We have to recognize that what we are confronted with here is a situation that did not result over the past 10 years or 15 years; it goes back for thousands of years—I mean the difficulties between the Israelis and their neighbors.

So, consequently, when you have those deep differences, those deep passions, those are not settled quickly. And to talk optimistically renders no service to either side and no service to the American public.

However, as far as we are concerned, we believe we have made some progress. Because, after all, there is a cease-fire. People aren't being killed now. And as long as that goes on, it looks better than it was. That is as far as I would go.

Q. Mr. President, can that situation be settled without the help of the Four Powers, do you believe?

THE PRESIDENT. I won't speculate on that. The Four Powers have indicated that they are willing to help. Let's just let it stand there. We won't say whether it will or will not be settled, because that

again gets down to all the parties involved.

Q. Do you think the chances for peace are better, Mr. President, in the Middle East or in Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. That kind of speculation would not be useful. Both areas are, of course, areas where we are very hopeful that we are on a course that will bring peace and keep peace.

I would only say that they are quite different in one respect: In Southeast Asia, the United States is now embarked on a program which will lead to the withdrawal of our forces and their replacement by South Vietnamese. So far as the United States involvement is concerned in Vietnam, peace is certain; as far as the Mideast is concerned, we cannot speak with certainty due to the fact that the differences between various parties involved are so deep.

On the other hand, there is hope. They are quite different, the two areas. In Southeast Asia, at least we have a course now there that looks toward an American withdrawal and the assumption by the South Vietanmese of the defense of their country and, of course, with our logistical assistance.

Q. Speaking of American withdrawal——

Q. Will Americans stop fighting there by a specific date?

Q. I was going to ask you about the Hatfield [amendment]—what your views are on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that has been well covered by Mr. Ziegler. As I have said on many occasions, setting any deadline in regard to when American forces will withdraw, if that is to be done, it should be accompanied with another paragraph, in any such resolution, immediately breaking off the Paris talks. The negotiator has no reason to stay in Paris in the event there is a deadline, because the other side might as well wait for us to get out.

But what little chance—and I am not exaggerating the chance, because there is some—but what little chance there is for negotiation is completely destroyed by setting a deadline. That is one of the reasons why we don't have one. We have our ideas as to how this will be done. Setting deadlines is not going to be helpful.

Q. There is a political deadline in this country. In 1966 you made what is now a very famous prediction about the outcome of the congressional elections. Can we ask you to repeat on that performance?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not ready to, yet. I don't make the predictions until we get quite closer. About the first of October I might have some ideas.

But I was able to make those predictions because I had traveled extensively around the country in a political capacity. I haven't done that this time. I, of course, haven't really had much time to study these contests. But whether I will get to the predicting stage this year remains to be seen. Maybe I will leave that to the Vice President because he will be closer to the scene than I will.

Q. Speaking of the Vice President, can you conceive in 1972 of having anyone else as your running mate other than Spiro Agnew?

THE PRESIDENT. That question, of course, is always asked. It is kind of surprising that the record never changes. The needle gets in a rut and goes over and over again. Of course, this is a premature question. As far as the answer is concerned, I would say the Vice President

was a great asset to our ticket during the campaign. He has been a very strong Vice President. He has done a very effective job in his travels abroad and in the United States.

[Those present at the interview said the President went on to say it was too early to make predictions about himself or the Vice President in 1972.]

NOTE: The interview with John Hart and Bernard Kalb of CBS News took place at the Western White House in San Clemente, Calif., on Saturday morning, August 29, 1970. Excerpts were broadcast on the CBS Morning News on Monday, August 31.

279 Exchange of Remarks With Senator George Murphy on His Trip to Israel and the Vatican. *August* 31, 1970

SENATOR Murphy has just reported to the Secretary of State and to me on his trip to Israel and also to the Vatican.

While he was in Israel, he had the opportunity to meet with Israeli Government officials and to get their reactions to the cease-fire initiative.

He has given us a full report and is going to give the Secretary of State a report in writing, which will be useful to the Secretary of State.

He also, in his talks at the Vatican, met with the Pope, and I was very encouraged, as was the Secretary of State, with the fact that the Pope was very much gratified by the Mideast peace initiative and is most hopeful that the cease-fire initiative will succeed.

This kind of support throughout the world is, of course, very constructive at this time. This does not mean that we do not have, as the Secretary of State has said and I have said on several occasions, that we do not have a difficult road in bringing permanent peace to the area. But it does mean that there is hope where there was no hope before and that the leaders of the world are watching this area with the hope that this peace initiative will succeed.

The Senator will now go on, I understand, back to Washington tomorrow where he will be available to vote on the McGovern-Hatfield amendment tomorrow. I haven't asked him how he is going to vote, but I have an idea which way he will vote.

SENATOR MURPHY. I think probably you know how I will vote on it, Mr. President.

Incidentally, they have an expression, Mr. President. They say, "It is easier to hear the dialogue when the guns are quiet."

I am very pleased about the entire cease-fire and I am very hopeful it will be productive on a permanent basis.

THE PRESIDENT. I think also what you said, Senator, in terms of the symbolism of the word that is used, the greeting—will you repeat that?

SENATOR MURPHY. Yes. Throughout all of Israel, and we covered it from one end to the other, as people greet each other, the greeting is: *Shalom.*

That means peace, and peace is constantly in their mind. They are ready to fight, if they have to. They hope sincerely that they won't have to, that peace can be achieved in a more sensible, more productive way. And we all hope that very much.

56-087—71——48

NOTE: The exchange of remarks took place at 11:20 a.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

On August 6, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge on his first visit to the Vatican as the President's representative.

280 Statement About News Media Coverage of School Desegregation. *September* 2, 1970

AS SCHOOLS have opened in many parts of the South in recent days, the Nation has seen hundreds of communities achieve the transition from a dual to a unitary system smoothly, peacefully, and successfully.

Enormous and primary credit for this success goes to the people of the States and communities most directly affected. But I also want especially to commend the Nation's press and its radio and television media for the manner in which they have reported these events.

Three weeks ago, in New Orleans, I stressed the critical importance to the process of peaceful desegregation of the way in which it was reported: the importance, at this very difficult and very delicate time, of reporting not only the few instances in which there might be trouble but also "those many, many successes where men and women of good will worked out the problem. . . ."

It is not true that only bad news is news, and by their constructive reporting in this instance the press and media have contributed importantly to the fact that the news has been good news. Success, like failure, can be contagious; and therefore it is important that the people of one community be aware of the successes other communities have achieved.

Nationally and locally, television and radio stations and networks, newspapers and wire services have practiced responsible journalism at its best. Their coverage of these events has been in the finest traditions of American journalism.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

281 Statement on the Death of Football Coach Vincent T. Lombardi. *September* 3, 1970

WHEN I THINK of Vince Lombardi, I think of him standing at the side of a football field, his attention focused sharply on his team. He was an imposing figure—and an inspiring one. On the field and off, his very presence was commanding. As I think of him that way, I know that he will always hold a commanding place in the memory of this Nation.

Vince Lombardi believed in fundamentals. On the football field this meant blocking and tackling and running to daylight. Off the field it meant his church, his home, his friends, and his family. He built his life—as he built his teams—around basic values and that is why his greatness as a coach was more than matched by his greatness as a human being.

Many who knew very little about football nevertheless knew a great deal about Lombardi. They knew that he was a man of discipline and determination, of cour-

age and commitment, of pride and purpose, of loyalty—and of love. They knew that he had reached the top of his field because he was able to help others discover the best that was in themselves. Like the power sweep which became his trademark, the power of Vince Lombardi's personality swept the world of sports and made a lasting impact on the life of all it touched. He asked a great deal of his players and his associates. But he never asked more of any man than he asked of himself. The lesson all Americans can learn from Coach Lombardi's life is that a man can become a star when, above all else, he becomes an apostle of teamwork.

Several weeks ago I had the privilege of talking on the telephone with Coach Lombardi in the hospital. In this, his last great battle, his courage and strength of character were more evident than ever before. I had called him to give him a lift but his attitude raised my spirits. It was a great inspiration to talk with him.

Mrs. Nixon and I are profoundly saddened by the untimely death of Vince Lombardi and we extend our deepest sympathy to his family. With millions of Americans, we will remember Coach Lombardi as a leader of men who was always a winner in the best sense of that word, a great sportsman and a great American.

NOTE: The statement was released at Coronado, Calif.

Vincent Thomas Lombardi, 57, coach of the Washington Redskins Football Team, died of cancer September 3, 1970, in Washington, D.C.

282 Remarks of Welcome at Coronado, California to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. *September* 3, 1970

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, all of our distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great honor, Mr. President, for me in my capacity as President of the United States and also as a native son of the State of California, to welcome you to this State and to this Nation.

It is significant to note that it was just 2 weeks ago that you welcomed me and the members of my party to Puerto Vallarta, and the heartwarming reception we received will be something we will always remember.

For another state visit, a return visit to occur within 2 weeks after one that we had made to your country is unprecedented in the history of our country. But that is as it should be, because the friendship between our two countries is not one that is dictated by protocol. It is one that is much deeper, much deeper and much more lasting.

As I speak of that friendship today, I think of the heritage of this Nation and of this State—the over 200 years for example—rich in the history and tradition of the State of California which we share together, Mexicans and Americans.

And as I think of Mexico and the United States, I think of the present, of the great contribution that Mexican-Americans have made to our country and are making. I think of that contribution and of the debt we owe to them—an obligation that we have not adequately ful-

filled in the past and that we hope that we can more adequately fulfill in the future so that all Mexican-Americans can play their equal part in the progress of this Nation.

And on such an occasion, Mr. President, I particularly think of you as you near your term, the end of it, as Mexico's President. In the streets of Puerto Vallarta I heard the people of your country speaking from their hearts, "Long live Diaz Ordaz." The name of Diaz Ordaz will always be honored in Mexico as one of Mexico's great Presidents.

I can assure you that this reception today is meant to tell you that the name of Diaz Ordaz will always be honored, too, in the United States. Because you, as President in your 6 years, have made perhaps the greatest contribution of any Mexican President to the goal that we all want of true and lasting American friendship, with the border between us not as a barrier, but as a bridge of friendship over which we shall always cross together.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. at North Island Naval Air Station, where President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

President Diaz Ordaz responded in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President:

On standing for the first time today on the soil of the United States, my first words are dedicated to greet with cordiality you, the President of the United States, and the people of the United States, and especially the people of California and those of San Diego.

In this land, Mr. President, of fond and old memories for Mexico, live many whose near or far ancestors came from Mexico, and as you have said, who have given their love and their efforts to their native or adopted land, as the case may be.

For those Mexican citizens who have retained their nationality, and for those American citizens, Mexican-Americans who have dedicated themselves to their country, to them we bring our greeting.

I, too, am sure, as you are, that they all will receive a just recompense for their efforts and that they will all do their best to love their country and respect its institutions.

I want again to express my appreciation, Mr. President, for this gesture of inviting me here after our last meeting, and especially because after having first considered it should be an informal meeting, you gave it a great deal more formal nature, but within this formal nature you have broken protocol in order to make it as cordial as possible.

I agree with you, Mr. President, that it is quite significant that only a few days after having met by the sea at Puerto Vallarta, we again meet by the sea at San Diego.

The old sagacity of China says that the road of friendship must be traveled often so that grass will not grow on the path.

This is what I have come for, Mr. President, to travel the road of friendship. I have done my best to make even stronger the friendship between our peoples, and I know that millions and millions of Americans, as well as millions and millions of Mexicans, wish to be friends, and we who govern in our countries do not have the right to oppose this friendship. Quite the contrary, we should do our best to encourage it.

It is very significant for Mexico and especially for me, that when only a few days are left before, according to our Constitution, I cease to be President, President Nixon should be so generous and so friendly with me.

Perhaps it is in order to correspond to the heartfelt welcome that the people of Puerto Vallarta gave you and Mrs. Nixon that you are doing this, and perhaps it is because you don't speak Spanish that you thought that the people in Puerto Vallarta were saying, "Viva Diaz Ordaz," because in truth, they were saying, "Viva Nixon."

What took place in Puerto Vallarta was that the people there, who have suffered many adversities and who have yet to overcome many difficulties, wish to express to you the feeling of all the people of Mexico who wish to

live in peace and friendship with all the world.

In the same manner, Mr. President, I want to present my best efforts, together with the people of the United States, so that our countries may live in mutual respect and friendship, and that together we may search for peace and justice.

Thank you.

283 Remarks at a Dinner in Coronado, California Honoring President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico. *September* 3, 1970

DURING the course of the introductions tonight, we have already introduced the official family.

I think it would perhaps be appropriate also to introduce the immediate personal family of the President. I think, as you know previously from the head table is the lovely daughter—Mrs. Nasta sits here. His son-in-law, her husband, Mr. Nasta—will he please stand?

And his first-born son is also here with his wife, his namesake, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, and his wife.

And I think I would be pardoned also for one other introduction. The grandson of a former President and the daughter of a present President, David and Julie Eisenhower.

This is a special night for the United States and a particularly special night for California. All of us who live in this State are proud of our heritage, and particularly proud, as we conclude this bicentennial celebration, of the enormous contribution that has been made to California by Mexican-Americans and those from Mexico.

To represent the State of California and all the 20 million people who live here, now the first State of the Union, it is my honor and privilege to present the Governor of the State, Governor Ronald Reagan.

[Following Governor Reagan's remarks, which are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1139), the President resumed speaking.]

California is now the most populous State, and therefore, in certainly population terms, as well as in others, we think the first State. The State that has the longest border with Mexico is Texas.

Texans have always had a great tradition of friendship, particularly in recent years, with our friends from Mexico. It seems to me that it is, therefore, not to be something we should not have expected that the President of the United States who was a Texan, during his term of office made a very great contribution to Mexican-American friendship.

He was the host to our honored guest tonight on several occasions. He traveled often to Mexico, and one of the great achievements of his administration is that progress was made, very significant progress, in bringing our two countries, and particularly our two peoples, closer together.

We in California, and all of us in this room tonight, are honored that we have as our guest the former First Lady, Mrs. Johnson, and the former President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, to speak now on behalf of Texas and all of America.

[Following President Johnson's remarks, which are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1140), the President resumed speaking.]

In my position with the honor of proposing the toast to the President of Mexico, it occurs to me that I could best speak for all of you in personal terms first, in terms of the relations between our two countries diplomatically and from the standpoint of foreign policy second, and finally in terms of the record, the contribution to his country and to Mexican-American relations of our guest.

As I met those coming through the receiving line tonight, I was enormously impressed with the number of my fellow Californians and fellow Americans who spoke to the President of Mexico in what I thought was very good Spanish, and who spoke with affection of having visited so often his country and of the people that they knew from his country who lived in our country.

I thought of my own background—and it does have somewhat of a Mexican flavor. I was born in a very small town in California. Its name was Yorba Linda. I grew up on a road in California called El Camino Real. I went to school, grammar school and high school, in California, and had scores of friends who were Mexican-Americans, good friends, and who have been friends all of my life.

I like Mexican food. I like Mexican music. I know the enormous contributions that our Mexican-Americans have made to this State, not only in the past in the history but today with their vitality, their strength, their art, their culture, and above all their warmth.

And, fortunately, my wife shared my feelings about Mexico, because 30 years ago when we planned our wedding trip we went to Mexico and we have been back four times since then; each time developing a deeper affection for the country to the south and for its people.

And so, in personal terms, I speak, I am sure, for many in this room who have experiences of visiting Mexico, knowing its people there, or of knowing our friends from the south when they have lived here or have become citizens of our State or of our Nation.

I think of the relations between our two countries in an official capacity, as President Johnson has referred to them. I think of that border so long and yet one which is truly one that is not a barrier between countries, but a bridge of friendship between them over which we can cross at any time.

I think, too, of the fact that during the term of office of the man we honor tonight, a term of office which covered President Johnson's term of office, at least part of it, and also part of mine, we have seen perhaps the greatest progress in the history of our two countries in ironing out whatever differences there were, border disputes or otherwise, between our two countries.

I think of the fact that not only do we have this great long border, a peaceful border, between our two countries, but I think in economic terms of the fact that we are Mexico's best customer in the world, and Mexico is our best customer in all of Latin America.

And then I turn to the man that we honor. I know much about him because I have read of his background, his pronouncements, his speeches. He spent many eloquent years during his service as President.

He said, among other things, I believe in his inaugural address, that the prosperity of one part of his country could not be based on the poverty of another part of his country. That was the ideal that guided him as he led Mexico in an un-

precedented period of economic growth, a growth rate of over 7 percent through a period of 6 years—7 percent annually.

And I think, as we think of those words, that the prosperity of one part of a country cannot be based on the poverty of another, it expresses an ideal which all of us feel should apply to every country in the world, within any country the prosperity of one group must not be based on the poverty of another. And among the countries of the world, certainly the international ideal should be that the prosperity of one nation must not be based on the poverty of others.

This is an ideal that will not soon be attained, but it is one to which we are all dedicated. It is one which the President has served for his country. It is one which President Johnson served when he served as President of this Nation and toward which we now are working. A nation in which all people can have the opportunity to move forward together toward those better things in life that we all want, and a world in which all nations and all peoples will have eventually an equal opportunity to move forward.

It is this ideal, an ideal still far away but one which we must constantly work toward, that I think the President of Mexico has perhaps summarized better than any leader in the world today.

And so tonight, as we sit in this historic room, I think of all the things that have happened here. Eighty years ago, for the first time a President of the United States came to California. Benjamin Harrison stood in this spot, the President of the United States, speaking to the people of California. And after him, President McKinley spoke in this room. And then President Taft, after he left the Presidency, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1935. Four Presidents have spoken in this room.

There have been other great events. The Prince of Wales—on the only previous time that [in this century] a Prince of Wales visited the United States, 50 years ago, was in this room.

So, tonight, we have a very special occasion. We have a former President of the United States, we have a present President of the United States, and we have them here with all of this distinguished company honoring the President of Mexico.

It is an appropriate room, certainly, for such an occasion to occur. And it is so for reasons that I think all of you will agree.

Our two nations should work together because we are geographically so close together with that long border between us. Our two nations should work together because we do have economic self-interests that bring us together.

But that would not explain why President Johnson on seven occasions had meetings with the President of Mexico and why I, on three occasions, already, in less than 2 years, have had meetings with the President of Mexico and where in an unprecedented occasion within 2 weeks after a meeting in Mexico we have a return visit here in California.

I would like to say parenthetically to President Johnson that I hope I will be able to beat his record in terms of meeting with the President of Mexico. And I can only say this on another subject: He needn't be concerned about those seven bad reviews. I wrote a book, too, and he will never equal my record as far as bad reviews are concerned.

But what I leave with this group tonight, as I propose a toast to the President of Mexico, is this thought: It is not because of our geographical proximity, or

the enlightened self-interest of interdependent economic partners in this hemisphere, that the President of Mexico and the President of the United States should meet so often in an unprecedented way. It is because truly that we have a special place in our hearts for Mexico. We have a special place in our hearts for this distinguished leader of his country. That is what we are trying to say to the President of Mexico tonight.

We are trying to say to him, apart from geographical and economic considerations, it is because we are proud of our Mexican-American common heritage; we are proud of the fact that we do have these good relations today; and we in our hearts enjoy our opportunities to meet with our friends from Mexico.

This is a special relationship, far more important than all the protocol, the diplomatic niceties, the economic reasons that normally bring heads of state and heads of government together.

So, tonight, not for protocol only, not for geography, not for economic self-interest, but because we in this State and in this Nation feel it in our hearts, I suggest that we rise and raise our glasses to the President of Mexico.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 11 p.m. in the Crown Room of the Hotel del Coronado.

President Diaz Ordaz responded in Spanish. A translation of his remarks follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, President Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, Governor Reagan, Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen:

It is true that I am about to end my period as President and will enjoy the possibility of being an ex-President and leading a private life with an added advantage that you don't have in the United States—it is not a custom for ex-Presidents in Mexico to make speeches, so I won't have to speak in public.

I will take advantage of the good counsel given to me by President Johnson, and within 3 months I will go to my rocking chair and hope that within a couple of years some friend will come to rock it for me.

It seems that it is becoming a custom for the Presidents of the United States to have their honeymoons in Mexico. I hope this is a custom that will continue, and I advise all young men who aspire to high places in politics who are not yet married to plan on having their honeymoons in Mexico. Perhaps this will help them to reach the Presidency of the United States, and it will help us as far as tourism is concerned.

I beg you to excuse me, because I am now going to read a speech that I brought along, and written speeches have the defect not only of being serious but of not being very entertaining. But I can't avoid reading it to you, because the newspapermen have it already.

I attend this state dinner, which is a gesture of friendship from the President of the United States. I accepted this high distinction as a clear expression of affection for Mexico, and that is why I took the liberty of inviting the President of the House of Deputies [Octavio Santies Gomez], the Chief Justice [Alfonso Guzman Neyra], and the President of the Senate [Enrique Olivares Santana], so they would honor me with their company and together, representing the three powers that form the Mexican Government and as representatives of our people, we may all receive this special distinction bestowed to my countrymen. Thank you.

We come to personally attest our friendship, and we ask you, Mr. President, to convey to the noble people of the United States, a message of solidarity and affection from the people of Mexico.

To those Mexicans who reside in this country and to Americans of Mexican descent, we bring the warmth of the Mexican soul, with our brotherly love.

My special thanks to this magnificent city, which under a splendid sky received us today, festooned with the flags of our two countries, and who opened their hearts to us in our passage through the city, to President Nixon and to myself.

President Nixon has been far too generous. He has not only invited me to this state dinner,

but he has set aside protocol, not only at the airport but here, too, and I also thank him for having brought or invited here to this dinner, President and Mrs. Johnson, whom I also personally wish to thank for having come all the way to San Diego to have dinner with me.

Nature made us neighbors across a very long border, but we have not reached the present stage of our relations through a submissive acceptance of the circumstance of having been born and having grown geographically together, but deliberately through firm resolution and many efforts and vicissitudes.

In the past we faced grave difficulties and, occasionally, quite painful differences. The road has not been easy. However, little by little we have learned to respect each other and thus have found the path of understanding.

We know that Mexico and the United States can discuss their problems calmly and openly, to find solutions based on equity and justice; that expressing one's own truth does not offend, but contributes to mutual understanding and the finding of satisfactory answers.

Experience tells us that no matter how complex and intricate a problem may seem, it can always be solved decorously, if the party involved decides in good faith to present its reasons and listen to those of the other.

The fruitful resolutions reached between us a few days ago, when we had the honor of greeting President Nixon and his distinguished wife in my country, resolutions of historical importance that include the settlement of century-old disputes, territorial disputes, were not isolated cases, but part of a long series of common efforts on the road of understanding that was born out of respect and ended in friendship.

In comprehension, in respect, and in friendship, we can work together to reach the goals that our peoples have chosen for themselves and collaborate to the fullest extent possible to build a world of peace and justice.

The world of today is demanding closer relations among nations. Cold protocolary words are certainly not enough. Direct contacts between men are indispensable, especially between those who govern. Mutual knowledge, cultural exchanges, and growing and fair trade are necessary.

We cannot lose a minute. For this reason, making use of this high rostrum, democratically open to all words that bear a sense of truth, of equity, of justice, I speak in the name of my people on matters of common interest, and without speaking in its name, I try to echo the concern of Latin America.

There is true alarm in the countries of the hemisphere because in the United States of America protectionist tendencies seem to be gaining strength. Should they prevail, they will be a tremendous blow to the economy of the rest of the continent.

Disregarding what might be exaggeration or distortion in the news, it seems evident that the sectors which have been traditionally protectionist have been joined by others who were not, and even by labor groups that have been against such measures.

To buy less and at lower prices from Latin America, may perhaps work to improve some aspects of the United States economy; but, one does not need to be an expert on these matters to foresee that the improvement would not only be minor, but temporary, and that protectionism would turn against the United States in a very short time, to aggravate the illness it was trying to cure.

Latin America is a natural market for the United States, in the same manner that the United States is a natural market for Latin America. If you buy less from us and at lower prices, we must necessarily buy less from you. The economic disequilibrium might be redressed momentarily, but after a while it would inevitably become worse. This was the tragic experience of the world 40 years ago.

We speak of our concerns to this country, free and sovereign to make its own decisions; trusting in the reasoned prudence and clear vision of her statesmen, the talent of her economists, the pragmatic spirit of its labor unions and of its businessmen, and the love for justice of its people, and therefore believe it will choose the fairest measures, the wisest and the most convenient for all.

I envisage an equitable trade for Mexico and for Latin America, in which the prices of raw materials and of manufactured and semimanufactured products that we sell keep due proportion with what we pay for the manufactured articles we buy, so they may maintain the stability that will allow reasonable plan-

ning of production, and the recuperation of investments.

These and other matters must necessarily worry us, but not drive us to despair. On the contrary, from this preoccupation must stem the vigorous decision to face and solve them.

Until very recently great powers acted as if history were made at their sole will, not taking into consideration that their development was nurtured on the raw materials and the cheap labor of the countries they called backward—developed and undeveloped countries, large and small nations, as if territorial space or economic progress had to do with the dignity of men.

We once said that to guarantee the capacity of self-determination of peoples, notwithstanding the size of their geographic home or economic potential, is a task of transcendental historical importance, of the highest social morality and of the greatest political wisdom, in these times of hope and anxiety that mankind is living in.

You recalled, President Nixon, a former statement of mine in the sense that we did not wish to achieve economic progress in my country at the cost or at the expense of the poverty of other parts of the country. I truly believe in this idea, and within it, I consider that while the disequilibrium is maintained, and as long as all over the world the insolent abundance of a few faces the most painful poverty of many, a stable order cannot even be dreamed of.

Modern massive communication media have brought all nations in the world so close that there is an interrelation of problems and solutions, an indivisible destiny, in such a way that even the most powerful and advanced must depend on others and will not survive without them. "Only in reciprocity is there true pleasure and true profit," said Goethe.

We need economic development carried out in harmony, one that truly raises the living standards of mankind, that puts wealth at the service of man and not man at the service of wealth, so that it may be equitably shared by all, without differences due to place of birth, color of the skin, social position, political or religious beliefs.

Just as we want political democracy, we aspire to economic democracy, by which we understand, to paraphrase the Gettysburg Address, the economy of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Spanish rule, although unintentionally, united Latin America in the most important of all enterprises of that epoch: to reach independence and freedom.

More than 150 years later, our greatest endeavor is to conquer well-being through economic development.

We know that, fundamentally, it is up to each one of our peoples to fulfill the task of improving its living conditions with its intelligence and its strength, but we must all be fraternally united and be ready to lend each other a hand.

Mexico, which through the courageous effort of her children, has reached some improvement, openly recognizes her own responsibility toward those who have been able to advance less. As on other occasions, I underline the word "responsibility" to emphasize that by such term I do not mean charity or help, I mean human solidarity.

In each nation there exists an inner vigorous strength, a great creative vitality which it is necessary to respect and to make use of, as an indispensable factor in the true and feasible understanding among nations. A healthy and free international concert can only grow if nourished by the vital spirit that lives in the intimate and genuine soul of each human community.

Our countries have peculiar characteristics, different needs, and diverse capacity to face them; within this diversity they have reached a common voice that must make itself heard. It will be all the more powerful in direct proportion to the unity they achieve.

If each one has gained and lost so many struggles against adversity, the sum of their experience will be the highest value to their actions.

The great ideals set forth by Bolívar of regional and continental unity are still valid: isolated, Latin American countries are weak; united, they can overcome their ancestral poverty.

It is proper to insist that we are not against anyone, but desire to help ourselves by helping each other; by joining efforts in Latin America to create an economic community, we seek

reciprocally equitable dealings with this great country, the United States of America. Our purpose is not to create, in the face of its great agricultural and industrial power, another to dispute against it, but to reach an understanding at the highest levels of respect and dignity.

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, on this gala night, on this solemn hour when we renew our vows of unvarying and mutual respect, of reciprocal esteem and loyal friendship, allow me to evoke with emotion Fray Junipero Serra, the generous man who was a parish priest in the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Oaxaca, Valladolid, and Guadalajara; he who was an indefatigable traveler overcoming the intense pain of a lacerated foot; he who arrived in these parts to sow missions that were to turn into villages, into towns, into large and splendid cities, to these lands that still zealously maintain the memory of Spain, to these lands where so many hearts vibrate in their love for all that is Mexican, since Mexican is one of the roots from which they stem.

In remembering the good priest, let us dream of an America free from internal and external violence. But let us dream, as Junipero Serra, who while dreaming other skies and new lands, kept on working and never stopped walking. Let us also dream, but without ceasing the daily struggle to reach a stage in which, all over this continent, wealth is no longer divorced from justice, and, dreaming without pause, continue struggling to maintain and improve our democracy while we zealously see that order be a guarantee that all may enjoy freedom, and with our daily conduct we strengthen the principle of respect for the rights of others as the only and lasting basis for peace.

To you, President Nixon and Mrs. Nixon, to you, ladies and gentlemen, I present the excuses on behalf of Mrs. Diaz Ordaz for not having been able to accompany me. In her name, in my own, in the name of the people of Mexico, I ask you to toast to the continued health and well-being of President and Mrs. Nixon.

284 Message for the Jewish High Holy Days. *September* 4, 1970

IT IS often thought and expressed that we in the modern world know all the problems faced by mankind but have just to find the solutions. And in looking for ways to ease man's struggles, we are more likely to suggest what others might or should do.

Jewish tradition teaches that the power to do good or evil is in our own hands, and the season of the Jewish High Holy Days holds a meaningful lesson for men of all faiths. At this time we are urged to look inward, to examine our own lives and to consider what each of us can do for the betterment of mankind. These days of atonement prod us to an awareness of man's own worth and dignity, and of the divine and human potentialities within each of us. They are days of great hope, for the driving force of man's freedom is in his ability to look inward, appraise his limitations, and seek means to widen his horizons.

My thoughts are with you as you begin these days of worship and I send my warmest wishes to all Americans of the Jewish faith for a New Year of peace and happiness. *Shanah Tovah!*

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was released at San Clemente, Calif.

285 Toast of the President at a Dinner Honoring Labor Leaders. *September* 7, 1970

President Meany, Mrs. Meany, members of the Cabinet, members of the AFL–CIO Executive Council, presidents of the AFL–CIO unions, and our guests:

It is a very great privilege for Mrs. Nixon and me to welcome you tonight at this dinner here in the East Room in the White House. And in talking to President Meany, I find that this is a very special dinner in the sense that one of this type honoring the leaders of the American labor union has never been held on Labor Day before in the White House.

American labor has been very properly honored in many, many ways over the years, in functions in Washington, New York, other great cities of the country, and now tonight we are very proud to have the leaders of American labor here in this historic room and through you, to honor the 20 million Americans who are members of American labor unions and all of their families that are represented here.

I speak in honoring you of a number of things that we have in common. I was going to say that this meeting was historic because it's the first time, as President Meany has said, that this kind of a dinner has been held for the leaders of American labor or for a labor group on Labor Day in this room or in the White House. Also, as I looked over the guest list, I can say without fear of contradiction that never have so many presidents been gathered in this room before.

I should make one qualification. I had in this room on a recent occasion a number of America's business leaders and a number of them are presidents, too. The difference was simply this: That never have so many presidents been gathered who were elected as there are in this room. I think most of you won by more than I did, as a matter of fact.

I would like to take a moment, if I could, before presenting our guest of honor tonight, for a response, to introduce only a few people here. We can't introduce everybody in the room, because we have a number of members of our family, official and personal, in the yard there for a wonderful program that is to follow.

But I do want to introduce the members of the official family who are here today and I would start first with the Secretary of State and Mrs. Rogers. Incidentally, not because we were showing any disrespect, for the Secretary of State and I have been working all day in our offices on the problem of hijacking. And if any of you have any good ideas as to how to solve it, please tell us first.

We also have from the State of Wisconsin and one many of you know well, the Secretary of Defense and Mrs. Laird.

You see, we shared the wives with other tables so that everybody in the room would have a good table.

The Postmaster General is here, Postmaster General Blount.

And our very good friend from Massachusetts and a great friend of the American labor movement, the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Volpe, and Mrs. Volpe.

And a member of my Cabinet, a man who is known to so many of you in this room, who worked going clear back to the Truman administration and he says the Roosevelt administration—he doesn't

look that old, as a matter of fact—but he has worked with me in the Eisenhower administration, Bryce Harlow, Counsellor to the President.

Now, coming up to the head table, we have a man who has served in a tremendously responsible position. I will put it this way: Of course, I am a bit prejudiced and this has absolutely no partisan connotation, but when I tried to select the man in the new Cabinet for Secretary of Labor, I talked to George Meany, as he will remember, when I was in New York. He said, "Well, if you can get somebody like Jim Mitchell,[1] that will be very good."

And we think we got one in George Shultz, who is now the head of our Office of Budget and Management.

Naturally, George Shultz would have selected as his Under Secretary a man also in the great tradition, we think great tradition, of Jim Mitchell, Jim Hodgson from California, your new Secretary of Labor.

And then, of course, from your own organization, the executive secretary of the AFL–CIO, Mr. [Lane] Kirkland, and his wife.

And since we have been up to this time dealing solely with official families, Mr. Meany and Mrs. Meany both suggested that since this is somewhat a family night for all of us that you would like to see also, if you did not see before the dinner, some very special members of our family who have shared this house and known this house for many years, the grandson of a former President and the daughter of the present President, Julie and David Eisenhower.

[1] James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor from October 9, 1953, to January 20, 1961.

George Meany told me that when I introduced David, what would really make a hit was to point out that he was the statistical expert for the Washington Senators.

MR. MEANY. That doesn't seem to make them win.

THE PRESIDENT. That is right. Well, [Frank] Howard has at least got 40 home runs. We will give him credit for that.

My remarks will be very brief and I think can appropriately be so, but I think that it is on this occasion very necessary to speak about the meaning of this moment in this very historic room, when we think of what has happened here. This room was not in existence when George Washington and Martha Washington were here. The Washington painting, incidentally, was painted before this house was built, Martha Washington's afterwards, and then it was put in this house.

John Adams was the first President to ever live in this house and this room then was not used for such occasions as this. His wife, Mrs. Adams, used to hang her wash out in this room.

But then after that, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, all of the Presidents of the 19th century, had their great balls and other functions here. The State Dining Room was the room where we met previously for the reception.

One historic moment to mention is that Woodrow Wilson received the German Ambassador in this room on the occasion when he told the German Ambassador that he was withdrawing his credentials and ordering him home prior to World War I and then, of course, you can imagine the other events that have occurred, the people that have been here.

The great, the near great, the ones to

be great have been honored here: Churchill, de Gaulle, Nehru, from all over the world, the leaders have been here on occasions over the years in our Nation's history.

And so tonight, we honor the leaders of American labor. We do so in the sense that this room really stands for—this is not a Republican room or a Democratic room. This room belongs to all of America. This house belongs to all of America. And America tonight very proudly honors American labor and its leaders.

We honor American labor and its leaders because of what American labor has done for this country, how it has built this country, how it has contributed to this country. I could speak solely in terms of gross national product, in terms of the fact that the American worker is the most productive in the world, which he is; I could speak in terms solely of what American labor has built, its buildings, its roads, its highways, its factories, its automobiles, and all the rest.

But tonight, I would like to speak, if I could, in somewhat other terms. As a President of the United States, I have learned what it means for a President, be he a Republican or a Democrat, to have the solid support of the overwhelming majority of the leaders and the members of America's labor unions and of American labor generally for those policies and those programs which are above partisanship and beyond partisanship, but which are dedicated to preserving freedom in America and preserving and protecting freedom in the world.

I think of those difficult issues that we have had in this administration. I think of those that President Johnson had in his and that President Kennedy had in his and that President Eisenhower had in his and President Truman in his. And I was in government during all or part of those administrations or on the fringes at least, in some of them.

And I recall that when the chips were really down, when the great issue was whether or not there was to be support for not the President of the United States as a party leader and not the President of the United States as a person, but the President of the United States as the leader of the American people with its responsibility for defending and protecting the forces of freedom in the world, that American labor has never been found wanting. It has always been in the first ranks, in war and in peace.

And I think I understand the reason for that. I have traveled to most of the countries of the world. And I have been to many countries that are free countries, and I have been to many countries that are totalitarian countries, that are not free. And this I can say based not on what I have read, but on what I have seen in country after country, because on all of my visits, as perhaps distinguished from some who go abroad, I make it a point to talk to labor leaders where there are those who are there, as well as the leaders in business and government and the rest.

But of all the countries in the world that I have visited, I have yet to find a country which is governed by a dictatorship in which there was a free labor movement, and I have yet to find a country in which there was a free labor movement which was governed by a dictatorship.

And that to us is the message of our time.

A strong, free, independent labor movement is essential to the preservation and the growth of freedom in any country in the world. It's the bedrock of freedom,

whether abroad or here. The American labor movement knows this, the American labor movement learned it in some instances perhaps through the hard way, but it knows it, it stands for it, and to its great credit it stands for it here in the United States, it stands for it abroad, and when those great hard decisions have to be made by a President of the United States for our national defense, or for our policies abroad, that have to do for preserving the strength or developing the policies that will defend freedom in the world, the American labor movement stands firmly with the American President, be he Democrat or Republican.

And now, if I could express a word in terms of our guest, our special guest, Mr. George Meany, who will respond in behalf of all of you tonight. I think perhaps the most appropriate thing I could say about him is to refer to an experience I had earlier today. Perhaps some of you were there, too.

I went over to St. Matthew's to the mass for Vince Lombardi, and talked afterwards briefly to His Eminence, Cardinal O'Boyle [Archbishop of Washington], about Vince Lombardi. And as I returned from that mass, I thought of this man and why it was that in New York, in Washington, D.C., and as a matter of fact, around the country, there was such an outpouring of respect for this man. A great football coach, yes. This doesn't happen for all great football coaches when they happen to die. And there are many great ones. But he was more than that.

He was a man who was really a man of very great character, an overused term I admit, but let me perhaps put it in more precise ways.

If anyone listened as I did to what was said at that mass, they heard that Vince Lombardi was a man who, in a time when so many people seemed to be turning away from religion, was devoutly religious and devoted to his church; at a time when the moral fabric of the country seems to be coming apart, he was a man who was deeply devoted to his family; at a time when it seems to be rather square to be patriotic, he was deeply and unashamedly patriotic; at a time when permissiveness is the order of the day in many circles, he was a man who insisted on discipline—affection, yes, a good man, yes—but discipline and strength. Here was a man who perhaps would be described by some as being square. But he was a man who when he died, not because his football teams were great, not just that, because there he was one of several, but because he stood out as a man of very great character, the whole Nation admired.

And so tonight, I would like to present Mr. George Meany to you somewhat in that way. I do not suggest that there are not times when Mr. Meany and I have disagreed—have not agreed on some matters. That will always be the case where leaders of free, independent organizations are involved with any government.

But I do know this: that in this time of turbulence at home and abroad, when the old virtues and the good virtues, many of the good ones, are being brought under question, this man has stood like a pillar in a storm—strong, full of character, devoted to his church, devoted to his family, devoted to his country, whether the President is a Republican or a Democrat, standing with that President and his country when he felt that that served the interests of freedom, that kind of freedom which is so essential if a strong, free labor movement is to survive.

And so, tonight in this room so full of history, I would propose a toast in these words: that we raise our glasses to all of those in the 190-year history of this country who have built America, the builders of America, those in American labor, and to all of those who will build a better America in the future, and in raising our glasses, since we must raise them to a man and not simply to an organization, to George Meany, a distinguished labor-statesman, a man who stands for the best in free labor and for the best of America, to President George Meany.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Mr. Meany's remarks are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1164).

286 Remarks at the United States Army "Torchlight Tattoo" Program. *September* 7, 1970

President and Mrs. Meany, members of the Cabinet, members of the AFL–CIO Council, presidents of the AFL–CIO unions, and all of our guests tonight on this Labor Day occasion:

This is a very special evening in the history of the White House, the first occasion on which this kind of a party has been held on Labor Day.

And we thought that on this evening, where the members of the staffs, the families of those of the American labor union could be present, that nothing could be more appropriate than the kind of program that we have planned. It is a program in which the organization, which is called the President's Own Honor Guard—it is called the Old Guard, as a matter of fact, but it is the President's Own Honor Guard—the 1st Battalion of the Third Infantry Army Division, presents a program in which they depict the whole sweep of American history from the beginning and the whole story of the American flag.

I think this is appropriate, because as I look over the history of this country from the beginning, there has certainly been no group of people in this country that has more strongly supported the concept of freedom, a free America, an America playing its role in the world, for freedom every place in the world than the free labor movement of America. And we are very proud to have them represented here tonight.

And now you will have the opportunity to see what some of us have had a chance to see during the Cherry Blossom Festival at Fort Myer. When I saw it there earlier this year, I asked General Westmoreland why it couldn't be taken around the country. He said, "We can't do that." I asked him, "Could you bring it to the White House one day?" He said yes. This is the day. Now you will get to see it, too.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:58 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, where guests were entertained by the 1st Battalion (Reinforced), Third Infantry Regiment (The Old Guard) stationed at Fort Myer, Va.

287 Statement Supporting Legislation To Establish the Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation. *September* 8, 1970

IN 1976, we will mark the Bicentennial of the founding of the American Republic. It will be an occasion of intensive exploration of the American past and future.

The extraordinary vision of the Founding Fathers, a vision which not only shaped their own nation in the generations that followed, but which has had an enormous influence on the course of world history will be recalled in a way that can occur only on the occasion of such anniversaries. But it will be a forward-looking Bicentennial. Our primary concern will be to examine the American experience in terms of the meaning and direction it suggests for the years ahead.

Almost certainly—and properly—a dominant theme of the Bicentennial will be that the revolutionary vision of 1776 is still unfulfilled. America is not yet what it would be, and can be. The vision itself is subject to change. The past informs, but does not dictate our vision of the future. Even so, few would deny the commanding authority, now as in the two centuries almost past, of the great dream of democracy, of liberty and equality for all, which was bequeathed us by the incomparably varied and gifted men who founded the Nation.

That dream included a city that was to be different from all others, even as the Nation itself was to be. It would, first of all, belong to all the people. It would be the only such place in the Nation, all others being under the previous, and as some thought, primary sovereignty of the States. The supremacy of the Congress was never intended to deprive the citizens of that city of home rule. An historian of the city writes: "In accepting the principle eventually written into the Constitution, that Congress must be supreme in the federal district, no one had equated sacrifice of state power with cancellation of political rights of citizens of the future federal territory."

It was to be the seat of Government. Most importantly of all, it was to be the conscious creation of the American people. All other capitals had seemingly come down from a distant and usually only scarcely remembered past. They were part of the past. Washington was to be a city of the future. At an early point, when the city was little more than a few drawings on paper, the Commissioners named the 10-mile square "District of Columbia" and the Capital itself "City of Washington" (Washington himself having chosen the site). These were new names, for a new city and for a new concept of government—names which above all reflected what men might do of their own will.

From the very first, President Washington perceived that the role of the Capital in the life of the new Nation would have to be expressed in the architecture and urban design of the city, as well as in its geographic location and its special form of governance.

The French military engineer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, was engaged to design a plan for the new city. James Hoban, an Irish architect, won the competition (which Jefferson entered anonymously) to design the White House. William

Thornton submitted his design for the Capitol. Down through the generations, to this day, these three architectural elements have formed the basis of the Federal City. The visible symbols are the two great buildings, representing the legislative and executive power, and behind them is the plan. In the new conception of government, which the buildings represented, these powers are at once separated and joined together. The separation was to be seen in the distance between them—just over a mile. Their connection was to be seen in Pennsylvania Avenue, named for the State wherein our independence was first proclaimed, and from which the seat of government had just been transferred. From the outset this was the main thoroughfare of the Capital. The area immediately around it—three or four blocks north and south, together with the parks surrounding the White House and the Capitol were from the earliest seen as the Federal City, a special precinct uniquely associated with the business and the ceremonies of democracy.

For the men who founded the Nation, such grand conceptions were a reality unto themselves. They walked the streets of Washington, up to their ankles in mud, and saw about them a shining city of marble. In 1800 when the Federal Government formally arrived, Pennsylvania Avenue was "marked by a tangle of elder bushes, swamp grasses, and tree stumps." Jefferson planted Lombardy poplars which grew quickly and began to give some definition to the area. Private buildings began to rise; the Federal City gradually came to life.

Progress was slow, and after a point the initial impulse faded somewhat. It became clear that Washington would be a long time abuilding. Years passed and the L'Enfant plan was never completed. *Nonetheless many things were done in the Federal City area which directly contributed to the completion of the plan and nothing was done which made completion impossible.* Rarely—if ever—has a design conception exercised such power over such a length of time. Indeed, a stronger statement is justified. Each successive generation seems to have added something to the Federal City area. Gradually the design took shape.

—President Jackson built the present Treasury Building at Pennsylvania Avenue and 15th Street. Although ostensibly blocking the passage from the White House to the Capitol, the Treasury in fact forms a necessary buffer to the residential character of the White House.

—President Jackson began the first separate building for the Patent Office (now the National Portrait Gallery), locating it on F Street with its north side precisely aligned with that of the Treasury Building seven blocks to the west. The Patent Office was located at Eighth Street, facing downhill toward Pennsylvania Avenue. This is the exact location which L'Enfant had chosen for a National Cathedral. His purpose, in part, was to break the long stretch of Pennsylvania Avenue with a center of formal activity about midway between the Capitol and the White House.

—President Arthur built the Pension Building three blocks east of the Patent Office, again blocking the street, and forming the basis, with the old City Hall directly to the south, of what is now Judiciary Square.

—During the administration of William McKinley, the McMillan Commission in part proposed the concept of the Federal Triangle, the great sequence of office

buildings which lies between Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues.

—President Hoover began the construction of the Federal Triangle which proceeded steadily throughout the depression of the 1930's.

—Under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the National Archives Building was built. Whereas other buildings in the group bordered directly on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Archives Building was angled in so that it faced directly north toward the old Patent Office, built almost a century earlier, forming almost exactly the space that L'Enfant had envisioned.

—During all this period, the Mall was taking form as the Smithsonian Institution established itself, beginning with the old red sandstone castle located at 10th Street, and followed by a steady if restrained construction program that continues to this day.

For all this activity, after a point the area began to decline. The essential problem was that the area, so necessary to public activities, became less and less suited to private ones. Private housing was the first to fade away—in the area under discussion there are today only 13 dwelling units. Many commercial activities also disappeared. In part, they were pushed out by the development of the Federal Triangle. By the beginning of the 1960's, it was clear that the business and commercial center of the city was beginning to drift northwestward, away from the Federal City, leaving the Capitol and the White House increasingly isolated. The prospect was clear that office buildings would soon line the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue. The Federal City would be abandoned at night, all but lifeless during weekends.

In these circumstances, in June 1962, President Kennedy appointed the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, instructing it to prepare plans for the revitalization of the Federal City area that would accomplish a specific, and theretofore unacknowledged, objective. The Council's mission was to propose a mode of development that would be consistent with the historic heritage, but which would also deliberately seek to increase the private commercial and residential activities and also the cultural and educational facilities of the area.

In 1965, the Council's work having been completed, President Johnson established the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue with instructions to move forward in accordance with the proposed plan. The National Capital Planning Commission, the Commission of Fine Arts, and various agencies of the District Government subsequently approved, in occasionally altered form, the basic proposal contained in the Council's report. The fundamental thrust of that proposal was to carry out a mixture of private and public building, park, and plaza developments, together with elaborate transportation and automobile parking facilities, in such a way that the Federal City might become the first truly modern central city in the world, and at the same time complete the great vision of President Washington as laid out in the original L'Enfant plan.

Since that time, under the previous administration and the present one, work of great consequence has gone forward. One of my first actions upon taking office was to announce in January 1969 the approval of the first year Neighborhood Development program for the Shaw and downtown urban renewal areas, and to release urban renewal and related funds for the

initial implementation of these plans. At that time, I also invited the Commissioner of the District of Columbia to submit similar proposals for the H Street and the 14th Street urban renewal areas. Approval of the resulting plans was announced by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in December 1969. Little by little the conditions are being established that will bring about a revival of the Federal City area.

—At the foot of Capitol Hill a 6-acre Reflecting Pool is under construction. The Center Leg Freeway tunnel below it will allow traffic to bypass the area.

—North of the Reflecting Pool, between Second and Third Streets, the new Labor Department Building, spanning the Freeway, is now under construction. A corresponding building will be located at the south "portal" of the tunnel.

—At John Marshall Place, on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, a new Municipal Center will rise in the environs of the old City Hall.

—At Fourth Street, on the south side of the Avenue, the National Gallery of Art will build an addition that will relate to and balance the Municipal Center development.

—At Eighth Street, there will be a cross axis that will meet precisely the purposes L'Enfant envisioned. In 1968, Congress established the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars as a permanent memorial to the 28th President. In doing so, Congress noted that the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission recommended the Center be located north of the proposed Market Square in accordance with the development plan. This work is now in the planning stage, as are designs for an underground extension of the National Archives. To the south, construction has already begun on the Hirshhorn Museum, and plans are well advanced for the National Gallery sculpture garden.

—Between Ninth and Tenth Streets on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, the new FBI Building, extending north to E Street, is now under construction. As with other new construction abutting directly on the avenue, the FBI Building will be set back 50 feet from the present building line, providing a 76-foot-wide sidewalk along the ceremonial avenue. In the mid-1970's some three-quarters of a million visitors a year are expected to tour the FBI exhibits in the new building.

—At 12th Street, the Presidential Building, privately constructed, has been set back in accordance with the development plan. The proposed landscaping for the mile-long avenue has been carried out in this particular segment.

—Between 11th and 15th Streets on the south side, the General Services Administration is moving forward to complete the Federal Triangle. As well as the additional office and underground parking space that will be created, the Grand Plaza of the Federal Triangle, located as an interior court between 13th and 14th Streets, will finally become a reality.

This list could be extended at some length. This past winter the groundbreaking ceremonies took place for METRO. Washington at last will have not just a subway system, but the most modern system of its kind in the Nation. Of the remaining temporary buildings on the Mall—temporary since 1918!—Building E has just been demolished and the Navy-Munitions Building is now coming down. The Interior Department's master plan for the development of the Mall is

similarly moving forward. The General Services Administration has issued plans for lighting significant buildings throughout the Federal City area, which will commence with the lighting of the national Christmas tree this year.

What is missing from this otherwise impressive and promising list of activity is the residential and commercial development which is indispensable to the revitalization of the Federal City area. While various government activities have gone forward with energy and success, it would have to be said that there was less private activity in the area at the end of the decade of the 1960's than at the beginning. The sources of this decline are many, but three in particular seem fundamental. The first is that small investor confidence in the area has greatly declined. There are many reasons for this, but it should be noted that such a change in the attraction for small businesses and similar activities is normal in the development of the American city. It has happened almost everywhere else, and of itself requires no special explanation. The difference is that the Federal City is *like* nowhere else. It *is* special, and for that reason special measures must be devised to respond to its needs. A second general source of lagging private development is that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for prospective investors to aggregate land parcels so as to obtain sites large enough for profitable investment. A third source has been the continuing uncertainty as to the actual depth of the commitment of the legislative and executive branches to the development of the Federal City.

This is a matter of national concern, of national interest. It requires national action. Further, with the Bicentennial upon us, it requires prompt action. Accordingly, I support the intent of S. 4196 and H.R. 18677 to create a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation, a public building corporation to be charged with preparing plans for and carrying forward the revitalization of the center of the Federal City area.

In this area of approximately one million square feet, some 15 blocks, the object of the Development Corporation is to bring about the maximum private and commercial investment. Preliminary studies have been done which estimate that 7.5 million square feet of building space, including hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, housing, and office space could be constructed in the next 6 years. Further development could be expected after that. The development of this area should greatly stimulate the progress of other renewal efforts immediately to the north, with a large consequent increase in the taxable real estate base of the District of Columbia. In the interval there would be an impressive increase in construction activity. In order to carry out this program, the Development Corporation is given the right to acquire property for its specified purposes, and to borrow funds from the Treasury to finance its activities.

The Corporation's development plan, guided by the proposals developed for the area during the 1960's, would be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the District of Columbia Government for approval. At the completion of its work the Corporation would be dissolved.

In creating this public building corporation, the Congress would retain the

power to pass both upon all appropriations for the special public works involved in the development and upon the amount of borrowing authority.

Time is short. The approaching Bicentennial provides us an opportunity to fulfill in this city, at this time, a magnificent vision of the men who founded our Nation, and at the same time to create a standard for the rest of the Nation by which to measure their own urban achievement, and on which to build visions of their own. Much has been written of the crisis of the American city. Too much of what has been written is true. The time has come to measure what we do, not by what we are, but by what we can be. If we do not do this work now, other men will do it for us at another time. Let us do it now.

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President, on the statement and on the President's tour earlier that morning of the Federal City area.

288 Statement About Appointment of Youth Members to the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. *September* 10, 1970

THE FUTURE of American youth is directly related to the future of the United Nations. For the U.N. can be a factor in the great issues which will shape history for the rest of their lives: not only the overwhelming issue of war and peace but also issues such as population growth and food production, the use of seabeds and of outer space, the relations between the races and between economic systems.

The President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations was set up to advise this Government on its role in the U.N.—both in this anniversary year and over the next quarter century. Since young people have more at stake than anyone in the future role of the U.N., it is important that they participate in this Commission. We must take full advantage of the fresh perspectives they bring to public affairs. We must have the full benefit of their idealism and their imagination. For this reason I have today appointed five young men and women to become full participating members of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations. I congratulate them on their appointment and welcome them to this challenging new responsibility.

NOTE: On the same day, the President signed Executive Order 11557, enlarging the Commission's membership. A White House announcement, dated September 10, 1970, listing the new appointees is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1170).

289 Special Message to the Congress on the Administration's Legislative Program. *September* 11, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

A Call for Cooperation

In the course of the past year and one-half I have sent more than 50 messages to the Congress proposing legislation to deal with certain problems, or to achieve certain national objectives. On two occasions I have sought to provide a comprehensive summation of these messages, thereby presenting an administration philosophy.

In the first of these, my message of October 13, 1969, I asserted that if ours is not to be an age of revolution it must be an age of reform, and declared that this would be the watchword of the Administration: Reform. I listed then a series of such measures already proposed:

Reform of the Draft
Reform of the Welfare System
Reform of the Tax Code
Revenue-Sharing Reform
Postal Reform
Manpower Reform
Social Security Reform
Reform of the Grant-in-Aid System
Electoral Reform
D.C. Government Reform
OEO Reform

I spoke then of further issues for which the Administration proposed new initiatives: with respect to hunger and malnutrition; population; crime; narcotics and pornography; manpower facilities and unemployment insurance; public transportation and air facilities.

In my State of the Union Message of January 22, 1970, I returned to this theme, proposing that as we enter the seventies, we should enter also a great age of reform of the institutions of American government.

The first principle of reform is that government programs and institutions should be effective. They should deliver what they promise. Too many promises of the 1960s have not been kept. The nation is now paying a price for this.

This principle is a cornerstone of the New Federalism. We seek to develop a new sense of partnership between the Federal government and State and local governments, to assign responsibility and authority for public functions to the level best qualified to carry them out. In the name of the "urban crisis," for example, the 1960s saw the Federal government increasingly caught in issues of municipal housekeeping that are most appropriately the business of a city council. But simultaneously the great fiscal power of the Federal government was never brought to play—through revenue sharing—to provide local governments with sufficient resources to enable them to solve their own problems in their own ways.

The second principle of reform is that America must find a way to direct its own growth. We have entered a decade in which our Gross National Product will increase by $500 billion, an amount greater than the entire growth of the American economy from 1790 to 1950. Out of this vast increase in wealth we can create a life of unprecedented achievement for ourselves, and for the nation. Or we can choke on it. "Toward Balanced Growth: Quantity with Quality," the

theme of the report of the National Goals Research Staff,[1] could well be the theme of the 1970s.

In foreign affairs I have held out the hope that if our new policies succeed America may have the best chance since World War II to enjoy a generation of uninterrupted peace. More then is the reason to consider forthwith how we are to use the abundance of peace.

The great question of the seventies, as I pointed out in my State of the Union Message, is, shall we surrender to our surroundings, or shall we make our peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damage we have done to our air, to our land and to our water? I promised a national growth policy, to bring balance and order to the great changes in population, industry, and patterns of education and training that would affect the quality of life in the three decades ahead.

In February I sent to the Congress the most comprehensive proposals in the area of environmental protection and enhancement ever set forth by any administration. Since then I have proposed the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency to establish a focal point for setting general environment pollution standards affecting all media and forms of pollution.

I have now virtually completed the domestic legislative proposals I will make to the present Congress. I would like then to take one further opportunity to sum up. I would like to acknowledge the important achievements already behind us, and also to stress the very considerable amount of work which is still before the Congress and which must be done if we are to meet our responsibility to this new decade, much less to begin to fulfill its promise.

In my message of last October I stated that if a working partnership between men of differing philosophies and different parties is to continue, then candor on both sides is required.

Candor requires first that we acknowledge the exceptional circumstances which were thrust upon us by a relatively rare event in American history. For the first time in 120 years an incoming President of one party has faced a Congress dominated by another.

Given the system of "checks and balances" built into our government, it would be reasonable to predict that in such a situation the institutions of the Presidency and the Congress would thwart one another, and that stalemate would ensue. The American Constitution was devised in large measure to limit the exercise of power. We should not be surprised if on occasion it makes such exercise difficult.

Yet this need not be. It is not less a quality of our Constitution that by providing a voice to wide ranging and diverse interests it makes it possible from time to

[1] A summary of the report dated July 18, 1970, and the transcript of a news briefing on the report held on July 15, by Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President and Director, National Goals Research Staff; Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President; and Raymond A. Bauer, Senior Consultant, National Goals Research Staff, are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 941 and 947, respectively). The transcript of a second news briefing on the report by Dr. Moynihan and Mr. Bauer, held on July 17, was released by the White House on July 18.

time to face up to issues of national importance, and to make genuinely national decisions about them. Some decisions can be reached only if both parties are willing to share responsibility; some programs can be enacted only if both parties share the credit.

This, then, is a time to face such issues. As President, I have sought to do so. I have proposed to Congress legislation dealing with issues about which there has been an unmistakable national judgment that something needs to be done. Revenue sharing, for example, was pledged by both parties in their 1968 platforms. We need it; the public supports it. Yet, until now, no President has felt it possible to propose revenue sharing, no Congress has made any move toward enacting it. Draft reform, welfare reform, crime control, environmental protection, are other issues that need urgent actions. I have felt it possible to approach these matters as national issues about which we could make national decisions in which both parties would participate, for which both would honorably accept responsibility and justly claim recognition.

Whatever will be the judgment of history, the record of this moment is that Congress has not responded. There are exceptions, of which all involved can and should be proud. But the larger fact is that Congress, in a mood of nostalgia and partisanship, has too much devoted its energies to tinkering with programs of the past while ignoring the realities of the present and the opportunities of the future.

Time now slips away. The Congress is coming to a close. Its work is not done. The issues I have asked to be considered have not been considered. And yet matters press. We cannot wait for politics. We must seek a record of achievement all can share.

As we build this record, we must not lose sight of the overriding need for fiscal responsibility. Year after year during the 1960s the Federal government incurred a deficit. In the early years of the decade there was a justification for this. The economy was operating at less than full employment capacity. In the later years there was no justification whatever: persistent deficits could lead only to a disorderly and punishing inflation. This was predictable; it was predicted; it came to pass.

It need not happen again, and it must not. This is why I have been forced to veto appropriation bills sent me by the Congress in amounts well above those requested. I understand full well the feeling for worthy purposes that inspires such action. But there is a higher national interest. Economics has taught us to think in terms of the entire economic system. To affect one part is to affect all parts. The Federal government must act in accordance with that knowledge and reality. Just as the President sends a unified Budget to the Congress, the Congress surely should devise some manner of unified response. I have suggested that Congress establish an overall spending ceiling, and adjust the various appropriation bills to accord with that ceiling. There may be other and better ways of attaining this goal. But we can no longer avoid the necessity of finding some means whereby the present fragmented and competitive legislative process that mandates and promotes Federal spending can be

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brought under control so that the impact of the total Federal budget is to sustain and encourage economic growth, rather than to disrupt it. This is the course of fiscal responsibility.

If restraint is one condition of fiscal responsibility, timeliness is surely another. In recent years Congress has more and more tended to put off the enactment of appropriations bills until months after the beginning of the fiscal year. It is now September. The fiscal year began July 1st. Yet only four out of fourteen appropriations bills have been enacted. This practice begins to threaten the very basis of orderly and effective government.

Fiscal restraint in no sense precludes a reordering of national priorities. To the contrary, it is only when such restraint is exercised that a purposeful direction of events can occur. In fiscal 1971, for example, for the first time in two decades, the expenditures of the Federal government on Human Resources are greater than the expenditure on Defense and Defense-related activities. We have reversed the trend of the 1960s. Our priorities *have* changed. But this change can be effective only in the context of disciplined and responsible fiscal policy. The matter may be put more strongly. Anyone who seriously wishes to see a reordering of priorities for the nation either must insist on doing so in a responsible and disciplined manner, or must be judged not to be serious.

REFORMING THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE PAST

Of the major items of reform which I have proposed to the Congress, and which I described in my message of October 13, 1969, some have been acted upon.

The Tax Reform Act of 1969, which had some troublesome features, nevertheless did incorporate most of the measures reforming the Tax Code which I had proposed.

The Administration asked for and obtained the extension of the *Economic Opportunity Act* to permit the OEO to carry out its new role.

One of the most important measures of reform passed by this Congress so far is the *Postal Reorganization Act* establishing the United States Postal Service. It is a landmark bill demonstrating not only ability to respond to a complex and persisting problem with bold and creative measures, but demonstrating as well the power of bipartisan effort when it is exercised with determination and will. This Act will need to be improved upon as the new system is established, but we have a sound structure.

Last year the Congress passed legislation I recommended to permit a change from the oldest-first to a youngest-first order of call in Selective Service, to reduce the period of prime vulnerability to one year, and to select individuals through a lottery system.

Thus we have made a beginning. But our work is nowhere near ended. The other major reforms I listed last October still have not been enacted. Since that time I have proposed a wide range of measures of equal importance. In far the greater proportion these, too, await action by Congress.

REFORM OF THE DRAFT

As long as the draft is necessary to meet our military manpower needs, it must be made to operate as equitably and consistently as possible.

This year, by Executive Order [11527], future occupational, agricultural, and paternity deferments were eliminated. At the same time, I requested the Congress to restore the discretionary authority of the President on undergraduate student deferments so that these deferments could also be eliminated in the future. I also proposed that legislation be enacted to improve the random selection system by permitting the establishment of a direct national call of inductees. The Congress has not acted on these proposals. But the only long range solution is to end our need to draft by attaining an all-volunteer armed force. On April 23, 1970, I proposed military pay legislation to the Congress as an important step towards achieving an objective of reducing draft calls to zero. Unfortunately, this legislation has not been enacted.

In the meantime—and for all time—America owes an obligation to the men who have fought in Vietnam, and not less to those who backed them in the Armed Forces elsewhere. The *Vietnam Veterans Assistance Act* which I have proposed to the Congress would provide important new GI Bill benefits relating to post-secondary school training, the provision of Small Business Administration loans to veterans from minority groups, and the provision of guaranteed loans for the purchase of mobile homes. This legislation has not been enacted; it should be.

REFORM OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM

The *Family Assistance Act* has been properly described as the most important piece of domestic legislation to go before the Congress in thirty-five years. It is one of the dozen or half-dozen most important pieces of domestic legislation in American history. The Act provides a basic national income supplement for all needy families with children. It abolishes the bankrupt welfare system of the past, which has so greatly contributed to our present crisis, and creates an altogether new system based upon work incentives (including support for child care services), job training and provision, and directed primarily to creating self-sufficient independent families. Where persons are genuinely dependent, as are the aged and disabled, or female headed families with young children, the bill provides national standards of benefits which will enormously improve the condition of the poor in many parts of the nation.

In April of this year the *Family Assistance Act* passed the House of Representatives by a resounding and gratifying vote. Hearings are now taking place in the Senate. It would be tragic beyond words if this historic opportunity were to be allowed to slip away from us. I am confident that this will not happen, but to prevent it the Senate will, of course, have to move with some dispatch.

The Family Assistance Plan is the keystone of an income strategy for the elimination of poverty in the United States. In 1969 the first move in this strategy was accomplished when Congress adopted the Administration's proposal to abolish income taxes for the poor. Reform of the Manpower Program and Unemployment Insurance are equally essential, and the latter has now also been enacted. But the strategy will be incomplete until the Family Assistance Plan is enacted as well.

On May 6, 1969, before the Family Assistance Plan was proposed, I sent to Congress a message on hunger and malnutrition, in which I declared that the moment is at hand to put an end to

hunger in America itself for all time. Since then, major reforms have been carried through toward this goal. But legislation is required. The *Food Stamp Act Amendments,* which I recommended to the Congress, established the pathbreaking principles that very poor families would receive free stamps, that for other families cash requirements would be limited to 30 percent of family income, that uniform minimum national eligibility standards would be established, and a range of similarly important reforms. This legislation still has not been enacted.

Family welfare is necessarily related to family size and the availability of health services. On July 18, 1969, I sent the first Message to Congress ever on the subject of population. At the time I proposed that we should establish as a national goal the provision of adequate family planning services within the next five years to all those who want but cannot afford them, adding that in no circumstances will the activities associated with our pursuit of this goal be allowed to infringe upon the religious convictions or personal wishes and freedom of any individual, nor will they be allowed to impair the absolute right of all individuals to have such matters of conscience respected by public authorities. Part of this program has gone forward, but in order to reach our goal of being able to serve the estimated five million women who are in need of subsidized, publicly assisted family planning services, family planning legislation should be enacted by the Congress this year.

On the broader question of the future course of population growth and its implications for our society, I am pleased to observe that the *Commission on Population Growth and the American Future* which I proposed in my Message has been approved by the Congress and is now in operation.

In February of this year this Administration sent to the Congress the *Health Services Improvement Act* dedicated to the creation of integrated, effective, consumer-oriented health care systems by the consolidation of four existing and overlapping programs in this field. The Act would "decategorize" certain aspects of these programs, provide "joint funding", authorize the transfer of funds among these programs and encourage experimentation in the delivery of health services. The Congress has not yet taken final action on this legislation.

REVENUE-SHARING REFORM

As I stated in October, for the first time in the history of this government, we have recommended a national policy of permanent sharing of the Federal income tax revenues with the States and lesser political units of the country. My proposal, the *Revenue Sharing Act of 1969,* would begin with $1 billion in its first full fiscal year, and rise to approximately $5 billion by FY 1976: It would be difficult to identify another proposal that has received such widespread endorsement. It is elemental economics, elemental good sense, elemental good government. Both parties endorsed Revenue Sharing in their 1968 platforms, and it has widespread public support. Yet neither the House nor the Senate has held hearings on this Administration's bill.

MANPOWER REFORM

Earlier in this message I stated that the first principle of reform is that govern-

ment programs should be effective. With this object in view I have proposed a *Manpower Training Act* which would consolidate the major manpower training programs carried on by the Department of Labor into one funding authority, abolish categorical programs, provide that the administration of the programs be progressively decentralized to the States and metropolitan areas, and further provide an automatic increase of 10 percent in manpower funds when the national unemployment rate equals or exceeds 4.5 percent for three consecutive months.

Here is the New Federalism in action. Consolidate in the interests of flexibility. Decentralize where operations are best managed locally. Assert national standards of performance, and provide automatic adjustments to changes in the national economy. In the history of American Federalism there has been no comparable transfer of functions: a process that for more than a third of a century has taken responsibilities away from State and local governments and lodged them in Washington would now for the first time be reversed, not to reestablish an old arrangement, but to create a new one. Hearings have been held in both the House and Senate, but as yet neither body has responded to the essentials of this historic legislation.

One of the most important measures to pass either session of the Congress thus far is the recently enacted *Employment Security Amendments of 1970,* which I recommended July 8, 1969. This precedent-shattering legislation will not only cover 4.75 million additional jobs—in small businesses, nonprofit organizations, State hospitals, and State institutions of higher education among others—it will also provide an extension of the benefit period up to 13 weeks which is automatically triggered when the insured unemployment rate for the nation reaches 4.5 percent for three consecutive months, and would remain in operation until that rate drops below 4.5 percent for a corresponding three months. These provisions become effective January 1, 1972.

This is the most extensive reform of the unemployment insurance program ever enacted. Something of moment has occurred. This important income maintenance program has been made flexible, responsive, equilibrating. This is what modern government should be doing in a dozen such areas.

SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

In the *Social Security Amendments* currently before the Congress, I requested an automatic cost-of-living adjustment in Social Security benefits to compensate elderly Americans, as I stated in October, for the losses they are suffering because of an inflation they could do nothing either to prevent or to avoid. This is an act of fairness which I proposed in my 1968 campaign for the Presidency and which the Congress should no longer deny to our senior citizens. In addition, I proposed several benefit liberalizations and reforms which would make social security a more equitable and effective instrument of income security for the aged. This measure has passed the House and awaits action in the Senate.

REFORM OF THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM

The Congress consented to my reorganization plan which provided for the establishment of the new *Office of Management and Budget* and the *Domestic*

Council. I am confident that these new entities will be major factors in improving the management of domestic affairs in the years ahead. However, there are other aspects of management reform which require legislation which has not been acted upon.

In the fourth month of the Administration I proposed to reform the increasingly chaotic and unmanageable grant-in-aid system of the national government by providing the President with power, subject to Congressional veto, to consolidate related assistance programs.

This is no small matter. It is one of the reforms that is absolutely necessary if our present governmental system is to be made to work. Again we face a familiar situation. We have made some improvements through action by the Executive Branch, but legislation is necessary. Hearings have been held on the *Grant Consolidation Act* in both the House and the Senate, but neither body has acted.

We have recently proposed dramatic changes in the manner in which Social Services are delivered to their intended beneficiaries. As an amendment to the Family Assistance Act, we proposed greater flexibility in the use of services money and related HEW programs—including permissive authority for State and local governments to transfer up to 20 percent from one appropriation to another under certain conditions. Moreover, we would launch a new Government Assistance Program to help Mayors and Governors strengthen their policy direction and management of important HEW services. The Senate Finance Committee was gratifyingly prompt in holding hearings on this important amendment, and I hope the Congress will enact it this year.

The *Federal Economy Act* is a related measure. Programs need to be consolidated; from time to time they need to be eliminated. This is an elemental principle of the decent management of public affairs. In February, 1970, I proposed program changes that would save $2.1 billion in Fiscal Year 1971—money urgently needed for other programs. More than half of those changes that require Congressional approval have not been put into effect. Further, the Congress is blocking over $170 million of the savings I proposed to achieve by executive action. In all, Congress is not acting on over $700 million in savings, or one-third of my proposals. In those areas where I have been left free to act I am accomplishing 100 percent of the savings planned.

ELECTORAL REFORM

No one subject more profoundly involves the issue of popular sovereignty than the method of electing the President. For almost two centuries the system of the Electoral College has somehow worked, albeit just barely at times, and at other times even doubtfully. Every four years the American democracy places a large, unacceptable, and unnecessary wager that it will work one more time, that somehow an institution that never in any event functioned the way the framers of the Constitution anticipated, will somehow confer the Presidency on that candidate who obtains the largest number of votes. The Electoral College need not do so. Indeed on occasion it has not done so. But far more importantly—whatever the popular vote—it need not confer the Presidency on any candidate, if none has a majority of the electoral vote.

Our ability to change this system in time for the 1972 elections is a touchstone of the impulse to reform in America today. It will be the measure of our ability to avert calamity by anticipating it.

As I stated in my October 1969 message, I originally favored other methods of reforming the electoral college system, but the passage by the House of a direct popular election plan indicated that this thoroughly acceptable reform could be achieved, and I accordingly supported it. Unfortunately, the Senate has not completed action. Time is running out. But it is still possible to pass the measure and to amend the Constitution in time for the 1972 elections.

D.C. GOVERNMENT REFORM

Last October I called to the attention of Congress one of the truly unacceptable facts of American life, and asked for the enactment of legislation I had proposed which would bring about the orderly transfer of political power to the people of the District of Columbia. I called for a Constitutional amendment giving the District at least one representative in the House and such additional representatives as Congress may approve, and providing for the possibility of two United States Senators. (We need to keep continually in mind that the population of the District is greater than that of at least ten States.) I asked for an interim arrangement providing the District with a non-voting Congressional representative, and the creation of a Commission on Government for the District of Columbia to propose a permanent governmental arrangement. I have been heartened by progress toward the non-voting representative, but I share the chagrin that most Americans feel at the fact that Congress continues to deny self-government to the nation's capital. I would remind the Congress that the founding fathers did nothing of the sort. Home rule was taken from the District only after more than seventy years of self-government, and this was done on grounds that were either factually shaky or morally doubtful. Surely we cannot allow this inadmissible situation to persist as the American Bicentennial dawns.

FOREIGN TRADE

In a message to the Congress of November 18, 1969, I proposed the *Trade Act of 1969* which would significantly strengthen the trade agreements program of the United States, recognizing that ultimately it is rising world trade and production that must form the base for the prosperity of developing nations. At the same time, the bill would establish a viable program of tariff adjustments for industries and adjustment assistance for firms and workers affected by imports. It would also promote the reduction or elimination of non-tariff barriers to trade, by eliminating the American Selling Price System. While this legislation awaits enactment, I again express my concern about the growing tone of protectionism in the arguments being made in the Congress.

The *Merchant Marine Act Amendments* provide for a long-range merchant marine building program of 300 ships in the next ten years, with a lessening of dependence on operating-differential subsidy for liner carriers, and the buildup of the bulk commercial carrier fleet for the foreign commerce of the United States. This is a trade expansion measure of

fundamental importance. The bill has passed the House of Representatives, but has not as yet passed the Senate.

CRIME

In my October, 1969 Message I declared that there is no greater need in this free society than the restoration of the individual American's freedom from violence in his home and on the streets of his city or town. These words were carefully chosen. The issue of crime is easily misunderstood, and on occasion deliberately so. The issue of crime is freedom. When individual citizens are the direct victims of violence, or the indirect victims when they are forced to restrict their own movements out of fear of violence, fundamental liberties are abridged. A government that fails to protect those liberties is not worthy of the name. At the time of my statement the issue had been the source of more legislative requests from the Administration than any other single subject. Today, not far from a year later, only two bills have passed. One was the *District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act*—a measure of major importance. It provides for the expansion and strengthening of the entire system of law enforcement and criminal justice in the nation's capital. As I said in October, the Act provides more judges, new enforcement tools, reorganization of the archaic court system, a new public defender's office, and reform in the procedures for dealing with juvenile offenders.

The second was an amendment to the *Federal Youth Corrections Act* to provide more effective and improved methods for dealing with young people in the Federal criminal justice system.

Among the most important crime proposals that have been before the Congress for more than a year, and which have not been enacted, are these:

—*The Controlled Dangerous Substances Act.* This Act would substantially revise existing drug laws by providing new means for controlling dangerous drugs by establishing a new, comprehensive and realistic penalty structure designed to provide courts with guidance and flexibility in handling offenders, and by providing more effective enforcement tools for diminishing the availability of dangerous drugs.

—*Organized Crime Control Act.* This is an omnibus bill embodying recommendations of the President's Crime Commission, the National Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws, and other groups. The ten titles codify and strengthen existing Federal laws relating to the prosecution of organized crime. Again, this is an issue easily misunderstood. The most important issues involved in organized crime are not those which are most commonly discussed. It has been estimated that as much as $50 billion a year passed through the hands of organized crime in illegal gambling alone. What is involved here is not the act of gambling by the individual citizen, but the corruption of government that invariably accompanies it. Similarly, the social consequences of the drug traffic controlled by organized crime spread far beyond the personal tragedy of the addict. They weaken the fabric of society itself.

This proposal would make large-scale gambling a federal offense and would make it a felony for large-scale gamblers and law enforcement officers or public officials to obstruct enforcement of State

and local laws against gambling through bribery of government officials. And it would replace numerous disparate witness-immunity laws scattered throughout the United States Code with a single uniform provision. It is a long overdue reform. This bill provides, among other things, for increased sentences, up to 30 years, for dangerous adult special offenders—the recidivist, the professional offender, and the organized crime leader.

—*Wagering Tax Amendments.* This proposal would prohibit the use against the taxpayer of information obtained through his compliance with the wagering tax, while at the same time increasing the coverage and amount of the taxes, and authorizing a grant of immunity to essential witnesses.

—*The Bail Reform Act Amendments.* This proposal would authorize a judge to detain, after a hearing, a person charged with certain categories of Federal crimes who was found to pose a danger to another person or the community if released.

—*Protection of Minors from Obscenity Act and the Prohibition of Transportation of Salacious Advertising Act.* These two bills would prohibit the use of the mails for the distribution of matter harmful to minors or advertisements explicitly designed and intended to appeal to a prurient interest in sex.

—*Criminal Justice Act Amendments.* This proposal would institute fundamental and urgently needed reforms in the provision of legal defenders for poor persons. Crime involves the issue of freedom, and that includes freedom from unjust arrest and conviction. Vigorous and competent legal defense is fundamental to this freedom, and it results in justice for not only the accused but also the accuser.

These crime control measures have been before the Congress for more than a year. There are further measures of equal and as great urgency also before the Congress.

—*The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Amendments.* The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was established in 1968 in the Department of Justice to assist, through a grant program, State and local governments in strengthening and improving law enforcement. These amendments now pending in Congress would authorize appropriations for this important program for fiscal year 1971 and beyond and would amend the basic authority to permit better utilization of the available funds.

—*Explosives Regulation Proposals and Amendments.* We have proposed legislation to regulate the business of importing, manufacturing or dealing in explosives through a system of licenses and permits as well as prohibiting the purchase of explosives by mail-order. In addition, we have proposed amendments to the U.S. Criminal Code which would provide urgently needed powers to control the epidemic of terrorist bombings and nihilist destruction which has suddenly become a feature of American life. Here again the object of crime control is not simply to deter people from breaking the law and to punish persons who have broken the law, but more importantly to maintain and protect the freedom of citizens to live their lives without fear and without injury. The stability of democratic society is what really is at stake.

EDUCATION REFORM

If the impulse to reform may be muted with respect to some areas of American

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life, there would seem to be near universal agreement that reform is overdue and urgent at every level in the field of education. There is a difference, however, between reform and retribution. If education has failed—*where* it has failed—the remedy is not to destroy it, but to restructure it. Moreover, failure as perceived by one group may be success in the eyes of another. Opinions about education must be informed by knowledge about the subject. From this it follows that the first thing to understand about education is that our understanding of the process is weak indeed. At most, it can be described as just beginning. This is a lesson we learned in the 1960s at no little cost.

During that decade, Congress was extraordinarily generous in its support of education, particularly in its enthusiasm for trying to compensate through education for the environmental disadvantages of our least fortunate children. Support for education comprised the fastest-growing segment of the Federal budget by the mid-point of that ten-year period. This support—regarded as long overdue by most Americans, and begrudged by almost no one—generated an extraordinary flurry of activity in American education at all levels.

Much of this activity was based on the familiar premise that if only the resources available for education were increased, the amount that youngsters learn would increase, too. Somehow, it seemed reasonable to assume that the amount of dollars invested in education was all that really mattered. For we thought we knew what education was all about.

It is, therefore, perfectly understandable that we, as a nation, have been reluctant to accept the findings of massive research and bold scholarly analysis which suggest that perhaps our cherished assumptions may simply not be true. Or, if true, they are far more complex and difficult to understand than we thought. It is entirely understandable that we have all been reluctant to acknowledge how little return our investment has brought, how disappointing the educational results of our ambitious programs have been. But the simple and alarming fact has gradually become apparent, that we did not really understand the educational process well enough to have a purposeful effect on its outcome, which is, of course, what children learn.

There is no shame associated with this conclusion, and no blame to be assigned. But it is time to realize that every time we invest a billion dollars in a compensatory program, we raise the hopes of millions of our most disadvantaged citizens; which hopes are more than likely destined to be dashed, for the programs and strategies on which they rest are themselves based on faulty assumptions and inadequate knowledge. This is bad government. It is bad politics. It is bad education.

This Administration did not take the easy way out of this sad paradox. The easy response would have been to ignore the research findings or to stop spending money across the board on education. In fact, the total sums budgeted by this Administration for education have risen steadily—to nearly $12 billion this year—and will continue to do so. For many of these programs have auxiliary benefits that should not be denied our young people. Far from cutting back—or pretending that programs "work" when in fact they do not—this Administration has chosen the tougher route of *reform and*

research. For we are confident that the day will come when in fact every young American can learn as much and go as far as his abilities will permit. But that day will be slow in coming if we fail now to abandon outmoded precepts and to move beyond simplicities. (While at the same time giving full honor and credit to those who re-awakened the nation to its educational shortcomings.)

Accordingly, this Administration has taken a number of executive actions aimed at the reform and renewal of American education, consistent with the principle of the New Federalism that elementary and secondary education are properly the province of States and localities. The *Office of Child Development* has been created within HEW as the focal agency for our Early Learning Program and other activities aimed at enhancing The First Five Years of Life. The *President's Commission on School Finance* is now at work examining the pressing and complex problems associated with the financial support of public and non-public schools. The *Right to Read* has been established as a prime educational goal and a *National Reading Council* has been appointed to monitor the nation's progress toward it. We initiated a rigorous—and continuing—review of the Title I program.

But the reforms in Federal education programs that are most needed must represent the combined efforts of the Congress and the Administration. In two major Messages to Congress last March, I made a series of proposals for reform and renewal, first in elementary and secondary education, then in higher education. These were augmented by our proposed *Emergency School Aid Act,* and by the thorough-going reform of the Impacted Aid Program transmitted as part of the *Federal Economy Act.*

In these proposals I asked that the Congress establish a *National Institute of Education,* within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in order to bring to education the intensity and quality of research and experimentation that we have grown accustomed to in biomedical research under the National Institutes of Health. Staffed by scholars and experts from many fields, and free of many of the constraints on established agencies, the National Institute would offer reasonable hope that in time we might convert our present ignorance about the processes of education into hard knowledge about learning and how to effect it. Its purpose is to assist schools in solving the pressing problems which beset them. Congress has not held hearings on this important and far-reaching proposal.

I asked that the Congress reform the mammoth—and, in its present form, inexcusable—program popularly known as Aid to Federally-impacted Areas. As I observed in March, this program neither assists States to determine their own education expenditures nor re-directs funds to the individual districts in greatest need. Four Presidents, representing both parties, have asked Congress to take up the long overdue but politically unpopular task of eliminating its most egregious flaws. Although hearings have been held on this long-needed reform, no Committee action has been taken in either house.

I asked the Congress to enact a special two-year *Emergency School Aid Program* to expedite and encourage the process of desegregation in the United States, and to enhance the possibility that our young-

sters can benefit from interracial educational experiences. Surely there has been no domestic public issue in twenty years to engage the attention and concern of more citizens than the relationship of the races within our nation's schools. To the extent that this relationship can be eased and assisted through the use of Federal funds, I have asked Congress to join with the Administration in doing so. I hope that Congress will complete action on this legislation at an early date.

My request that Congress speedily appropriate $150 million under existing authority so that we might begin this challenging task before schools open this September was regrettably cut in half to $75 million.

In higher education, the Administration submitted one of the most comprehensive pieces of education legislation in history, the *Higher Education Opportunity Act*. Its key elements bear repeating.

By substantially revising the present structure of student financial aid, it would be possible, for the first time, to assure every lower-income student entering college a combination of Federal grants and subsidized loans sufficient to give him the same ability to pay as a student from a family earning $10,000.

At the same time, I proposed to make Federally-guaranteed loans available to *every* college and graduate student in the United States, regardless of income. *The National Student Loan Association*—a "secondary market" for student loan paper—would make this possible, and the loans that we propose to guarantee would be sufficient in amount, and flexible enough in length of repayment, that any student prepared to invest in his own future could finance his own education. By making loans available to all, and by concentrating subsidies on those who need them most, the United States would finally be able to tell its young people that no qualified student who wants to go to college need be barred by lack of money.

In looking at the complex ties between institutions of higher education and the Federal government, this Administration concluded that for three decades now the Federal government has been hiring universities to do work it wanted done. The time has come for the Federal government to help academic communities to pursue excellence and reform in fields of their own choosing as well, and by means of their own choosing. Accordingly, I asked Congress to create a *National Foundation for Higher Education,* to be funded initially at $200 million a year, and to be guided in its policies by a Board representative of the general public as well as the higher education community itself. In creating this Foundation, it would also be possible to consolidate a series of narrow categorical programs that have long distorted the needs and wishes of our colleges and universities.

It would be naive to ignore the all-too-apparent fact that higher education may not be as popular in the United States as formerly. There has been a serious loss of faith in our universities, not least within the institutions themselves. The specter of "student unrest"—and the alleged political consequences of appearing to reward disruptive students and faculty—has tended to paralyze efforts in this field. But it is too easy to do nothing, to let our dismay over the behavior of individual persons and institutions pre-

vent us from sustaining and reforming our long-range investment in education. This is the time to move beyond politics, to move even beyond our individual sentiments, and to take the bold steps that alone can assure the continuation of excellence and the opening of opportunity in American higher education. I therefore urge the Congress to look again at the *Higher Education Opportunity Act* that I submitted, to understand the Administration's complete openness to responsible amendments, and to join with me in moving together on behalf of our young people.

URBAN AFFAIRS

In my October 1969 message I also asked the Congress to enact an *Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act.* This measure will provide the nation's deteriorating public transportation system an unprecedented measure of public support. In the six year period that ended in June of this year, the Federal government provided only $800 million to aid the public transit industry. The Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act would provide for a program that is four times greater over the next five years, and altogether totals $10 billion over the next twelve years. Both the Senate and the House have been actively concerned with this legislation, and a reasonably similar bill has passed the Senate. But I am still waiting for a sound bill for signature.

Beyond this, the Administration has sent to the Congress a wide range of legislation dealing with transportation—including highway authorization and user charges, railroad safety, and emergency transportation assistance.

The *Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970* [2] is a measure of comparable importance. The object of the bill is to reform the primary Federal housing programs in such a way as to markedly increase their effectiveness in stimulating the production of housing for families of low, moderate, and middle income. The improvements take the form of simplifying, consolidating, and making consistent the numerous programs now on the books. There are now more than 50 narrowly conceived programs in the Federal Housing Administration which would be reduced to eight basic programs with sufficient flexibility to meet widely varying needs. The various subsidized housing programs would be combined into three basic programs, each providing the same level of subsidy to families in similar circumstances. This measure is urgently needed if Federal housing programs are to be made effective and equitable. Unfortunately, although hearings have been held in both the House and the Senate, neither body has acted.

The Congress did enact the vitally-needed *Emergency Home Finance Act,* and the Department of HUD launched its creative "Operation Breakthrough" applying new technology to housing. But basic reform is necessary to help move these forward steps toward the goal.

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[2] On July 22, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Harold B. Finger, Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology, and ArDee Ames, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Renewal and Management, Department of Housing and Urban Development, on reports by the President's Task Forces on Low Income Housing and Urban Renewal. Several of the recommendations in these reports were included in the act.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

In a Message to the Congress at the end of October last year I proposed a comprehensive program of consumer protection, involving eighteen recommendations for the advancement of consumer interests. Five bills were subsequently introduced, embodying eleven of these recommendations requiring legislative action. The *Consumer Representation Act* provides for the establishment of an Office of Consumer Affairs in the Executive Office of the President and a Consumer Protection Division in the Department of Justice. The *Consumer Protection Act* would broaden the powers of the Federal Trade Commission in the field of consumer protection, and would create for the first time on a national basis a cause of action in Federal courts in cases of unfair and deceptive practices without regard to the amount in controversy. The *Consumer Product Testing Act* would promote the development of adequate and reliable methods of testing characteristics of consumer products. The *Drug Identification Act* and the *Consumer Warranty Act* would provide important new standards in their respective areas.

Almost a year has passed. Not one of these bills, except for a modified warranty bill passed by the Senate, has been acted on by either body of the Congress.

EMPLOYEE WELFARE AND PUBLIC INTEREST PROTECTION

In a Message to Congress on August 6, 1969, on the subject of *Occupational Safety and Health* I proposed the establishment of a comprehensive Federal occupational safety and health program. It does not exaggerate to declare that such a program ought to have become Federal law three generations ago. This was not done, and three generations of American workers have paid for it. I proposed legislation to create a Presidentially-appointed independent *Occupational Safety and Health Board* to promulgate standards on a national basis, and to provide broad powers of enforcement by the Secretary of Labor. Unaccountably, this urgent legislation has not been enacted.

On March 13, 1970 I proposed the *Employee Benefits Protection Act* which would broaden and strengthen the provisions of the Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act. This proposal has received wide endorsement from labor and management groups which would be affected by it, but Congress to date has not acted.

In August, 1969, the Administration's proposed *Equal Employment Opportunity Enforcement Act* was introduced in the Senate and the House. Unfortunately, in the thirteen months that have passed, neither House has acted to provide these powers necessary to improve the effectiveness of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

On February 27 of this year I proposed to Congress the *Emergency Public Interest Protection Act* which would add important new procedures to the emergency disputes provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. In addition, I proposed the establishment of a *National Special Industries Commission* to conduct a wide ranging study of labor relations in industries which are particularly vulnerable to national emergency disputes. Again, Congress has not acted.

CREATING THE CONDITIONS OF THE FUTURE

The first task of government in the post-industrial age, as I have stated, is that of reforming the institutions of the past. The second task is that of creating the conditions of the future. The fundamental fact is that of choice. We can choose to debase the physical environment in which we live, and with it the human society that depends on that environment, or we can choose to come to terms with nature, to make amends for the past, and build the basis for a balanced and responsible future.

The most neglected and the most rapidly deteriorating aspect of our national life is the environment in which we live. In my State of the Union Message last January, I promised to arrest that decline and begin to revive our habitat. In the eight months that have followed, the Administration has proposed a program that fulfills that promise, the most comprehensive and costly program in this field in America's history. During the same period, the Administration has taken a series of executive actions aimed at the same goals. But the Congress has not yet seen fit to take final action on any of our legislative proposals. If it was not evident before, it must surely now be apparent to anyone who lived through the grim smog and pollution that gripped the Eastern Seaboard in late July,[3] that prompt and vigorous action is necessary if our lives and those of our children are not to be blighted by *preventable and curable* environmental deterioration.

As my first official act of the decade, on January first I signed into law the *National Environmental Policy Act* establishing the *Council on Environmental Quality*. The Council is charged with analyzing important environmental conditions and trends, making a thorough review of all Federal programs which affect the environment, and recommending policies for protecting and improving the quality of the environment.

On July 9 I sent to the Congress a reorganization plan which would establish an *Environmental Protection Agency,* consolidating the major environmental pollution standard setting responsibilities of the Federal government together with certain related research, enforcement and abatement programs. At the same time I proposed formation of the *National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration* within the Department of Commerce to consolidate Federal programs for monitoring and understanding the environment. Among other things, this would provide better coordination and direction of our oceanic programs.

Responsibility for anti-pollution programs is now fragmented among several Departments and agencies, thus weakening our overall Federal effort. Air pollution, water pollution and solid wastes are different forms of a single problem, and it becomes increasingly evident that broad systems approaches are going to be needed to bring our pollution problems under control. The reorganization would give unified direction to our war on pollution and provide a stronger organizational base

[3] Two White House announcements, released September 3 and October 7, 1970, concerning cooperation between the United States and Japan in solving mutual air pollution and environmental problems are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, pp. 1136 and 1346).

for our stepped-up effort.

On February 10 of this year, I sent to the Congress a special message on the environment. This presented a 37-point action program, with special emphasis on strengthening our fight against water and air pollution.

In the field of water pollution, my major legislative recommendations included:

—Authorization of $4 billion to cover the Federal share of a $10 billion program to provide expanded municipal waste treatment facilities.

—Establishment of an *Environmental Financing Authority* to help finance the local share of treatment plant costs.

—Reform of the rigid formula by which funds are allocated under the treatment grant programs.

—Greatly strengthened enforcement authority, including provisions for court-imposed fines of up to $10,000 a day for violations.

The Senate has held hearings on the water pollution proposals, but has taken no floor action. The House has not even held hearings.

Among my major legislative recommendations for the control of air pollution were:

—More stringent procedures for reducing pollution from motor vehicles.

—Establishment of national air quality standards.

—Establishment of national emissions standards for pollutants from stationary sources.

—A major strengthening of enforcement procedures, including extension of Federal air pollution control authority to both inter- and intrastate situations and provisions for fines of up to $10,000 a day for violators.

While the House passed these proposals in June, the legislation has not yet been reported to the Senate for floor action.

In addition, the message spelled out 14 separate measures I was taking by administrative action or Executive Order. These included such wide-ranging initiatives as launching an extensive Federal research and development program in unconventionally-powered, low-pollution vehicles, requiring the development of comprehensive river basin plans for water pollution control, re-directing research on solid waste management to place greater emphasis on re-cycling and re-use, and the establishment of a *Property Review Board* to recommend specific Federal properties which should be converted to other high priority uses including conversion to parklands, or sold.

I again urge the Congress to act soon and favorably on the legislative proposals contained in that message. They are vital to our growing effort to protect and improve our environment.

On February 4, I issued an Executive Order [11507] directing a prompt clean-up of air and water pollution caused by Federal facilities. This task is well underway. As I said then, the Federal government should set an example for the rest of the country. We are doing so.

On April 15, I sent a message to the Congress requesting legislation that would, if enacted, bring to an end the dumping of dredged spoils into the Great Lakes as soon as disposal sites are available. Neither the House nor the Senate has even held hearings on this bill.

On May 20, I submitted to the Congress two treaties and amendments to an-

other treaty dealing with the prevention of oil spills. At that time, I also submitted a comprehensive *Ports and Waterways Safety Act* to aid further in attacking the causes of oil pollution. Although Senate hearings have been initiated on one of the treaties, Congressional action on these important measures remains uncompleted.

On May 23, I announced that the United States would propose a new treaty placing the natural resources of the deep seabed beyond the 200 meter depth under international regulation.

On June 1st, a revised National Contingency Plan for dealing with oil spills was announced at my direction by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

On June 11, I sent a message to the Congress requesting the enactment of legislation cancelling twenty Federal oil leases for off-shore drilling which had been granted in 1968 in the Santa Barbara Channel, and creating a Marine Sanctuary. The Senate has held hearings but taken no floor action. The House has not even held hearings, this despite the fact that oil spillages near our beaches and shores may be the single most offensive and reprehensible assault on the environment that we have yet witnessed.

To repeat, the most comprehensive and costly program of environmental control in the history of the nation is now before the Congress. The clock is running. We dare not be too late.

THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGE

In a review such as this, extended as it is, not all of the important measures proposed by my Administration and still pending before the Congress could be discussed. Some others must be mentioned—the legislation to reform the Federal government's relationship to the American Indians, to enhance the role of public broadcasting, to limit the operations of one-bank holding companies. Of crucial importance also are the revenue-producing measures proposed but not acted upon—including the extension of certain excise taxes, the acceleration of collection of gift and estate taxes, the stockpile disposal bills, the proposed *Postal Revenue Act,* and a special tax on the lead used in gasoline—which are so necessary to the maintenance of a sound fiscal position. Legislation is also needed to establish a realistic and effective farm program.

I have sought here to describe the issues of substance and of process which confront us at this time, setting them in the framework of a general approach to government as we come to the end of one era of social policy and begin the grand adventure of another.

For I believe the nation to have moved into a new era. I believe further that this view is shared by commentators and analysts of widely varying political positions. It is a view increasingly voiced by political leaders. It has become a matter of increasing public perception, and in measure, common acceptance.

The era upon which we are entered is not so easily defined as it is perceived. But it is not on those grounds any less real. To the contrary, the emergence of a post-industrial society is the dominant social reality of the present moment. Our task is to understand, and to respond to these changed circumstances.

The problems of this new era surround the question of choice: what kind of life would we live; what kind of society would

we have? Growth becomes less of a goal and more of an issue. What kind of growth? For what purposes? With what consequences?

Our present problems in large degree arise from the failure to anticipate the consequences of our past successes. It is the fundamental thrust of technological change to change society as well. The fundamental task of government in the era now past was to somehow keep abreast of such change, and respond to it. The task of government in the future will be to anticipate change: to prevent it where clearly nothing is to be gained; to prepare for it when on balance the effects are to be desired; and above all to build into the technology an increasing degree of understanding of its impact on human society. With this in mind, the *National Commission on Productivity,* which I recently appointed, will be evaluating the impact of technology and other factors related to achieving higher levels of productivity vital to the healthy growth of our economy.

What is true of technology is equally true of government. It must become more self-aware, self-examining, self-correcting. There are amends to make and promises to keep that will engage our energies for years to come. But most of all there is a great adventure to be lived. For a period in the not distant past it might have seemed that American society was faltering. It may have been. But we have steadied now. We are regaining a sense of balance, of direction, and of forward thrust. This has been the achievement of the people. The measure of government—the challenge to government—is to sustain that movement.

This challenge is now before the Congress. It is a challenge not merely to the men who now hold office there but to the institution itself. Congress has not been spared the attacks on the institutions of American democracy which have increasingly characterized this period of our history.

There is but one answer to such charges, and that is to respond with energy and good faith to the legislative issues before it.

It is the responsibility of the President to take the initiative in such matters, and I have done so. A legislative program that will mark this era in history has been presented, and is ready for enactment. More is at stake than the issues with which that legislation deals, transcendent as some of these may be. More is at stake than the reputation of one political party or another for legislative wisdom or political courage. What is at stake is the good repute of American government at a time when the charge that our system cannot work is hurled with fury and anger by men whose greatest fear is that it will.

Matters press; we cannot wait for politics. We must seek a record of achievement all can share. It may be that none of us knows how fateful the outcome will prove.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 11, 1970

290 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. *September* 11, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The report of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, which I am transmitting to the Congress today, presents cogent suggestions for commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of our nation.

I strongly endorse the Commission's primary recommendations that:

—The commemoration be national in scope, seeking to involve every State, city and community;

—The Bicentennial be a focal point for a review and reaffirmation of the principles on which the nation was founded and for a new understanding of our heritage;

—This be the occasion for looking ahead, for defining and dedicating ourselves to our common purposes, and for speeding the accomplishment of specific local projects responsive to our changing national priorities.

The goal which the Commission has established is most appropriate for our nation at this time: "to forge a new national commitment, a new spirit for '76, a spirit which vitalizes the ideals for which the Revolution was fought; a spirit which will unite the nation in purpose and dedication to the advancement of human welfare as it moves into its third century."

I concur with the Commission's concept of a Bicentennial Era with its focal point in 1976.

The Commission is now moving from the planning to the development stage of the Bicentennial Era. To assist it in its task, I have these comments on some specific areas:

On Making the Celebration National in Scope

1. I invite the Bicentennial Commissions now formed or forming in each of the fifty States, along with Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and the Territories, to share in a special effort to ensure active and nationwide participation in the celebration of America's 200th birthday. In the year preceding July 4, 1976, I invite each of those areas to accept the responsibility for a single week in which national focus would be on that area's local traditions and commemorative activities, in a way that would permit the nation and the world to observe both our historic development and our local activities to meet the challenges of the third American century.

2. The Commission urges a "multi-city exposition" and quite properly concludes "there should be no commercially-oriented world's fair in the traditional sense anywhere in the nation during the Bicentennial Era." I agree. There can be no single Bicentennial city. Nor is any traditional type of world's fair in one city adequate to the challenge of a national celebration.

However, since American civilization has drawn on the genius and traditions of nations throughout the world, and has contributed as well to their development, we should actively encourage interna-

tional participation in our celebration. To do this in an orderly and well-planned way, we should select a principal site on which that international participation can focus. Philadelphia, site of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the creation of our Constitution, would be the natural place for this activity.

Accordingly, I am now instructing the Secretary of State to proceed officially with appropriate registration procedures with the Bureau of International Expositions for an international exposition in Philadelphia in 1976. Such an exposition, however, is to be primarily cultural, inspirational and non-commercial in character, with the emphasis on quality rather than size.

Pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 91–269, I am directing the Secretary of Commerce to review the financial and other support to be secured for the Philadelphia exposition from both government and private sources and, together with David J. Mahoney, Chairman of the Commission, and George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to report to me the result of this review.

If suitable financing arrangements can be worked out, Philadelphia can be an exciting focal point for international participation in a way that will carry forward the regard of our Founding Fathers for "the opinion of mankind" without in any way restricting the scope of the celebration to a single city. In fact I hope that foreign visitors and visiting groups, including artists and performers, will travel to every corner of the nation and participate in as many Bicentennial events as possible.

3. It would be appropriate for the nation's capital to play an important role in helping to set the tone for the national celebration. I have already made known my support for such long-range projects as a new rapid transit system, the Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation, and an acceleration of urban renewal plans. I am directing Chairman Mahoney to begin a series of meetings with Mayor Washington, the National Capital Planning Commission, Chairman Mark Evans of the National Capital Historic Region Bicentennial Committee, Counsellor to the President Daniel P. Moynihan and Director Shultz to define specific plans and costs for my review and to recommend ways to achieve community participation in the planning and development process.

4. The Commission report asks the City of Boston "to develop a program to explore and examine the revolutionary roots of America through its great historical resources" and endorses the completion of Miami's permanent Trade and Cultural Center (Interama) "as a part of the Bicentennial observance." These plans, as well as others from cities in other sections of the country, are to be strongly encouraged.

5. The Commission pointed out that improved travel facilities would "contribute greatly to a successful Bicentennial celebration," and expressed particular interest in special urban corridor projects in the Northeast which would not only expedite the flow of visitors from one historical site to another, but would also provide permanent benefits for a significant percentage of the American population. I am instructing Secretary Volpe

and Director Shultz to analyze these projects, including costs and timing, and to submit their recommendations to me.

On Finance and Organization

1. I will refrain from making commitments to any particular project recommended by the Commission until timing and cost data are submitted and studied. As policy choices and costs become evident, Chairman Mahoney will resubmit some of these recommendations to the Commission and will inform me of the Commission's preferences.

2. The Commission will have important operational responsibilities: the Bicentennial Calendar, publications, films, the setting of standards and the coordination and monitoring of many projects closely tied to the national celebration. It may be advisable to enlarge the Commission and constitute it as the "Board of Directors" of a corporate structure equipped to deal with operating functions. I am asking Chairman Mahoney to meet with Director Shultz and to recommend to me a plan for future Commission organization and funding.

On the Overall Theme

A "Festival of Freedom" does not, in my opinion, grasp the unique character of the American experience. True, this event will be festive, colorful and affirmative; yet it must also be thoughtful, profound and searching.

There is a phrase in the Declaration of Independence that is based on English political philosopher John Locke's concept of "life, liberty and property" being the inalienable rights of man. Thomas Jefferson's dream for the new nation transcended the material; he saw property rights not as an end in itself, but as one means to human happiness.

For that reason, he substituted the phrase "the pursuit of happiness," and that ideal has constantly reasserted itself—most recently as a renewed concern for "the quality of life."

That thread is woven through the fabric of American life over two centuries. It keeps us from getting smug about our success; it reminds us of the need for the spiritual as we attain more of our material needs; it keeps us moving, growing, changing for the better.

Improving the quality of life is, in a sense, a more compelling concept in this era of advanced technology than it was in the time of Jefferson. I believe that this is the area in which we will find the fundamental theme for our anniversary observance of the continuing revolution that is the United States of America.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 11, 1970

NOTE: The Commission's 38-page report is dated July 4, 1970.

On September 11, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news conference by Mr. Mahoney following his swearing in as Commission Chairman in the President's office.

291 Statement Announcing a Program To Deal With Airplane Hijacking. *September* 11, 1970

THE MENACE of air piracy must be met—immediately and effectively. I am therefore announcing the following actions to deal with this problem:

1. To protect United States citizens and others on U.S. flag carriers, we will place specially trained, armed United States Government personnel on flights of U.S. commercial airliners. A substantial number of such personnel are already available and they will begin their duties immediately. To the extent necessary they will be supplemented by specially trained members of the Armed Forces who will serve until an adequate force of civilian guards has been assembled and trained. We will also make antisabotage training available to airlines personnel.

2. I have directed the Department of Transportation to have American flag carriers extend the use of electronic surveillance equipment and other surveillance techniques to all gateway airports and other appropriate airports in the United States and—wherever possible—in other countries. The Federal Government will provide enforcement officers to work with this equipment, to conduct searches when appropriate, and to make necessary arrests. Such equipment and techniques have already helped to reduce the problem of air piracy in many areas.

3. I have directed the Departments of Transportation, Treasury, and Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Science and Technology, and other agencies to accelerate their present efforts to develop security measures, including new methods for detecting weapons and explosive devices. At the same time, the Departments of Defense and Transportation will work with all U.S. airlines in determining whether certain metal detectors and x-ray devices now available to the military could provide immediate improvement in airport surveillance efforts. To facilitate passenger surveillance, appropriate agencies of the Federal Government will intensify their efforts to assemble and evaluate all useful intelligence concerning this matter and to disseminate such information to airlines and law enforcement personnel.

4. I am directing the State Department and other appropriate agencies to consult fully with foreign governments and foreign carriers concerning the full range of techniques which they use to foil hijackers. Some foreign airlines—though they are particularly susceptible to hijacking—have been successful in deterring hijackers and in coping with piracy attempts. We want to learn all we can from their experience.

5. It is imperative that all countries accept the multilateral convention providing for the extradition or punishment of hijackers which will be considered at the International Conference which will be held under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization. I af-

firm the support of the United States both for this Convention and for the Tokyo Convention, which provides for the prompt return of hijacked aircraft, passengers, and crew. I call upon other governments to become parties to these conventions.

I further call upon the international community to take joint action to suspend airline services with those countries which refuse to punish or extradite hijackers involved in international blackmail. For this purpose and in order to consider other ways and means of meeting this new international menace, I have directed the Secretary of State to ask the President of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization immediately to convene that Council in an emergency meeting.

6. It is the policy of the United States Government to hold the countries in which hijacked planes are landed responsible for taking appropriate steps to protect the lives and the property of U.S. citizens.

7. An additional indication of our deep concern with the hijacking menace is the request which the United States and the United Kingdom made earlier this week for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider this problem. I am gratified by the unanimous action of the Security Council in calling upon the parties concerned immediately to release all hijacked passengers and crews. I am pleased, too, that the Security Council has asked all nations to take all possible legal steps to protect against further hijackings or other interference in international civil aviation.

These are not the only steps we will take in the coming months to meet the threat of airplane hijacking. But they do provide a decisive program for the immediate future. The Secretary of Transportation will direct this program and take responsibility for preparing further proposals. In this capacity he will work closely with the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Defense.

Piracy is not a new challenge for the community of nations. Most countries, including the United States, found effective means of dealing with piracy on the high seas a century and a half ago. We can—and we will—deal effectively with piracy in the skies today.

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the transcripts of two news briefings: The first, by Senators Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott, Speaker John W. McCormack, and Representative Gerald R. Ford about their meeting with the President on the administration's program to combat airplane hijacking, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1192); the second, by John H. Shaffer, Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, and Peter M. Flanigan, Assistant to the President, was on the President's statement.

On September 21, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, on the appointment of Lt. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., as Director of Civil Aviation Security, Department of Transportation, and on the administration's program to deal with hijacking.

292 Remarks at the Swearing In of Dr. Edward E. David, Jr., as Science Adviser to the President and Director, Office of Science and Technology. *September* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are here today for the purpose of swearing in Dr. David as the President's Science Adviser and as also head of the Office of Science and Technology.

This is a day of, in effect, an end and a beginning. Dr. DuBridge, who for almost 2 years has held this position as the President's Science Adviser, has made a great contribution to this administration and to the Nation.

He has made a contribution in many other ways through the years, but particularly I have been appreciative of the advice he has given me and, also, of the stimulus he has given to all the departments of Government in the field of science.

And now Dr. David takes this position and he will carry on the work of Dr. DuBridge.

I understand that Dr. Goddard, the great expert in rocketry, once said that, "No matter how much progress one has made, there is always the thrill of just beginning." Dr. David is in that position of just beginning in the position, but beginning from a good base from which Dr. DuBridge has, I think, well prepared him.

In speaking about Dr. David, you are aware of the fact that he is known as a very practical man, as one who puts the uses of science to the uses of man, who has had responsibilities in that field.

And I think of the work that he has done, for example, very specific work in terms that involve the hijacking we have been hearing about so much, that we hear about today.

In a sense, when we think about hijacking we can make an argument against science, because if it hadn't have been for science, we wouldn't have had airplanes, if we didn't have airplanes, we wouldn't have had airplane hijacking. And so we could argue, therefore, it would have been better if we wouldn't have had science.

On the other hand, as Dr. David could well point out, without science we couldn't be developing the detection devices that we hope now can be used in the United States in airports and around the world for the purpose of determining whether those who board planes or, for that matter, any other mode of transportation, may be carrying explosives or other dangerous substances.

In this particular field, I also want to emphasize, however, that Dr. David will carry on in a tradition that Dr. DuBridge brought to this office that I consider vitally important. I think the emphasis of most people who are laymen in this field—and I must say that I consider myself a complete layman in the field of science—think in terms of its practical applications. What are we going to learn? What are we going to do with our knowledge?

Dr. DuBridge has put emphasis very properly on that phase of the Government's science activities called basic science. And it is in this basic science field, the support for the National Science Foundation, for example—support which we have continued but which we hope to increase through the years—it is in this basic science field to which this administration has a commitment, a commitment

that Dr. DuBridge has strengthened and that Dr. David, despite the fact that he is a very practical man, also has a very deep commitment.

I am reminded of what Benjamin Franklin replied when a balloon was first floated and someone said to him, "What possible use could there be for that?" And Franklin's advice was, "Well, what use is a newborn baby?"

And so it is in terms of basic science. This Nation needs to strengthen its support of basic science so that the practical applications which will benefit us all can be forthcoming.

And because he is a practical man, but a man also devoted to his basic science, we think we have selected for this position a man superbly qualified, Dr. David.

He will be sworn in by Judge Fickling, and Mrs. David will hold the Bible for him.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Austin L. Fickling was Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

Dr. David's remarks following the swearing in are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1214).

An announcement of Dr. David's nomination and the transcript of a news conference about the nomination by Dr. Lee A. DuBridge and Dr. David were released by the White House on August 19, 1970.

293 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Reform of the Foreign Assistance Program. *September* 15, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Foreign Assistance for the 'Seventies

Today, I am proposing a major transformation in our foreign assistance programs.

For more than two decades these programs have been guided by a vision of international responsibilities conditioned by the aftermath of World War II and the emergence of new nations. But the world has been changing dramatically; by the end of the 'Sixties, there was widespread agreement that our programs for foreign assistance had not kept up with these changes and were losing their effectiveness. This sentiment has been reflected in declining foreign aid levels.

The cause of this downward drift is not that the need for aid has diminished; nor is it that our capacity to help other nations has diminished; nor has America lost her humanitarian zeal; nor have we turned inward and abandoned our pursuit of peace and freedom in the world.

The answer is not to stop foreign aid or to slash it further. The answer is to reform our foreign assistance programs and do our share to meet the needs of the 'Seventies.

A searching reexamination has clearly been in order and, as part of the new Administration's review of policy, I was determined to undertake a fresh appraisal. I have now completed that appraisal and in this message I am proposing a set of fundamental and sweeping reforms to overhaul completely our entire foreign assistance operation to make it fit a new foreign policy.

Such a major transformation cannot be accomplished overnight. The scope and complexity of such an undertaking requires a deliberate and thoughtful approach over many months. I look forward to active discussion of these proposals with the Congress before I transmit my new assistance legislation next year.

Reform No. 1: I propose to create separate organizational arrangements for each component of our assistance effort: security assistance, humanitarian assistance, and development assistance. This is necessary to enable us to fix reponsibility more clearly, and to assess the success of each program in achieving its specific objectives. My proposal will overcome the confusion inherent in our present approach which lumps together these separate objectives in composite programs.

Reform No. 2: To provide effective support for the Nixon Doctrine, I shall propose a freshly conceived International Security Assistance Program. The prime objective of this program will be to help other countries assume the responsibility of their own defense and thus help us reduce our presence abroad.

Reform No. 3: I propose that the foundation for our development assistance programs be a new partnership among nations in pursuit of a truly international development effort based upon a strengthened leadership role for multilateral development institutions. To further this objective,

—The U.S. should channel an increasing share of its development assistance through the multilateral institutions as rapidly as practicable.

—Our remaining bilateral assistance should be provided largely within a framework established by the international institutions.

—Depending upon the success of this approach, I expect that we shall eventually be able to channel most of our development assistance through these institutions.

Reform No. 4: To enable us to provide effective bilateral development assistance in the changed conditions of the 'Seventies, I shall transmit legislation to create two new and independent institutions:

—A U.S. International Development Corporation, to bring vitality and innovation to our bilateral lending activities and enable us to deal with lower income nations on a business-like basis.

—A U.S. International Development Institute to bring the genius of U.S. science and technology to bear on the problems of development, to help build research and training competence in the lower income countries themselves, and to offer cooperation in international efforts dealing with such problems as population and employment.

Their creation will enable us to phase out the Agency for International Development and to reduce significantly the number of overseas U.S. Government personnel working on development programs.

Reform No. 5: To add a new dimension to the international aid effort insuring a more permanent and enduring source of funds for the low income countries, I have recently proposed that all nations enter into a treaty which would permit the utilization of the vast resources of the seabeds to promote economic development.

Reform No. 6: I propose that we redirect our other policies which bear on development to assure that they reinforce the new approach outlined in this mes-

sage. Our goal will be to expand and enhance the contribution to development of trade and private investment, and to increase the effectiveness of government programs in promoting the development process. A number of changes are necessary:

—I propose that we move promptly toward initiation of a system of tariff preferences for the exports of manufactured products of the lower income countries in the markets of all of the industrialized countries.

—I am ordering the elimination of those tying restrictions on procurement which hinder our investment guarantee program in its support of U.S. private investment in the lower income countries.

—I propose that all donor countries take steps to end the requirement that foreign aid be used to purchase goods and services produced in the nation providing the aid. Complete untying of aid is a step that must be taken in concert with other nations; we have already begun discussions with them toward that end. As an initial step, I have directed that our own aid be immediately untied for procurement in the lower income countries themselves.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF REFORM

These are the most fundamental of the many far-reaching reforms I propose today. To understand the need for them now, and to place them in perspective, it is important to review here the way in which we have reexamined our policies in light of today's requirements.

Two steps were necessary to develop a coherent and constructive U.S. assistance program for the 'Seventies:

—As a foundation, we needed a foreign policy tailored to the 1970's to provide direction for our various programs. For that, we developed and reported to the Congress in February the New Strategy for Peace.

—Second, to assist me in responding to the Congress and to get the widest possible range of advice on how foreign assistance could be geared to that strategy, I appointed a distinguished group of private U.S. citizens to make a completely independent assessment of what we should be trying to achieve with our foreign aid programs and how we should go about it.

The Task Force on International Development, chaired by Rudolph Peterson, former President of the Bank of America, drew upon the considerable experience of its own members and sought views from Members of the Congress and from every quarter of U.S. society. In early March the Task Force presented its report to me, and shortly thereafter I released it to the public. The Task Force undertook a comprehensive assessment of the conditions affecting our foreign assistance program and proposed new and creative approaches for the years ahead. Its report provides the basis for the proposals which I am making today.

I also have taken into account the valuable insights and suggestions concerning development problems which were contained in the Rockefeller Report on our Western Hemisphere policy. Many of the ideas and measures I am proposing in this message in fact were foreshadowed by a number of policy changes and program innovations which I instituted in our assistance programs in Latin America.

THE PURPOSES OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

There are three interrelated purposes that the U.S. should pursue through our foreign assistance program: promoting our national security by supporting the security of other nations; providing humanitarian relief; and furthering the long-run economic and social development of the lower income countries.

The national security objectives of the U.S. cannot be pursued solely through defense of our territory. They require a successful effort by other countries around the world, including a number of lower income countries, to mobilize manpower and resources to defend themselves. They require, in some cases, military bases abroad, to give us the necessary mobility to defend ourselves and to deter aggression. They sometimes require our financial support of friendly countries in exceptional situations.

Moreover, our security assistance programs must be formulated to achieve the objectives of the Nixon Doctrine, which I set forth at Guam last year. That approach calls for any country whose security is threatened to assume the primary responsibility for providing the manpower needed for its own defense. Such reliance on local initiative encourages local assumption of responsibility and thereby serves both the needs of other countries and our own national interest. In addition, the Nixon Doctrine calls for our providing assistance to such countries to help them assume these responsibilities more quickly and more effectively. The new International Security Assistance Program will be devoted largely to these objectives. I shall set forth the details of the proposed program when I transmit the necessary implementing legislation to the Congress next year.

The humanitarian concerns of the American people have traditionally led us to provide assistance to foreign countries for relief from natural disasters, to help with child care and maternal welfare, and to respond to the needs of international refugees and migrants. Our humanitarian assistance programs, limited in size but substantial in human benefits, give meaningful expression to these concerns.

Both security and humanitarian assistance serve our basic national goal: the creation of a peaceful world. This interest is also served, in a fundamental and lasting sense, by the third purpose of our foreign assistance: the building of self-reliant and productive societies in the lower income countries. Because these countries contain two-thirds of the world's population, the direction which the development of their societies takes will profoundly affect the world in which we live.

We must respond to the needs of these countries if our own country and its values are to remain secure. We are, of course, wholly responsible for solutions to our problems at home, and we can contribute only partially to solutions abroad. But foreign aid must be seen for what it is—not a burden, but an opportunity to help others to fulfill their aspirations for justice, dignity, and a better life. No more abroad than at home can peace be achieved and maintained without vigorous efforts to meet the needs of the less fortunate.

The approaches I am outlining today provide a coherent structure for foreign assistance—with a logical framework for separate but interdependent programs. With the cooperation of Congress, we must seek to identify as clearly as possible

which of our purposes—security, humanitarianism, or long-term development of the lower income countries—to pursue through particular U.S. programs. This is necessary to enable us to determine how much of our resources we wish to put into each, and to assess the progress of each program toward achieving its objectives.

There is one point, however, that I cannot over-emphasize. Each program is a part of the whole, and each must be sustained in order to pursue our national purpose in the world of the 'Seventies. It is incumbent upon us to support all component elements—or the total structure will be unworkable.

EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE—THE CHANGED CONDITIONS

The conditions that surround and influence development assistance to lower income countries have dramatically changed since the present programs were established. At that time the United States directly provided the major portion of the world's development assistance. This situation led to a large and ambitious U.S. involvement in the policies and activities of the developing countries and required extensive overseas missions to advise governments and monitor programs. Since then the international assistance environment has changed:

First, the lower income countries have made impressive progress, as highlighted by the Commission on International Development chaired by Lester Pearson, the former Prime Minister of Canada. They have been helped by us and by others, but their achievements have come largely through their own efforts. Many have scored agricultural breakthroughs which have dramatically turned the fear of famine into the hope of harvest. They have made vast gains in educating their children and improving their standards of health. The magnitude of their achievement is indicated by the fact that the lower income countries taken together exceeded the economic growth targets of the First United Nations Development Decade. These achievements have brought a new confidence and self-reliance to people in communities throughout the world.

With the experience that the lower income countries have gained in mobilizing their resources and setting their own development priorities, they now can stand at the center of the international development process—as they should, since the security and development which is sought is theirs. They clearly want to do so. Any assistance effort that fails to recognize these realities cannot succeed.

Second, other industrialized nations can now afford to provide major assistance to the lower income countries, and most are already doing so in steadily rising amounts.

While the United States remains the largest single contributor to international development, the other industrialized nations combined now more than match our efforts. Cooperation among the industrialized nations is essential to successful support for the aspirations of the lower income countries. New initiatives in such areas as trade liberalization and untying of aid must be carried out together by all such countries.

Third, international development institutions—the World Bank group, the Inter-American Development Bank and other regional development organizations, the United Nations Development Pro-

gram, and other international agencies—now possess a capability to blend the initiatives of the lower income countries and the responses of the industrialized nations. They have made effective use of the resources which we and others have provided. A truly international donor community is emerging, with accepted rules and procedures for responding to the initiatives of the lower income countries. The international institutions are now in a position to accelerate further a truly international development effort.

Fourth, the progress made by lower income countries has brought them a new capability to sell abroad, to borrow from private sources, and to utilize private investment efficiently. As a result, a fully effective development effort should encompass much more than government assistance programs if it is to make its full potential contribution to the well-being of the people of the developing nations. We have come to value the constructive role that the private sector can play in channeling productive investments that will stimulate growth. We now understand the critical importance of enlightened trade policies that take account of the special needs of the developing countries in providing access for their exports to the industrialized nations.

EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE—THE PROGRAM FOR REFORM

To meet these changed international conditions, I propose a program for reform in three key areas: to support an expanded role for the international assistance institutions; to reshape our bilateral programs; and to harness all assistance-related policies to improve the effectiveness of our total development effort.

My program for reform is a reaffirmation of the commitment of the United States to support the international development process, and I urge the Congress to join me in fulfilling that commitment. We want to help other countries raise their standards of living. We want to use our aid where it can make a difference. To achieve these goals we will respond positively to sound proposals which effectively support the programs of the lower income countries to develop their material and human resources and institutions to enable their citizens to share more fully in the benefits of worldwide technological and economic advance.

1. Expanding the Role of International Institutions

International institutions can and should play a major creative role both in the funding of development assistance and in providing a policy framework through which aid is provided.

Such a multilateral approach will engage the entire international community in the development effort, assuring that each country does its share and that the efforts of each become part of a systematic and effective total effort. I have full confidence that these international institutions have the capability to carry out their expanding responsibilities.

—I propose that the United States channel an increasing share of its development assistance through multilateral institutions as rapidly as practicable.

We have already taken the first steps in this direction. The Congress is currently considering my proposals for a $1.8 bil-

lion multi-year U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank and a $100 million contribution over three years to the Asian Development Bank. These two requests together with authorizations for increases in our subscriptions to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund are critical to our new assistance approach.

Moreover, I am pleased to note the recent statement by the World Bank that there is widespread agreement among donor countries to replenish the funds of the International Development Association at an annual rate of $800 million for the next three years, beginning in fiscal year 1972. I shall propose that the Congress, at its next session, authorize the $320 million annual U.S. share which such a replenishment would require.

—In order to promote the eventual development of a truly international system of assistance, I propose that our remaining bilateral development assistance be coordinated wherever feasible with the bilateral assistance of other donor countries, through consortia and consultative groups under the leadership of these international institutions. These institutions and groups like the CIAP in Latin America will provide leadership in the development process and work out programs and performance standards with the lower income countries themselves.

Moving in this direction holds the promise of building better relations between borrowing and lending countries by reducing the political frictions that arise from reliance on bilateral contacts in the most sensitive affairs of nation-states. It will enhance the effectiveness of the world development effort by providing for a pooling of resources, knowledge, and expertise for solving development problems which no single country can muster.

2. Reshaping Our Bilateral Programs

If these worldwide initiatives are to be fully effective, we must also refashion and revitalize our own institutions to assure that they are making their maximum contribution within a truly international development system. This will be neither an easy nor quickly accomplished task; it calls for thorough preparation, and an orderly transition. It is essential to undertake this task if our programs are to reflect the conditions of the 'Seventies.

The administration of bilateral assistance programs is complex and demanding. New institutions are needed so that we can directly focus on our particular objectives more effectively.

U.S. International Development Institute

—I shall propose establishment of a U.S. International Development Institute, which will bring U.S. science and technology to bear on the problems of development.

The Institute will fill a major gap in the international development network. It will match our vast talents in science and technology with institutions and problems abroad. Research has created the basis for the Green Revolution—the major breakthrough in agricultural production—but continued progress in the 1970's will require the lower income countries to deal with more, and more complex, problems. The Institute will concen-

trate on selected areas and focus U.S. technology on critical problems. This requires flexibility, imagination and a minimum of red tape. If we can provide this Institute with the operational flexibility enjoyed by our private foundations, we can make a major contribution to the lower income countries at modest expense.

An Institute, so organized, could

—Concentrate U.S. scientific and technological talent on the problems of development.

—Help to develop research competence in the lower income countries themselves.

—Help develop institutional competence of governments to plan and manage their own development programs.

—Support expanded research programs in population.

—Help finance the programs of U.S.-sponsored schools, hospitals and other institutions abroad.

—Carry out a cooperative program of technical exchange and reimbursable technical services with those developing countries that do not require financial assistance.

—Cooperate in social development and training programs.

—Administer our technical assistance programs.

—Permit greater reliance on private organizations and researchers.

Given the long-term nature of the research operation and the need to attract top people on a career basis, the Institute should be established as a permanent Federal agency. To provide the necessary financial continuity, I propose that Congress provide it with a multi-year appropriation authorization.

U.S. International Development Corporation

—I shall propose establishment of a U.S. International Development Corporation to administer our bilateral lending program. It will enable us to deal with the developing nations on a mature and businesslike basis.

This Development Corporation will examine projects and programs in terms of their effectiveness in contributing to the international development process. It will rely strongly on the international institutions to provide the framework in which to consider individual loans and will participate in the growing number of international consortia and consultative groups which channel assistance to individual lower income countries. It should have financial stability through a multi-year appropriation authorization and authority to provide loans with differing maturities and differing interest rates, tailored to the requirements of individual borrowers. The Corporation would also have limited authority to provide grant financed technical assistance for projects closely related to its lending operations.

Both the Institute and the Corporation will be subject to normal executive and legislative review, relating their performance directly to their objectives.

Both these new institutions involve a fundamental change from our existing programs. As I have emphasized, the detailed plans and the complete transition will take time. In the interim, I am directing the administrators of our present development programs to take steps to conform these programs, as much as pos-

sible, to the new concepts and approaches I have outlined. For example, our program planning for consortia will be based more on analysis and general guidance developed in country studies prepared by the World Bank and other international institutions. Greater utilization of international institutions will permit us to reduce the number of government personnel attached to our assistance programs particularly overseas and make major changes in our present method of operation.

Overseas Private Investment Corporation

—I am submitting to the Senate my nominations for the members of the Board of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation,[1] which I proposed a year ago to promote the role of the private sector in development and which the Congress approved.

I expect this institution to be an important component of our new bilateral assistance program. The most important efforts of this new agency will be operation of the investment insurance and guaranty program and a strengthened program for assisting U.S. firms to undertake constructive investment in developing countries.

Inter-American Social Development Institute

—A few weeks ago I submitted to the Senate my nominations for the members of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Social Development Institute, which was authorized by the Congress in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969.

This Institute will provide grant support for innovative social development programs in Latin America undertaken primarily by private non-profit organizations, and will be aimed at bringing the dynamism of U.S. and Latin American private groups to bear on development problems and at broadening the participation of individuals in the development process.

The keynote of the new approach to our bilateral programs will be effectiveness: We will ask whether a program or individual loan will work before we decide to pursue it—and we will expect the international institutions through which we channel funds to do so as well. We will concentrate our activities in sectors in which we can make a significant contribution and in areas where long-term development is of special interest to the United States.

This Administration has been undertaking for some time a full review of all of our foreign economic policies. Those policies, including our new foreign aid policy and programs, must be closely related and mutually supporting. Therefore, I intend shortly to establish a new mechanism which will plan and coordinate all of our foreign economic policies, including our various foreign assistance programs, to assure that they are all effectively related.

3. Promoting Effective Development Through Improved Economic Policies

In addition to a new emphasis on the role of international institutions and a

[1] A White House announcement, released December 4, 1970, on the nomination of 12 members to the Board of Directors of the Corporation is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1622).

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new shape to our bilateral programs, I propose initiatives that will enhance the public and private sector contribution to the development process.

—To open further the benefits of trade to the lower income countries, I have proposed that the international community initiate a system of tariff preferences for the exports of manufactured and selected primary products of the lower income countries in the markets of all of the industrialized countries.

The lower income countries must expand their exports to be able to afford the imports needed to promote their development efforts, and to lessen their need for concessional foreign assistance.

Market growth for most of the primary commodities which have traditionally been their major sources of export earnings is insufficient to enable them to meet these needs. I will submit legislation to the Congress recommending that we eliminate duties on a wide range of manufactured products purchased from the lower income countries. We will move ahead with this approach as soon as we achieve agreement with the other industrialized countries to join us with comparable efforts.

—I propose steps to expand the constructive role of private investment in the development process.

In order to eliminate the present tying restrictions on procurement which hinder our investment guarantee program, I am now directing that coverage under the extended risk guarantee program be extended to funds used in purchasing goods and services abroad. This will enhance our support of U.S. private investment in the lower income countries. In addition, we support early inauguration of an International Investment Insurance Agency, under the auspices of the World Bank, to provide multilateral—and thereby more effective—guarantees against expropriations and other political risks for foreign investments. We also support an increase in the scope of operations and resources of the International Finance Corporation, to further promote the role of the private sector—particularly within the lower income countries themselves—in the international development process.

—I propose that all donor countries end the requirement that foreign aid be used to purchase goods and services produced in the nation providing the aid.

Because recipients are not free to choose among competing nations, the value of the aid they receive is reduced significantly. These strings to our aid lower its purchasing power, and weaken our own objectives of promoting development. Aid with such strings can create needless political friction.

Complete untying of aid is a step that must be taken in concert with other nations and we have begun talks to that end with the other members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In the expectation that negotiations will soon be completed successfully, I have decided to permit procurement now in the lower income countries under the U.S. bilateral lending program—an expansion of the initial step I took with our Latin American neighbors. In addition to improving the quality of our assistance, this should expand trade among the lower income countries, an important objective in its own right.

—I propose that the United States place strong emphasis on what the Peterson Task Force called "the special problem of population."

The initiative in this area rests with each individual country, and ultimately with each family. But the time has come for the international community to come to grips with the world population problem with a sense of urgency. I am gratified at the progress being made by the new United Nations Fund for Population Activities and propose that it undertake a study of world needs and possible steps to deal with them. In order to cooperate fully in support of this international effort, the proposed U.S. International Development Institute should focus the energy and expertise of this country on new and more effective measures for dealing with the problem of population.

—I also believe that the United States should work with others to deal effectively with the debt service problem.

The successful growth of the past has been financed in part through external borrowings, from private as well as government sources which the borrowers are obligated to repay. Furthermore, a portion of their borrowed resources have gone to build roads, schools and hospitals which are essential requirements of a developing nation but which do not directly generate foreign exchange. The debt incurred has heavily mortgaged the future export earnings of a number of lower income countries, restricting their ability to pay for further development.

This problem calls for responsibility on the part of the lower income countries, cooperation on the part of the lenders, and leadership by the international institutions which must take responsibility for analyzing debt problems and working closely with the creditors in arranging and carrying through measures to meet them. The United States will play its role in such a cooperative effort.

THE FUNDING OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

International development is a long-term process. Our institutions—like the multilateral lending institutions—should have an assured source of long-term funding. Foreign assistance involves the activities of many nations and the sustained support of many programs. Sudden and drastic disruptions in the flow of aid are harmful both to our long-term development goals and to the effective administration of our programs.

In the past this country has shown its willingness and determination to provide its share. I confirm that determination and ask the Congress and the American people to assume those responsibilities which flow from our commitment to support the development process.

I agree with the conclusion of the Peterson Task Force that the downward trend of U.S. contributions to the development process should be reversed. I also agree with the Peterson Report that the level of foreign assistance "is only one side of the coin. The other side is a convincing determination that these resources can and will be used effectively."

A determination of the appropriate level of U.S. assistance in any one year will depend on a continuing assessment of the needs and performance of individual developing countries, as well as our own funding ability. It must also be influenced by a further definition of the proposals

which I am outlining in this message, the responses of other donors and the performance of the international institutions.

As a long-run contribution to the funding of development, the U.S. will seek the utilization of revenues derived from the economic resources of the seabed for development assistance to lower income countries. I have recently proposed that all nations enter into a treaty to establish an international regime for the exploitation of these vast resources, and that royalties derived therefrom be utilized principally for providing economic assistance to developing countries participating in the treaty.

Foreign assistance has not been the specific interest of one party or the particular concern of a single Administration. Each President, since the end of World War II, has recognized the great challenges and opportunities in participating with other nations to build a better world from which we all can benefit. Members of both political parties in the Congress and individuals throughout the nation have provided their support.

The U.S. role in international development assistance reflects the vision we have of ourselves as a society and our hope for a peaceful world. Our interest in long-term development must be viewed in the context of its contribution to our own security. Economic development will not by itself guarantee the political stability which all countries seek, certainly not in the short run, but political stability is unlikely to occur without sound economic development.

The reforms that I propose today would turn our assistance programs into a far more successful investment in the future of mankind—an investment made with the combination of realism and idealism that marks the character of the American people. It will enable us to enter the 'Seventies with programs that can cope with the realities of the present and are flexible enough to respond to the needs of tomorrow. I ask the Congress and the American people to join me in making this investment.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 15, 1970

NOTE: The President signed the message for transmittal to the Congress in a ceremony in his office attended by Chairman Rudolph A. Peterson and other members of the Presidential Task Force on International Development.

294 Statement About the Special Message on Reform of the Foreign Assistance Program. *September* 15, 1970

THE MESSAGE which I have just signed contains my recommendations to the Congress for sweeping reform of the U.S. foreign assistance program:

—Reform of our security assistance, to support our new approach to international cooperation, which has been called the Nixon Doctrine.

—Reform of our humanitarian assistance, to implement it more effectively.

—Reform of our development assistance, to make it part of a truly international partnership among donors and recipients.

In the future, we will channel our de-

velopment assistance increasingly through the international lending institutions. But we will continue to need an effective bilateral development program, to work within this international framework. It is therefore my present intention to propose the establishment of:

—A U.S. International Development Corporation, to handle our bilateral lending on a more businesslike basis.

—A U.S. International Development Institute, to bring U.S. science and technology to bear on the problems of development.

I also recommend a number of measures to encourage and enable the private sector, through trade and investment, to play an increasing role in the international development process.

These proposals will provide a fresh start for the U.S. development assistance program, and hence for a critical element of U.S. foreign policy.

I look forward to consultations with the Congress on our aid objectives and the ways in which we can achieve them, as a solid foundation for the legislative proposals which I shall submit next year.

295 Address in the Alfred M. Landon Lecture Series at Kansas State University. *September* 16, 1970

Governor Landon, President McCain, Governor Docking, Senator Pearson, Senator Dole, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all the distinguished guests in this audience for this Landon Lecture Series:

I want to express first on behalf of both Mrs. Nixon and myself our warm appreciation for your welcome. It is good to be on the campus of one of America's great universities. And for the benefit of our television audience, I should explain this tie. As we were flying out to Kansas on Air Force One, Senator Pearson, Senator Dole, the members of the congressional delegation, and others presented this tie to me and they said, "You must wear it when you speak at Kansas State."

So, I put it on. And then the television director for today saw it and he said, "You can't wear that tie." I said, "Why not?" He said, "Because purple doesn't go with a blue suit."

All I can say is I am proud to wear the purple at Kansas State.

And incidentally, I also want to thank those who made the arrangements for this meeting for having as the waiting room, before we came into the auditorium here, the dressing room for the Kansas State basketball team. It is nice to be in a room with a winner, believe me.

At this great university, in this very distinguished company, I cannot help but think about the twists of fate—and of how we learn from them.

I think of the fans of Wildcat football here today who have known what it is to lose—and then who have known what it is to win.

I think back to 1936. You were not born then. But I think then, when Governor Landon—who already knew what it was to win—the only winner among Governors on the Republican side in 1934—a man who knew what it was to win up until that time, learned what it was like to lose.

And I think, too, of some of the moments of my own career: as a football

player who spent most of my time on the bench, as a candidate who knew the great satisfaction of winning—and then as a candidate to learn what it is to lose.

And having won some and lost some, I know—as you know—that winning is a lot more fun.

But I also know that defeat or adversity can react on a person in different ways.

He can give up; he can complain about "a world he never made"; or he can search the lessons of defeat and find the inspiration for another try, or a new career, or a richer understanding of the world and of life itself.

When Alf Landon lost to Franklin Roosevelt in 1936, he was not a man to waste his life in brooding over what might have been. In the 34 years since then, the world has been transformed. And enriched by his experience, Alf Landon has continued to grow with the world—until now he is one of the great elder statesmen of America, a man whose wisdom and common sense, and whose outspoken concern for the welfare of this Nation, have inspired and aided generations that have come thereafter.

We applaud him and commend him today for that distinguished career.

Or in a completely different field, but related, take Kansas State and its football team.

As some of you may have noted, I am somewhat of a football buff. Just 3 years ago, the Wildcats had a dismal 7-year record of 8 wins and 60 losses. But there was a dogged spirit here, a determination, a readiness to learn new ways—and when Vince Gibson came to the campus it was that spirit, that determination, that "Purple Pride" that he helped translate into the "Purple Power" of today.

As for myself, I doubt that I would be President today if I had not learned from the lessons of defeat in 1960 and 1962—and I hope that I can be a better President because of those lessons.

I cite these examples not only to suggest that we here today have something in common but also because this pattern of playing by the rules, of losing some and winning some, of accepting the verdict and having another chance, is fundamental to the whole structure on which our liberty rests.

There are those who protest that if the verdict of democracy goes against them, democracy itself is at fault, the system is at fault—who say that if they don't get their own way the answer is to burn a bus or bomb a building.

Yet we can maintain a free society only if we recognize that in a free society no one can win all the time. No one can have his own way all the time, and no one is right all the time.

Whether in a campaign, or a football game, or in debate on the great issues of the day, the answer to "losing one" is not a rush to the barricades but a study of why, and then a careful rebuilding—or perhaps even a careful reexamination of whether the other fellow may have been right after all.

When Palestinian guerrillas hijacked four airliners in flight, they brought to 250 the number of aircraft seized since the skyjacking era began in 1961. And as they held their hundreds of passengers hostage under threat of murder, they sent shock waves of alarm around the world to the spreading disease of violence and terror and its use as a political tactic.

That same cancerous disease has been spreading all over the world and here in the United States.

We saw it 3 weeks ago in the vicious

bombing at the University of Wisconsin. One man lost his life, four were injured, and years of painstaking research by a score of others was destroyed.

We have seen it in other bombings and burnings on our campuses, in our cities, in the wanton shootings of policemen, in the attacks on school buses, in the destruction of offices, the seizure and harassment of college officials, the use of force and coercion to bar students and teachers from classrooms and even to close down whole schools.

Consider just a few items in the news:

—A courtroom spectator pulls out a gun. He halts the trial, gives arms to the defendants, takes the judge and four other hostages, moves to a waiting getaway van—and in the gunfight that follows four die, including the judge.

—A man walks into the guardhouse of a city park, pumps five bullets into a police sergeant sitting quietly at his desk.

—A Nobel Prize winner working on a cancer cure returns to the cages of his experimental rats and mice to find them vandalized, with some of the animals running loose, some thrown out of windows into the sea, hundreds missing. Just think, years of research which could have provided some progress to bring a cure to this dread disease destroyed without reason.

—A police patrolman responds to an anonymous emergency call that reported a woman screaming. He arrives at the address. He finds the house deserted but a suitcase is left behind. He bends over to examine it. It explodes, blows off his head, and wounds seven others.

These acts of viciousness all took place not in some other country but in the United States, and in the last 5 weeks.

America at its best has stood steadfastly for the rule of law among nations. But we cannot stand successfully for the rule of law abroad unless we respect the rule of law at home in the United States. A nation that condones blackmail and terror at home can hardly stand as the example in putting an end to international piracies or tensions that could explode into war abroad.

The time has come for us to recognize that violence and terror have no place in a free society, whatever the purported cause or the perpetrators may be. And this is the fundamental lesson for us to remember. In a system like ours, which provides the means for peaceful change, no cause justifies violence in the name of change.

Those who bomb universities, ambush policemen, who hijack airplanes, who hold their passengers hostage, all share in common not only a contempt for human life, but also the contempt for those elemental decencies on which a free society rests—and they deserve the contempt of every American who values those decencies.

Those decencies, those self-restraints, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and feelings of one another, the willingness to listen to somebody else, without trying to shout him down, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and the feelings of one another—these are what we must preserve if freedom itself is to be preserved.

There have always been among us those who would choose violence or intimidation to get what they wanted. Their existence is not new. What is new is their

numbers, and the extent of the passive acquiesence, or even fawning approval, that in some fashionable circles has become the mark of being "with it."

Commenting on the bombing 3 weeks ago at the University of Wisconsin, the Wisconsin State Journal recently said:

". . . it isn't just the radicals who set the bomb in a lighted, occupied building who are guilty. The blood is on the hands of anyone who has encouraged them, anyone who has talked recklessly of 'revolution,' anyone who has chided with mild disparagement the violence of extremists while hinting that the cause is right all the same."

What corrodes a society even more deeply than violence itself is the acceptance of violence, the condoning of terror, the excusing of inhuman acts in a misguided effort to accommodate the community's standards to those of the violent few.

When this happens, the community sacrifices more than its calm and more even than its safety. It loses its integrity and corrupts its soul.

Nowhere should the rule of reason be more respected, more jealously guarded, than in the halls of our great universities.

It is the rule of reason rather than the rule of force that is the most important.

Yet we all know that in some of the great universities small bands of destructionists have been allowed to impose their own rule of arbitrary force.

Because of this, we today face the greatest crisis in the history of American education.

In times past we have had crises in education. I remember them. We faced shortages of classrooms, shortages of teachers, shortages that could always be made up, however, by appropriating more money.

These material shortages are nothing compared to the crisis of the spirit which rocks hundreds of campuses across the country today. And because of this, to put it bluntly, today higher education in America risks losing that essential support it has had since the beginning of this country—the support of the American people.

America and Americans, from the time of our foundation, and particularly those that did not have the opportunity to go to a great college or university, have been proud of our enormous strides in higher education. They have supported it.

The number of students in college today has doubled in the past 10 years. But at a time when the quantity of education is going dramatically up, its quality is massively threatened by assaults which terrorize faculty, students, and university and college administrators alike.

And it is time for the responsible university and college administrators, faculty, and student leaders to stand up and be counted. Because we must remember only they can save higher education in America. It cannot be saved by Government.

If we turn only to Government to save it, then Government will move in and run the colleges and universities, and so the place to save it is here among those, the faculty, the administrators, the student leaders. To attempt to blame Government for all the woes of the universities is rather the fashion these days. But, really, it's to seek an excuse, not a reason, for their troubles.

Listen to this: If the war were ended today, if the environment were cleaned up tomorrow morning, and all the other

problems for which Government has the responsibility were solved tomorrow afternoon—the moral and spiritual crisis in the universities would still exist.

The destructive activists of our universities and colleges are a small minority. But their voices have been allowed to drown out——

My text at this point reads: "The voices of the small minority have been allowed to drown out the responsible majority." That may be true in some places, but not at Kansas State.

As a result, there is a growing, dangerous attitude among millions of people that all youth are like those who appear night after night on the television screen shouting obscenities, making threats or engaging in destructive and illegal acts.

One of the greatest disservices that the disrupters have done in fact is precisely that, to reflect unfairly on those millions of students, like those in this room, who do go to college for an education, who do study, who do respect the rules, and who go on to make constructive contributions to peaceful change and progress in this country.

But let us understand exactly where we are. I would not for one moment call for a dull, passive conformity on the part of our university and college students, or an acceptance of the world as it is. The great strength of this Nation is that our young people, the young people like those in this room, in generation after generation, give the Nation new ideas, new directions, new energy.

I do not call for a conformity in which the young simply ape the old or in which we freeze the faults that we have. We must be honest enough to find what is right and to change what is wrong in America.

But at the same time we must take an uncompromising stand against those who reject the rules of civilized conduct and of respect for others—those who would destroy what is right in our society and whose actions would do nothing to right what is wrong.

Automatic conformity with the older generation—and I say this as one of the older generation—automatic conformity with the older generation is wrong. At the same time, it is just as wrong to fall into a slavish conformity with those who falsely claim to be the leaders of the new generation, out of fear that it would be unpopular—or considered square—not to follow their lead.

It would be a tragedy for the young generation simply to pursue the policies of the past, and it would be just as great a tragedy for the new generation to become simply parrots for the slogans of protest, uniformly chanting the same few phrases—and often with the same four-letter words.

Let us take one example—one example that I know deeply troubles, and I understand why it does deeply trouble, many of our young people today: the war in Vietnam. We know the slogans. I have heard them often. Most of them simply say end the war.

There is no difference between Americans on that. All of us want to end the war. And we are ending this war through our policy.

Ending the war is not the issue. We have been in four wars in this century. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea. The great ques-

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tion is how we end a war and what kind of peace we achieve.

Because a peace now that would encourage those who would engage in aggression and would thereby lead to a bigger and more terrible war later, would be peace at too great a price.

As we look back over the 20th century, as we look at that whole record of this century, only 70 years, we in America have not yet in this whole century been able to enjoy even one full generation of peace.

So, the whole thrust, the whole purpose of this administration's foreign policy—whether it's Vietnam, or the Middle East, or in Europe, or in our relations with the developing countries or with the Communist powers—is to meet our responsibilities in such a way that at last we can have what we have not had in this century: a full generation of peace. I believe we can have it. I believe you're going to have it.

That is why, in Vietnam, we are carrying out a policy that will end the war. It will do it in a way that will contribute to a just and a lasting peace in the Pacific, in Vietnam, and, we trust, also in the world.

There are those who say that this is the worst of times in which to live.

What self-pitying nonsense that is.

I am perhaps more aware of the problems this Nation has at home and abroad than most of you. But we in America, I say proudly today, have a great deal to be proud of—and a great deal to be hopeful about for the future of America.

Let us open our eyes. Let's look around us. We see, as we look at the whole sweep of history, that for the first time in the whole history of man, it is becoming possible here in America to do things that nobody even dreamed could be done, even 50 years ago.

We see a natural environment; true it's been damaged by careless nuisances and misuses of technology. But we also see that that same technology gives us ability, the ability to clean up that environment, to restore the clean air, the clean water, the open spaces, that are our rightful heritage. And I pledge we shall do that and can do it in America.

Oh, I know the fashionable line among some: Wouldn't it be great to live in a country that didn't have all these problems of material progress?

Not at all. I've been to them. I've seen them. And I simply would like to say to you that great as our problems are as a result of our material progress, we can do things, do things for ourselves and for others that need to be done, and we must see it in that way.

Look at our Nation. We're rich, and sometimes that is condemned because wealth can sometimes be used improperly. But because of our wealth, it means that today we in America cannot just talk about but can plan for a program in which everyone in this Nation, willing and able to work, can earn a decent living, and so that we can care for those who are not able to do so on some basis.

We see a nation that now has the capacity to make enormous strides in these years just ahead in health care, in education, in the creative use of our increasing leisure time.

We see a nation poised to progress more in the next 5 years, in a material sense, than it did in the last 50 years.

We see that because of our wealth, be-

cause of our freedom, because of this much maligned system of ours, we can go on to develop those great qualities of the spirit that only decades ago were still buried by the weight of drudgery, and that in 75 percent of the world today are still buried by the weight of drudgery.

We see that we can do this in America, lift that weight of drudgery, allow the development of the qualities of the spirit, and we can do it not just for an elite class, not just a few, but for the many. All this can happen in America. The question is: How shall we use this great opportunity? Shall we toss it away in mindless disruption and terror? Shall we let it wither away in despair? Or shall we prepare ourselves, as you are preparing yourselves, and shall we conduct ourselves in a way that we will be looked back upon as the beginning of the brightest chapter ever in the unfolding of the American dream.

Making its promise real requires an atmosphere of reason, of tolerance, and of common courtesy, with that basic regard for the rights and feelings of others that is the mark of any civilized society.

It requires that the members of the academic community rise firmly in defense of the free pursuit of truth—that they defend it as zealously today against threats from within as they have in the past defended it against threats from without.

It requires that the idealism of the young—and indeed, the idealism of all ages—be focused on what can be done within the framework of a free society, recognizing that its structure of rights and responsibilities is complex and fragile and as precious as freedom itself.

The true idealist pursues what his heart says is right in a way that his head says will work.

But the final test of idealism lies in the respect each shows for the rights of others. Despite all the difficulties, all divisions, all troubles that we have had, we can look to the future, I believe, with pride and with confidence. I speak here today on the campus of a great university, and I recall one of the great sons of Kansas, Dwight David Eisenhower. I recall the eloquent address he made at London's famous Guildhall immediately after victory in Europe.

On that day, the huge assemblage of all the leading dignitaries in Britain were there to honor him.

In his few remarks, one of the most eloquent speeches in the history of English eloquence, he said very simply, "I come from the heart of America."

Now, 25 years later, as I speak in the heart of America, I can truly say to you here today you are the heart of America—and the heart of America is strong. The heart of America is good. The heart of America is sound. It will give us—you will give us—the sound and responsible leadership that the great promise of America calls for—and in doing so, you will give my generation what it most fervently hopes for: the knowledge that your generation will see that promise of the American dream fulfilled.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the university's Ahearn Field House in Manhattan, Kans. His address was broadcast live on radio and television. Dr. James A. McCain was president of the university.

An advance text of the President's address was released by the White House on the same day.

296 Remarks at a Citizenship Day Reception in Chicago, Illinois. *September* 17, 1970

Senator Smith, and Judge Robson, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a very special honor for me in my capacity as President of the United States and also, as an American citizen, to welcome you prior to the time that you will be sworn in tonight as citizens of the United States of America by Judge Robson.[1]

As I see this group and as I speak to you, I would like to tell you how I, as one who was born an American citizen, feel about you who chose to become American citizens.

My feelings go back over many years. I remember when I was very young. On one occasion, I was studying in history about the various people who had founded this country. And I know, of course, and knew then, that there were some who could claim that their ancestors came over on the Mayflower. I went home that day and asked my father, I said, "Dad, what about our ancestors? Did ours come over on the Mayflower or what is the background?" He looked at me a minute, and he said, "I will tell you what you are and what we are. We are Heinz, 57 varieties."

Now what he really meant to say was that is what America is all about.

One of the reasons this is a great country is that we have drawn to America, over the years, people from all the nations of the world, all the continents, all the races. We have a very diverse country, and we have a very interesting country and, therefore, a very strong country. We are very privileged that people who were not born in America, who are not Americans by the accident of birth, but people like yourselves who are Americans by choice, from other countries, have come to this land.

I want you to know, too, that we believe, as we look at the history of America, that those who have come to this land have contributed enormously to the greatness that we know today in this Nation.

I was talking to Mr. Herbert Hoover at the time of the Hungarian refugees, when they were coming out of Hungary in 1956 about Christmas time by the tens of thousands. The question arose in this country, in some circles, as to whether the United States really could absorb that many refugees. President Hoover spoke very bluntly on that point and very directly. He said, "Why, of course we can. I have studied American history. Every new influx of refugees or immigrants from abroad has strengthened America."

You can look back over the years. The Irish, the Poles, the Italians, the Chinese, and the Japanese—those of us who live on the West Coast know of their contribution—people from all the continents, Latin America, Africa, have come to the United States, and each time they have come they have strengthened us. Most recently, for example, we have had the situation of Cuban refugees. And anyone who has visited Florida will tell you that those tens of thousands of Cuban refugees have enormously contributed to the economy of this State, one of the fastest growing in our Nation and one of the most productive States in our Nation.

[1] Judge Edwin A. Robson, Chief Judge, United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

I also want you to know that as you become American citizens—and I know that you have been living here for some time before you take this step, so you know something about this Nation, and perhaps more about its history if you were to take an examination than if I were to take one right today, because you have done it more recently—I want you to know that we are very proud that this is the land of opportunity.

I was just running over the list of people who have been in the history of this country—recent history—very big men in the Nation, and who came from other lands. One of the great industrialists and one of the greatest inventive geniuses of our times—creative men—is David Sarnoff. He was born in Russia. He came to the United States from Russia.

One of the great men in sports—we think as the football season begins of those that go back over the years, and perhaps the most legendary name in the sports field was Knute Rockne who came from Norway. Vince Lombardi, who died tragically just a few days ago—his parents came from Italy.

I was thinking even in the field of entertainment—Bob Hope, he came from Great Britain. He was born there.

Samuel Gompers, the labor leader, really the founder of the labor movement in the United States as we know it today, was not born here. He came from England.

I was thinking of our own administration, names that you see in the papers all the day. Let me tell you about some of them. Arthur Burns, the head of the Federal Reserve Board. As Senator [Ralph T.] Smith will tell you, and as Judge Robson will also agree, that is the most powerful financial institution in this Nation. It affects the whole economy of the Nation. Who is the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board? Dr. Arthur Burns. Well, he came to the United States from Austria.

Dr. Henry Kissinger, who is my top adviser for the White House in the field of international affairs, came from Germany.

Dr. Houthakker,[2] who is one of the three men, the top economic advisers of this Government, was born in Holland.

So there you see it. That is America. All the nations of the world, all the continents of the world—this is our strength. That is the reason why we are so proud that 140 people are going to join the ranks of America. You are going to add to our strength. We are very proud to have you join us and we certainly want you to know that once you become American citizens there are no differences of degree among Americans.

Whether you are born here or born someplace else, if you are an American citizen you are an American citizen entitled to all of the protections, all the duties as well as the responsibilities. But also, you have all the opportunities and all of the respect that an American citizen deserves and should have.

That is why, for example, where the recent hijacking was concerned, that you have been reading about, that we do not accept the proposition that some American citizens shall be treated one way and some will be treated another way, because they happen to have been born in another country.

Once they become American citizens, they are entitled to the protection of the American Government and they will have it every place in the world.

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[2] Dr. Hendrik S. Houthakker, member, Council of Economic Advisers.

Now, at this point, if it will be appropriate, I would like to welcome each of you officially as those who will be citizens, as I understand, tonight in the ceremony.

I thought also that you might like to meet Mrs. Nixon. I see we have ladies represented here, too. We are glad that there is no discrimination against women as far as our citizens are concerned. Join the Women's Lib, if you want. But remember, there is no discrimination, not in this house which, at the moment, is the White House, because the White House goes wherever the President is.

Mrs. Nixon would like the honor of presenting to each of you a small American flag, such as the one I am wearing, which you might want to wear on occasions in the future. And I am sure, too, you would like to shake hands with Senator Smith, who is here. Senator Percy was going to be here, but was unable to arrange his schedule for this particular hour. But I know you will all hear from him, too. Of course, Judge Robson will be here to greet you prior to the time that he gives you the allegiance oath tonight.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:08 p.m. in the Crystal Ballroom of the Sheraton Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

297 Letter to Educators and University Officials on Campus Violence. *September* 20, 1970

THE ENCLOSED article by Dr. Sidney Hook is among the most cogent and compelling documents I have read on the question of campus violence. I commend it to your consideration, for I know that you share my deep interest in resolving the crucial problems which our colleges and universities are facing at this time.

The heart of the matter—and of Dr. Hook's thesis—is that the primary responsibility for maintaining a climate of free discussion and inquiry on the college campus rests with the academic community itself. As I said in my news conference in California in July, I hold this same point of view.

Thus it is with concern that I have noted—as did Dr. Hook—the growing tendency of college administrators to place the primary blame for campus violence and disruption on the failure of government to solve all our major problems at home and abroad. I recognize that many deeply concerned students and faculty members disagree with governmental positions at the national, state and local level, but while government can and must accept and carry out its responsibilities in connection with policies which may be unpopular on college and university campuses, there can be no substitute for the acceptance of responsibility for order and discipline on campuses by college administrators and college faculty.

The university is a precious national asset, a place in American society where the rule of reason and not the rule of force must prevail. Those who cannot accept that rule of reason, those who resort to the rule of force, have no place on a college campus. Only when college administrators, faculties and students accept and act on these premises will all of our universities again be able to go about the vital and important work of preserving and expanding our cultural heritage and train-

ing the future leaders of America.

I would appreciate receiving the benefit of your views on this vitally important subject.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of identical letters, addressed to approximately 900 educators and university officials throughout the Nation, was dated September 18, 1970, and released September 20, 1970.

The article by Dr. Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, enclosed with the letter, was printed in the Los Angeles Times on Sunday, August 30, 1970.

298 Message to the Senate Transmitting the United States-Mexican Treaty on Archaeological, Historical, and Cultural Properties. *September* 23, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Senate, for your advice and consent to ratification, the Treaty of Cooperation between the United States and Mexico providing for the recovery and return of stolen archaeological, historical and cultural properties, signed at Mexico City on July 17, 1970.

In recent years the despoliation of archaeological sites in Mexico and thefts of art objects from churches and collections has reached serious proportions. The illicit export of national art treasures to art markets here and in Europe has become a matter of serious concern to the Government of Mexico. In 1967, when President Diaz Ordaz of Mexico visited the United States, it was agreed to explore possible methods of controlling the unauthorized movement between the United States and Mexico of articles of archaeological significance and historical value.

The Treaty which has now been signed would provide for cooperation in law enforcement measures aimed at halting the depredation of historic sites and facilitating the recovery of stolen cultural properties. It would commit the United States and Mexico to employ the legal means at their disposal to recover and return to the country of ownership historical, cultural and archaeological properties of outstanding importance to their national patrimony which have been stolen and removed from one country to the other. In addition, the two governments would establish a framework to strengthen communication between scientists and scholars in the two countries and to encourage archaeological research by scholars of both countries. The Treaty further contemplates the circulation and exhibit in each country of archaeological and historical properties from the other and a legitimate commerce in art objects.

The Treaty with Mexico should provide a strong deterrent to the illegal export of stolen cultural properties as well as promote mutual understanding and appreciation of the artistic and cultural heritage of our two countries.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this law enforcement treaty.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 23, 1970

NOTE: The text of the treaty and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive K (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

299 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention Terminating the Nicaraguan Canal Treaty of 1914. *September* 23, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the convention signed at Managua on July 14, 1970, between the United States of America and the Republic of Nicaragua for the termination of the convention respecting a Nicaraguan canal route signed at Washington on August 5, 1914.

For the information of the Senate, I transmit also the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the recently signed convention.

Agreement to terminate the 1914 convention, popularly known as the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which entered into force on June 22, 1916, was reached after the two Governments had decided, following extensive consultations, that in light of changed circumstances and present-day needs it was time to reexamine the 54-year-old convention. The Government of Nicaragua wanted to proceed with plans for developing the San Juan River Basin, the prospective site for an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua. For its part, the United States Government, which had not exercised any of its rights under the 1914 convention, had concluded it was unlikely to do so in the future, particularly in view of the relatively high cost of constructing a canal on the Nicaragua route.

Termination of the 1914 convention is a positive, effective, and essential step in continuing the excellent relations that have existed between the two countries.

It is provided in the new convention that, upon its entry into force, the 1914 convention shall terminate, with the consequence that all the rights and options accorded by the 1914 convention to the United States Government shall cease to have effect. Such rights and options include "the exclusive proprietary rights" in regard to the construction, operation and maintenance of a canal across Nicaraguan territory; leases to Great Corn Island and Little Corn Island; and the option to establish and maintain a United States naval base on Nicaraguan territory on the shores of the Gulf of Fonseca. The United States has, as previously noted, never exercised any of the rights or options granted by the 1914 convention.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the convention terminating the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
September 23, 1970

NOTE: The text of the convention and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive L (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

300 Message to the Senate Transmitting the Nice Agreement Concerning the International Classification of Goods and Services to Which Trademarks are Applied. *September* 24, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession, I transmit herewith a certified copy of the Nice Agreement Concerning the International Classification of Goods and Services to which Trademarks are Applied, signed June 15, 1957, together with an English translation thereof, and a certified copy of that Agreement as revised at Stockholm July 14, 1967, together with an English translation thereof. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Agreements.

The organization set up by the Agreement is responsible for establishing an international classification of trademarks used in over 60 countries. It is important from the standpoint of the interest of trademark owners and from the standpoint of effective government administration of its trademark functions that the United States accede to the Agreements so that it may participate as a member in the organization.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Agreements submitted herewith and give its advice and consent to accession.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
Sepetmber 24, 1970

NOTE: The text of the agreement and the report of the Secretary of State are printed in Senate Executive M (91st Cong., 2d sess.).

301 Letter to Congressional Leaders Urging Enactment of the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970. *September* 25, 1970

ON February 27, 1970, I proposed to the Congress enactment of the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970 to protect the public against the damaging effects of strikes in the transportation industry. Despite the high priority assigned to this proposal, there has been no action by the Congress to create an effective alternative to work stoppages in this vital industry.

Since I offered my proposal, two disputes involving the nation's railroads and labor unions have reached a crisis point. In the first of these, all mechanisms of the Railway Labor Act have been exhausted, and the nation this week barely averted a shutdown of the rail transportation system. If negotiations in the next two weeks prove to be fruitless and a strike occurs, the only remedy at hand will be special legislation by the Congress addressed to the specific issues involved in this case. In the second dispute I exercised last week the authority conferred upon me by the Railway Labor Act to delay work stoppages when essential transportation serv-

ices are in jeopardy. I appointed an emergency board to investigate, thus achieving an automatic stay of action by parties to the dispute for a period of 60 days.

When that period ends, it is likely that the Congress will no longer be in session, and the nation's rail transportation might be totally halted. Once again events have revealed the deficiencies of existing legislation for handling labor disputes in the transportation industry. This is precisely the kind of situation I sought to prevent when I proposed emergency legislation seven months ago.

Now, I urgently ask the Congress to give immediate priority to my proposed Emergency Public Interest Protection Act so that in the future transportation services essential to the well-being of the American people will not be subject to the threats and strains of recurring crises.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senator Mike Mansfield, Senate Majority Leader; Senator Hugh Scott, Senate Minority Leader; Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack; and Representative Gerald R. Ford, House Minority Leader.

A White House announcement, dated August 6, 1970, on the Report of Emergency Board No. 177, created by Executive Order 11543, July 7, 1970, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1029).

302 Letter to Senate and House Committee Chairmen Urging Action on the Emergency School Aid Act. *September* 26, 1970

I AM WRITING to ask your help in obtaining action on the Emergency School Aid Act before the end of this session. This bill is one of the highest legislative priorities of the Administration.

On May 21, 1970, I asked for this $1.5 billion in emergency aid to school districts, North and South, undergoing desegregation either voluntarily or in compliance with court decisions.

As an interim measure, the Congress appropriated $75 million—half of my request for "start-up" money. More than 300 projects have been funded within only four weeks; these projects now demonstrate the urgent need for the full-scale legislation. At this rate of commitment the "start-up" appropriation will be exhausted by mid-October. But it is obvious that desegregating school districts will continue to need help.

Almost universally, administrators, teachers, students and parents in those districts have already set for the nation an outstanding example of how difficult social changes can be achieved in our nation—without violence. State Advisory Councils made up of educators, businessmen and other community leaders have given invaluable voluntary support to this effort.

Public school desegregation this Fall continues to be an impressive example of what can be achieved by cooperation rather than coercion. Nearly 700 districts are changing from dual to unitary school systems—more than in any single year of the past 16 years since the first Supreme Court decision. But there is nothing automatic about this achievement.

With desegregation proceeding thus far with such success, it would be a tragedy if Congress failed to authorize the broader legislation I proposed last May. Failure to act now would mean no additional funds for local school districts this year—when they are most needed.

I should emphasize also that the legislation I requested would authorize far broader use of the funds than is now possible with the $75 million so far appropriated. It would encourage school districts, in the North as well as the South, to move forward on a voluntary basis to reduce racial isolation.

While the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare testified in detail on our proposal in early June, and while he has since then provided a great deal of additional information, the subcommittee has not yet reported the bill to your full committee.

This legislation is designed to meet urgent needs affecting the education of our children; it has bipartisan support. Therefore, I urge you to do everything in your power to bring this bill to the floor for action at the earliest possible time in this session of the Congress.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senator Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, Labor and Public Welfare Committee of the Senate; and Representative Carl D. Perkins, Chairman, Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives.

303 Letter to Educators and University Officials on Campus Extremists. *September* 27, 1970

EARLIER this month Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation addressed an open letter to college students in which he outlined the tactics used by extremists in their effort to promote their schemes on campus. Mr. Hoover's letter is a cogent and enlightening analysis of the strategy these extremists employ as they attempt to trick college students into support of lawlessness, disruption and violence.

This letter impressed me as a worthy companion piece to the article by Professor Sidney Hook,[1] which I sent to you recently. In view of your deep and continuing interest in these problems, I am sending you a copy of the letter. I hope that you will make every effort to see that the message it contains will reach as many students as possible.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters, dated September 26, 1970, and released September 27, 1970, addressed to educators and university officials throughout the Nation.

The text of Director Hoover's letter was released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, on September 21, 1970.

[1] See Item 297

304 Remarks on Arrival in Rome, Italy. *September* 27, 1970

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great honor for me, Mr. President, personally to be welcomed again to Rome, and you very appropriately have pointed out that to begin our trip to Europe in Rome is certainly a proper step to take, because as we come to Rome on this occasion we have an opportunity to renew discussions with you and members of your Government and to continue the cooperation and the friendship that has characterized the relations between our two countries for so many years.

I shall have the opportunity, too, to renew discussions with Pope Paul on international matters of common interest, and I shall have the opportunity to visit the American 6th Fleet and our NATO commanders as well, yours and ours, and to discuss there one of the primary indispensable principles of American foreign policy. And that principle is to maintain the necessary strength in the Mediterranean to preserve the peace against those who might threaten the peace.

The Mediterranean is the cradle of many great civilizations of the past, and we are determined that it shall not be the starting place of great wars in the future.

Italy which has the longest coastline of any nation in the Mediterranean, has, understandably, a tremendous stake in peace in the Mediterranean.

The great Italian patriot, Garibaldi, in writing to Abraham Lincoln in 1863, identified himself among the free children of Columbus. Mr. President, we in America are proud to share that common heritage, and as we share that common heritage of the past, we are proud to work with you in seeing that that heritage of freedom for our children will be preserved in the future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. in the Salone Delle Feste in the Quirinale Palace in response to the welcoming remarks of President Giuseppe Saragat.

President Saragat spoke in Italian. A translation of his remarks which was posted for the press follows:

Mr. President:

I am glad to express to you, to Mrs. Nixon, and to the members of your suite the warmest welcome on behalf of the Italian Government and people and on my own behalf.

We greet you today not only as the President of the United States of America—a great country which is intimately linked to us by ties of blood, of history, of common civilization, and of alliance—but also as a statesman engaged in the maintenance of peace and in its defense.

The fact that you have decided to start your journey in Europe from Rome and Italy is not without significance for us.

Because of her central position and her role in the Mediterranean, Italy is in fact vitally interested in seeing that stability, security, and peace prevail on the shores of this sea.

I am deeply convinced that the exchanges of views which you are about to have with us will contribute to render our collaboration even more harmonious and effective—and this in order to explore all the avenues leading to the attainment of the objectives which should guarantee the peaceful development of the Mediterranean peoples.

Your visit is also further evidence of the cordial friendship existing between our two countries and of the common will to strengthen and develop it.

During your all too brief stay in Italy we will certainly have the possibility to discuss a number of problems of common interest, and to continue a cooperation which has already brought and still brings concrete results. We are certain that it will continue to be fruitful, and more so in this difficult moment in which, however, we are even more committed to work for a just and lasting peace.

Thank you, President Nixon, for being in Italy today, in the Mediterranean on a mission of justice and peace.

305 Exchange of Remarks With Released American Hostages at Leonardo da Vinci Airport, Fiumicino, Italy. *September* 28, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Which State are you from?

SPEAKER. Albuquerque, New Mexico.

THE PRESIDENT. Which State are you from?

SPEAKER. New York City.

THE PRESIDENT. We are having an international welcome here today.

SPEAKER. Nice to see you. We were missing you for 3 weeks. We didn't hear any news.

THE PRESIDENT. We were trying to help you without hurting you. You are all so young. That is great.

SPEAKER. We are glad to be back.

THE PRESIDENT. How many were ladies, five?

SPEAKER. Five.

THE PRESIDENT. How many men?

SPEAKER. Twenty-seven men. We had separate rooms.

GEORGE FREDA. I don't know if you got this.

THE PRESIDENT. Something you wrote to me?

MR. FREDA. On the 6th day, I got clearance from the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine]——

THE PRESIDENT. Is that your social security number?

MR. FREDA. Right——to write this for the passengers and crew.

THE PRESIDENT. Great, I probably didn't get it. I may have it.

MR. FREDA. It didn't go through.

THE PRESIDENT. It may be but isn't probably recognized, but I will now have it. I appreciate it very much.

MR. FREDA. We know you were in there bucking for us.

THE PRESIDENT. Everybody was. As I said, it is one of those things that all of the American people, all of your colleagues at home, were frustrated about, and yet we managed to do something without having something happen to you.

SPEAKER. The shells were going right over us. They came very close a couple of times.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, of course, they did.

SPEAKER. We are so sick of that Red Chinese jam we had to eat.

THE PRESIDENT. Is that what it was? It is a little better if you could mix some pineapple with it. That was the only way you could eat it.

I am so glad to see your spirit is good and that you haven't allowed this experience to make you feel, you know, frustrated and bitter and so forth. That is, as we all know, not a part of life that you

look for. But let's say you will look back on it and say, "Well, I don't want to do it again, but I wouldn't have missed it." Right? Have you all signed up for speaking tours?

SPEAKER. We just want to go back. We just want to go home.

SPEAKER. No comment.

THE PRESIDENT. We wish you well. I must go. We are holding up Mr. Saragat, the President of Italy, for dinner. But we all wanted you to know that we were behind you and are so glad you are on your way home.

As you know, we now have guards on planes that will be a deterrent. Secretary Volpe is traveling to a number of airports on this trip to set up new electronic devices. You never can be sure.

Let me say this, that as difficult as your experience has been, what you have done may have crystalized this issue so that the possibility of it happening in the future will be reduced. When that happens, we will give you the credit.

Now you don't mind the jam, do you?

SPEAKER. Thank you for coming. I have kept the boarding card. That makes it even more historic. Thank you, sir.

PRESS SECRETARY ZIEGLER. Sir, what is your name?

MR. FREDA. My name is George Freda.

THE PRESIDENT. He sent this through. It was sent to the White House. Here is his copy of it. That is a message that I have not seen yet. But it probably came to the White House, but nobody recognized the importance of it.

SPEAKER. Thank you for coming.

THE PRESIDENT. Enjoy the flight.

SPEAKER. Thank you very much for coming.

THE PRESIDENT. Don't eat too much and don't drink too much.

SPEAKER. We did that last night.

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Rogers' people worked on this.

SECRETARY OF STATE ROGERS. Ten or 12 of them stayed up nights, every night and did a great job.

THE PRESIDENT. They worked through every diplomatic channel. We had a lot of things going that you didn't know about.

NOTE: The President spoke with the released hostages at approximately 1 p.m. on board their airliner. The group, victims of Palestinian airplane hijackers, had stopped over at Fiumicino during their flight from Cyprus to New York.

306 Exchange of Remarks With Reporters at Leonardo da Vinci Airport About the Released American Hostages. *September* 28, 1970

REPORTER. Mr. President, could you tell us what happened in there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We had a very moving meeting with the hostages. I say "moving" because their spirit was so good. They have been through a very difficult experience, as we all know, because from day to day they didn't know whether the next day they would be alive.

I told them that we, of course, had somewhat of a difficult experience at home, because all of us, those of us with responsibility in Government, wanted to do something. We were naturally terribly

frustrated because we realized that if we did the wrong thing, it would cost them their lives.

And so our problem was how could we help these people without hurting them.

We had to show power and, at the same time, we had to demonstrate restraint. They told me that that was exactly the right policy, because they said that every day they had the feeling that their captors might do something irrational in the event that we triggered it, or somebody else triggered it.

This, of course, bore out the wisdom of our policy, and I am glad that we did show the proper restraint during this period while, at the same time, being very firm in our diplomacy and firm in the demonstration of our military strength in the event that that became necessary in that part of the world.

Another thing that impressed me was the fact that this group of Americans, like so many groups of Americans, when they come under duress, they show their best. Whether Americans—we say this about our country, I am sure the Minister [1] would say it about his country—whether they are in a lifeboat at sea, whether they are lost on a mountain, or whether they are hostages in a situation like this, they tend to pull together, not to lose their nerve, to keep up their spirit.

And they obviously had to select someone to be somewhat of their spokesman. A young girl who had grown up in Sudan and who could speak Arabic—she happened to be of the Jewish faith, but she could also speak Arabic—became their intermediary and their spokesman. But they worked this all out in a very democratic way within their group.

And throughout they kept up their spirit and an indication of that was that as I started to leave, they all held their thumbs up and they said, "Thumbs up." That is the way we felt and that is the way we think the United States should feel at this time.

So, now, I think, as a result of what the hostages have done, we can say, "Thumbs up."

I would add one thing. I told them that I realized that they had been through a terribly difficult experience, that all of us sympathized with what they had been through, but that they would look back on this experience some day and say they would never want to go through it again, but that they wouldn't have missed it. And I said, too, that as a result of what they had been through, that I felt that the possibility of reducing hijackings in the future had been substantially increased, because the international community was outraged by these incidents.

Now we have mobilized not only guards on our planes, but we are developing facilities throughout the world—I am sending Secretary Volpe on a tour of European airports on this trip—better facilities for the purpose of seeing that people who might be potential hijackers do not get on planes with weapons or with explosive material.

So, all in all, I would say that while this experience was one that was very difficult for the hostages—it posed problems for us in the United States—it was one in which those few Americans came through it with flying colors. We are very proud of them.

NOTE: The President spoke with reporters at approximately 1:15 p.m. outside the released American hostages' plane, Fiumicino, Italy.

[1] Italian Prime Minister Emilio Colombo.

307 Toasts of the President and President Giuseppe Saragat of Italy at a Luncheon in Rome. *September* 28, 1970

Mr. President, and Your Excellencies:

It is a very great honor for Mrs. Nixon and me to be received in this historic house and also to have the opportunity to visit Italy again.

As I respond to your remarks, Mr. President, I want to say again what I said in our private meetings, both with you yesterday and with the Prime Minister [Emilio Colombo] and members of the Government today. I find that whether the issue is European security, the problems of Europe, whether the issue involved is the Mediterranean or the problems of the Mideast, that in areas generally throughout the world, we find that our views in the United States are very close to yours. It is very important that this be the case.

We appreciate your references to our Mideast peace initiative. However, it is important to point out that that initiative will not succeed unless we look at it in a broader context. We must remember that the issue in the Mideast is not simply one between the two or three countries immediately involved. The issue is much broader. It involves the Mediterranean. And when we speak of the Mediterranean, we naturally must speak also of Italy and primarily of Italy, the major country with the longest coastline on the Mediterranean. A sound, strong, independent Italy is essential to any long term peace in the Mediterranean—peace with the freedom and justice to which you so eloquently referred.

As I stand here to respond to your remarks, I naturally think of the longtime association of our countries, of those historical heritages that we share together.

I recall words that electrified the world several years ago, in fact many years ago. Those words were, "The Italian navigator has landed in the new world." When we hear that, we might think that the words that I have just quoted were spoken at the time that Christopher Columbus landed in the New World three and a half centuries ago. They could have been spoken then. But the words that I have just referred to were spoken three decades ago in a telephone call from Chicago to Boston, and they referred to another Italian navigator, Enrico Fermi, the man who headed the development of the first controlled use of nuclear power. A man also who had been born in Italy but whom we proudly claimed then as a resident and citizen of the United States.

As we think of those two events so far apart in time, we think of what we owe in the New World to Italy. We think of what we owe in the whole world to those great Italians, whether they be navigators, scientists, political leaders.

On this occasion, I particularly want to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, who have spoken for so many years, so eloquently and, it seems to me, so correctly on the great issues which confront the world.

I have been impressed on this visit, as I have been on others, by the fact that when I have met Italian political leaders, whether it is you, Mr. President, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister [Aldo Moro], whenever I talk to them, their views are not parochial. They are not limited to Italy. They are not only involving those immediate problems that we may have between the United States and Italy. But they are European. In fact, they

are international and cosmopolitan. That is one of the reasons why a visit to this country, a chance to talk to its leaders, is one which means so much to me with the responsibilities that I have not only to my own country but also in the whole international community.

The first man who visited from the United States while he was President was Woodrow Wilson, and that visit occurred, some of you may remember, 51 years ago at the conclusion of World War I. On that occasion, when speaking from Rome, he referred eloquently to what he thought was a new international psychology. What had previously been thought to be theoretical and idealistic had then become practical and necessary. Woodrow Wilson, unfortunately, spoke before his time.

But now, 50 years later, we know that it does become necessary, and we must make it practical, that this New World which the Italian navigator of the 20th century helped to bring into being will be a world which will be used for the progress of man rather than his destruction.

For that reason, on this occasion we speak with more feeling than usual of the absolute necessity for the United States to work together with your Government and with the governments of all free nations to see that we maintain the strength that will make possible the substitution of an era of negotiation for one of confrontation, because with that strength negotiation will be possible, without that strength negotiation will not be considered to be necessary.

So with those sentiments, Mr. President, may I ask that all of your guests rise and, with me, raise their glasses to the President of Italy.

To the President of Italy.

NOTE: The exchange of toasts began at 2:07 p.m. in the Quirinale Towers, Quirinale Palace.

President Saragat spoke in Italian. A translation of his remarks, which preceded those of the President, follows:

Mr. President:

I am particularly glad to greet you once again, Italy's welcome guest, as the supreme representative of a great country which is our friend and ally.

We have not forgotten how much was done by the United States of America to liberate Europe and help her rise again from the ruins of World War II. We are also aware of how much the United States is still doing by cooperating with us in a defense pact to guarantee security, détente, and peace on our continent.

You have come to Rome at a time when the situation in the Middle East is causing grave concern. Your presence amongst us shows that the United States fully appreciates the importance of the Mediterranean and the seriousness of the present crisis.

In one of your speeches which made a strong impact throughout the world, you stated that our era should not be one of armed confrontation but one of negotiation. We share that view and, therefore, welcomed, as an event of major political significance, the presentation of the Rogers peace plan by the United States and its acceptance by the parties concerned.

Of course, we have feared and still do fear that recent events may adversely affect the outcome of long and patient diplomatic preparations for a peaceful solution to the crisis.

You know, Mr. President, that Italy's actions are aimed to support and strengthen each and every effort made to arrive at a fair solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict as an indispensable prerequisite to achieving political stability in the Middle East.

We therefore welcomed the initiatives taken by the United States to contain the crisis and channel it towards negotiations which would prevent it from degenerating into a broader and more dangerous conflict.

The main objectives to be attained in the Middle East today are beyond all doubt, on the one hand, the respect by all of clearly recognized frontiers and guarantees for the territorial inviolability and political independence of the

countries in the region and, on the other hand, a breakthrough towards a rapid, comprehensive, and definitive solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees.

One reason to hope, in a situation so fraught with danger, lies in the fact that hostilities between Arabs and Israelis have not been resumed as yet. This positive factor should make it possible to reactivate the interrupted negotiations and give a new impetus to Ambassador Jarring's peace mission. We believe that it is the right path to follow, though we are aware of the obstacles and difficulties which lie ahead.

Mr. President, we are certain of your determination to serve the cause of peace, and we are grateful to you for it. We want to assure you that we on our own part will spare no effort to promote, by our assiduous action, and in every possible way, the achievement of those vital objectives—justice and peace.

It seems to us that it is necessary today to pick up the threads of the patient work of diplomacy which has already been done, in order that a serious and constructive dialogue may begin at last for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of the 22d of November 1967.

As I have said, Italy is making its contribution to this, and Europe will do likewise—the Europe we are building, of which we have spoken and will speak again, and which we trust will be united, outward looking, and instrumental to progress and peace.

Mr. President, we know that since European integration began the movement towards unity among the peoples of our continent has been viewed with favor and with clear political farsightedness by your great country. We believe that this Europe of ours which is still in the making can count today, as before, on the support of the United States of America, and we are fully aware that our task is to quicken our step so that before very long a new political entity, equal to its economic potential, may be better able to carry out its effective and friendly mission as a steadying and peacemaking element.

With these sentiments, Mr. President, I wish you every success in your work of government and your high mission. It is with wishes of peace that I raise my glass and invite all to drink a toast to the friendship between our two countries, to the good fortunes of the United States of America, and to the happiness of Mrs. Nixon as well as your own.

308 Remarks Following Meeting With Pope Paul VI in the Vatican. *September* 28, 1970

Your Holiness:

I want to express my deep personal appreciation and the appreciation also of the members of our party and of all of the American people for the words you have just spoken, and for the very generous reception you have provided for us.

Tonight after I leave the Vatican, I will be flying to sea and there I shall see the mightiest military force which exists in the world on any ocean.

Today, here in this room, we have had the opportunity to hear expressed a different kind of power—the spiritual power which moves nations and moves men.

I think that it is only appropriate to say that the conversations that we have had on several occasions—in 1963, 1967, 1969, and now today—have covered the whole range of world problems.

Your Holiness has expressed again your interest, which we also share, of working for peace among all nations, and we particularly appreciate the fact that you have noted the initiative that we have taken in the Mideast for peace in that troubled area.

You also have expressed your con-

cern—a concern we also share—for the well-being of the hundreds of millions of people on this earth who are poor, who live in lands that have very little hope. We will continue our policies of being as generous as we can in helping them, helping them so that they can help themselves.

We have appreciated also the fact that you have spoken out so eloquently for our prisoners of war, that this issue be separated from the other political issues that may be involved in the very difficult war in Vietnam.

But most important, I wish to emphasize that we appreciate the leadership that Your Holiness has given to the cause of good will between men of all races, of all religions, to the cause of peace among all men, even though those nations that they may live in may have different philosophies. We believe that such peace is possible; we work toward that end; and we appreciate the prayers and the good wishes that you have extended to us.

On this occasion, too, speaking for all of the American people, may I wish you well on your long journey to the Philippines. I know that you will get a very warm and great reception in that land so far away and yet so close to us in the United States because of our background and our history.

We remember your visit to the United States. And as we sit here today, I can only say that we hope that we shall have the privilege, if your arduous schedule will permit, of having another visit by you to the United States.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:55 p.m. in the Papal Library in response to the remarks of Pope Paul VI.

The Pope's remarks follow:

Mr. President:

On the occasion of this journey of yours to Europe you have wished to pay us a further visit. We have welcomed the opportunity thus afforded us of having renewed personal contact with you and of expressing to you once again, with even greater insistence, our deeply felt paternal concern for the cause of peace—to you who are the leader of a nation on which weighs such a heavy share of responsibility for the present and for the future of the world.

Recent happenings have shown what special need there is at this moment to work for peace. The suffering which war inflicts not only on the combatants but also on innocent persons and on children who have no understanding even of the meaning of the word, has been brought vividly before the eyes of all of us, who, however distant we may be, feel almost that we are in the midst of it. Our heart has suffered with them, as it has always shared and continues to share in the sufferings of the victims of all the wars that disturb the life of mankind.

Our anxiety is now increased by the danger of such a conflict involving more and more countries and assuming the proportions of a vast and fearful conflagration.

This special need demands from all a special effort without reservations by any party and without any other aim than a just and honorable peace. That same God-given intelligence which enables man to destroy is capable also of finding a way of combating the dangers and even of insuring, insofar as is humanly possible, that they will not come to pass.

This duty belongs in a particular way to those who have a greater power in the world. We are, therefore, happy to have been able to convey to you, Mr. President, our thoughts on the most suitable means of seeking to reestablish peace where it has been upset and to strengthen it where it exists, among other ways, by favoring friendly and fruitful relations between peoples and the progress of the developing nations as is demanded by justice and human solidarity.

We would like to encourage you, Mr. President, in undertaking this task which, though difficult, is truly worthy of being pursued with decisiveness and generosity.

May God guide you and all who have responsibility for peace among nations, that good will may overcome enmity.

In the meantime, we give expression to our personal good wishes, and we invoke upon you, your family, and all the people of the United States of America the favor and the blessing of the Almighty.

309 Remarks in the Vatican to Students From the North American College. *September* 28, 1970

Cardinal Wright, all of Your Excellencies who are here today, and those who are attending this session in this great, historic room from the North American College:

I was reminded by my great and dear friend, Archbishop O'Connor,[1] that this is the fourth occasion on which I have visited the North American College. As I receive your very warm reception, I can only say this is one college that an American President can go to and get a warm reception. Thank you a lot.

I have just had the privilege of another audience with His Holiness, Pope Paul, and we have discussed, as we have on previous occasions, the whole range of world policies, and not only the responsibilities that I would have as the President of the United States in a temporal way, but the responsibilities and the part that may be played by those whose primary area is in the field of the spirit.

As I pointed out to His Holiness, I am going to be visiting in a very short time the mightiest fleet that has ever been assembled in the history of the world. When we think of that great power that I will see there, I suppose the pragmatists—those who are pragmatists without being idealists—the pragmatists would say what really matters only is the power, the power that can be mounted there, militarily, maintained by the United States, supplemented by its allies.

I know, however, as all of you know, because you have chosen this life that is yours now—I know that there is another power in this world, a power that transcends material factors, a power that transcends also even the great military strength that we may have, or other nations may have. It is the power of the spirit.

It has become fashionable, sometimes, these days, to speak disrespectfully of that power of the spirit, or to speak in terms of its being obsolete.

I can assure you I do not feel that way. I do not feel that way as an individual.

But what is perhaps even more important—as one who has seen the leaders of the world and one who knows what moves people in the world—I do feel that, as I look at the world scene today, there is an enormous need, believe me, for what you gentlemen, what you are going to be doing when you leave this college and when you go all over the world to carry that message of the spirit.

It is a need that can't be filled by a man even as powerful as the President of the United States. I know one of the favorite stories that has been told about the Vatican involved Pope John. As I recall, it goes something like this: He said that sometimes when he woke up in

[1] Archbishop Martin J. O'Connor, president of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications and rector of the North American College in Rome, 1946–1964.

the middle of the night and thought of a serious problem, he would say to himself, "I'd better talk to the Pope about that in the morning." Then he said, "When I got fully awake, I realized I was the Pope."

I think I could perhaps put myself in a similar position in this way: Sometimes when I wake up in the middle of the night, half awake, and I think of the serious problems of this Nation and the world, I say to myself, "I have got to talk to the President about that problem. He has got to do something about that." And then when I am fully awake, I realize that I am the President.

But I want you to know this: Great as is the power of the Presidency of the United States, a power that can make the difference between war and peace in great crises, a power that can be used to help those nations of the world that need help and assistance to gain a decent standard of living, and to help people within our own country who haven't had that equal chance, a power that can bring better programs for housing and health and transportation and all those material things of life that are so important for the good life—while a President can make enormous contributions in these areas, and I hope this administration, my administration, just as my predecessors, I know, hoped for their administrations, I hope we make progress in all those areas: peace in the world, better housing, better health, better opportunities for education, more opportunity for all people throughout the world.

But I realize there is an area where I can do very little and where you can do very much, because let us never forget, we can have the best fed, best clothed, best housed people in all the world, with the air clean and the waters pure and the environment satisfactory and open space—but if people do not have something to believe in other than those material factors, there will be a void. It needs to be filled. It needs to be filled, I believe, by those who represent, as you do, a great church.

My church happens to be different from yours, but I know that in very difficult times my religion has sustained me. And I know that you—as you go out—you will work for social justice, and that is a great new trend in the great religions of today.

But you will remember, too, that in working for social justice and progress in these material areas, important as that is, you have something to provide that no lay leader can provide no matter what his power is: the meaning of life, the spiritual quality, that inner peace, that inner strength which allows an individual to see himself or herself through great crises, and to live a life of meaning, not one which is measured solely in material terms.

I know that in saying these words to this group that, like what we often say at home, it is like the preacher talking to the choir, but I do want you to know that as I see this very exciting—and you are that—group of people, I know that you are the best.

Archbishop O'Connor has told me how you are selected. I know that you come here for this experience, and I know that when you go forth that you will be leaders in your church, in your communities, whatever nation you may go to. I wish you well because, speaking very humbly, as President of the strongest nation in the world, with more power, perhaps, than

any leader in the world, I can say with all the power I have, you have something, you and your colleagues, that the world needs, and particularly the young people of the world need, very much today.

I wish you very well.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. in Clementine Hall in the Vatican. John Cardinal Wright was the prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy at the Vatican.

310 Statement on the Death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. *September* 28, 1970

I WAS SHOCKED to hear of the sudden death of President Nasser. The world has lost an outstanding leader who tirelessly and devotedly served the causes of his countrymen and the Arab world. This tragic loss requires that all nations, and particularly those in the Middle East, renew their efforts to calm passions, reach for mutual understanding, and build lasting peace. On behalf of the American people, I extend deep sympathy to his family and to his people.

NOTE: The statement was released on board the U.S.S. *Saratoga* in the Mediterranean.

Gamal Abdel Nasser, who had served as President of the United Arab Republic since 1956, died of a heart attack at the age of 52.

311 Remarks to Officers and Men of the 6th Fleet. *September* 29, 1970

Mr. Secretary of State, Mr. Secretary of Defense, Admiral Moorer, officers and men of the 6th Fleet:

I speak today in two capacities, first as one who once served in the United States Navy. I am very proud in that capacity to stand here on the deck of this great carrier and to salute the Navy and very proud of those, that new generation of Americans, who make the American Navy today the great and powerful force which it is.

I speak also in another capacity, a capacity I had no idea I might hold 25 years ago when I was a very junior officer in the United States Navy, as President and Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. And in that capacity I express appreciation to all of the men and the officers of this great Fleet for your service to America—for your service over the years, but particularly for your service of the past 2 weeks which was in the highest tradition of the United States Navy and of our Armed Forces and which also was a demonstration of what the mission of our Navy in the Mediterranean and around the world is at this time in our history.

I have often described our forces, our Navy, Army, and Air Force, as the peace forces of the world. And the 6th Fleet was certainly in that great tradition during this period of tension. The power and the mobility, the readiness of the 6th Fleet in this period was absolutely indispensable in keeping the peace in the Mediterranean.

The fact that it was not necessary to engage in war, something we all wanted to avoid, that fact came into being for a number of reasons. But, again, the most important, indispensable reason was the fact that we were ready with the power exemplified by this mighty Fleet.

The Nation, therefore, expresses appreciation to you for making it possible for America to wage the kind of peace diplomacy we always want to wage, based on power, which is ready but which will be restrained, when it will serve the cause of peace.

As I met a number of the officers and men last night on arriving here on the deck of the *Saratoga,* I talked to them about their backgrounds and their States, and I was reminded of another generation of men and officers in the Navy, in the Army, and the Marine Corps, that I met during World War II. They had come from many of the same States. In fact, it carried me back to those days and I thought of what we had gone through then, what you are going through now.

I realized that in this whole century, the 20th century, that the United States has yet to enjoy one full generation of peace. We fought World War I, and it was thought by many that that was the war that would end wars. It was not the case.

Before a generation had elapsed we were in World War II. At the end of World War II, with the United Nations, it seemed that we were in a new era in which there would not be another war. That was not true.

Then came Korea. Korea was ended in 1953. We had hopes that that might be the last war for that generation. It was not true.

Now we are in the very difficult war in Vietnam, a war that we are bringing to an end and finding a just and honorable peace. But what we desire, all of us, is a full generation of peace, and more for the American people and the world.

I believe we can have it. But if we can have it, it means that we must have from hundreds of thousands of young men in the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force around the world, sometimes in lonely outposts, sometimes on difficult duty, have them ready, have them mobile, have them strong.

The 6th Fleet is that kind of power—a power for peace. I salute you, therefore, as members of the peace forces of the United States, and the world; and because of what you do today, what you have done, what you will do, I believe that history will look back and say because of what these men did, because of the way they served their country, America and the world did have, finally, a generation of peace.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:07 a.m. on the flight deck of the U.S.S. *Saratoga.* The President's remarks were broadcast to the officers and men of the 6th Fleet. Admiral Thomas H. Moorer was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

312 Informal Exchange With Reporters in Naples, Italy. *September* 29, 1970

Q. Mr. President, it has been a long day, sir, but do you have just a couple of words for us?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was, of course, very moved by the visit to the [6th] Fleet and particularly by not the ships that I saw, the planes and the rest, but the men. They have magnificent morale. They are the finest young men that America produces. They are doing their duty. They are doing it without whining and without complaining about a world they didn't make, and they realize that what they are doing there is to maintain the necessary forces that will keep the peace in the Mediterranean, give us a better chance to have peace for the balance of the century.

Of course, the rest of the afternoon I have had a very helpful and constructive meeting in depth on our general strategic posture in the Mediterranean, and tomorrow we will continue that on NATO.

Q. I see, you did stop in NATO on your way here, did you not?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, not yet. We were on the *Springfield* this afternoon, the flagship; and we had the meeting of all of our commanders in this part of the world, the NATO commanders, the Mediterranean commanders as well, just going over general strategic problems.

Q. And your trip is going on on schedule?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. The questions have been asked, of course, about the possibility of some changes being made because of President Nasser's death. However, our visit to Yugoslavia will go on on schedule and the balance of the stops will be made. I am sending representatives to the funeral. I think Robert Murphy, former Ambassador, is going to go, former Ambassador McCloy [1] will be going, and the third person will either be Robert Finch or possibly Elliot Richardson. We haven't found out. We have to make the arrangements at a very fast pace, of course, because the news came so unexpectedly.

Q. Do you have any reaction to that you'd care to tell about now?

THE PRESIDENT. The only reaction that I would give is one, of course, of sympathy for his wife and his family. We have had some very basic disagreements, as we know, in the last few years with President Nasser. I met him personally in 1963 and had a very good talk with him when I was a private citizen.

At that time his attitudes toward the United States were generally somewhat friendly. They, of course, became exacerbated after 1967.

But what will happen now in that country, however, no one can really speculate about it effectively.

I have noted with interest that already some of the experts are trying to say that this or that or the other thing may happen in Egypt. Usually you will find that when

[1] Robert D. Murphy, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, 1949–1952, and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, 1959.

John J. McCloy, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1949–1952.

an event occurs of this type that that type of speculation has some basis because it is somewhat expected.

For example, when Ho Chi Minh died he had been sick for some time, and he was a very old man. Everybody is speculating what is going to happen when there is a change of leadership in China. That doesn't mean the speculation is always right, but at least people have had a chance to think about it. But no one thought that President Nasser's death would occur in such an untimely way.

So I think that at this point it is speculation as to what the leadership will be, what its attitude would be, would not be very constructive. We, of course, are waiting to see. We want good relations with all countries in this area. We would like to have good relations with the U.A.R.

We trust that they will continue, and we believe that the new government, whoever it is, will see that its interests will be served by continuing the cease-fire, and, we trust, then going on to talks.

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

Hope you get a little rest in Naples tonight. Tomorrow will be a hard day—for you, not for me. Have you had a good time? Have you been able to go out any at all? You have been following us pretty much, haven't you?

Q. Yes.

Q. [*Inaudible*].

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, it is a great experience for me to go on and spend the night on it again.[2] I did spend the night on one when I went out to the splashdown.

I think, as a matter of fact, I have shaken hands with more people today than I have in any one day since I have been in office, and it was a very great privilege to do so. I think that is why I say what really impressed me—I knew about the power and of course I was glad to see it, glad to see it demonstrated, and its readiness and mobility—but what really impressed me was the opportunity to meet the men. It is like traveling all over the United States in the space of one day. Because most of the States were represented and once they got past the awe of meeting the President of the United States, they talked in a very, it seemed to me, frank and open way, although I didn't have any extended discussions.

I found that the one thing they were all interested in, and this is something that hasn't changed, is mail. I told them we were having a little problem of getting mail deliveries every place. The last enlisted man that I talked to, he said, "If you can do something about the mail, we would appreciate it." Another one spoke up and said, "Yes, particularly mail from girls." That hasn't changed either.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:25 p.m. at the Villa Roseberry, President Saragat's Naples residence.

[2] The President spent the previous night aboard the U.S.S. *Saratoga*.

56-087—71——53

313 Remarks on Arrival at the NATO Southern Command in Naples, Italy. *September* 30, 1970

Admiral Rivero, all of the officers, the distinguished guests, and the others associated with the NATO Southern Command:

I am very honored to be here on this occasion. And before I begin my formal remarks, if I could be permitted to say that I am very happy to see so many from the United States, the dependents, the wives, the children, and the rest, and I bring you the best greetings from all of your friends back home in the United States.

I know that you must have been as impressed as I was, and as moved as I was, by the pageantry that we have just witnessed, of the great nations that were represented by the forces that we saw pass in review.

I know, too, that you realize that that pageantry has something behind it. NATO is 21 years of age. In fact, most of the people here in this audience were born since NATO came into being.

And when we consider NATO, we must realize that because of its strength and its purpose, Europe has enjoyed a generation of peace since it came into being.

Now, at the present time, we live in a period of change. A period of change can be welcome. It can mean to this part of the world, to Europe, that we move from a period of confrontation to one of negotiation; that we move from a period in which Europe seems to be permanently divided by rigid blocs to a period in which the nations and the peoples of Europe join together in cooperation and communication.

A period of change also, however, can be one of very great danger, because in a time of change there is turmoil; there is also the lack of confidence that comes when instability seems to be the order of the day.

The great question before us in NATO and in the free world today is whether in this period of change in Europe and in the world we shall be masters of change and masters of our fate or whether we shall be the victims of change.

That brings me back to this pageantry that we just saw and what it represents—what it represents not just to us from the United States, but from our friends in Europe and to our friends in Europe.

What we must realize is that in a period of instability, of uncertainty, and of possible lack of confidence, that what is needed is an institution that people can believe in, an institution that is strong, an institution that is stable, that men and women can hang onto; and NATO is such an institution.

It is strong, it is united, it represents the best of all of our people. It has power, but it is a power that exists for the purpose of peace; and because it exists for the purpose of peace, it serves the very best ideals of all of the great peoples that are proud to be members of the NATO organization.

My trip as President of the United States to this NATO Command underlines the American commitment to a Mediterranean that will not be our sea, speaking of an American sea, but a sea that will belong to all people.

My trip, also, to this NATO Com-

mand represents a firm American commitment to this great institution, to which the credit must be given over these past 21 years for a period of peace in this continent, in Europe, which has suffered so much from war in the past.

And I say particularly to all of you today—but if I could direct my remarks especially to the young people here today from America—in our country we in America in this century have not known a full generation of peace: World War I, World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam.

The great goal that we have is to develop the policies that will provide the opportunity for your generation to experience that full generation of peace. I think it is possible. But it will be possible only if the United States remains strong and firm in its commitments to its alliances and particularly strong and firm in its commitment to the great alliance of NATO, perhaps the most successful in its purpose of any alliance in the history of the world.

I am proud to be here standing with our NATO allies and friends, and I say that this trip and my presence here speaks for a United States of America, united behind a great principle of strength, strength which exists for peace in Europe, and as it exists for peace in Europe which can contribute to that peace in the whole world that all of us want for ourselves and, most of all, for our children.

ADMIRAL RIVERO. Mr. President, on behalf of the Allied Forces, Southern Europe, I would like to present to you a small memento of your visit here, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much, Admiral.

I would like to say that I wish that our schedule permitted the time for meeting all of the people that are here. It isn't quite possible because we have a meeting first with the NATO Command and then with all of our ambassadors from the Mediterranean area.

But I do want you to know how very good it is to come to a country, a great, friendly country like Italy, and see so many friendly Americans right here abroad.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. in the Allied Forces, Southern Europe Headquarters Building in Naples. Admiral Horacio Rivero, Jr., USN, Commander in Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, presented the President an inscribed sterling silver plate.

314 Informal Exchange With Reporters in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. *September* 30, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. That was a beautiful store.[1] I was just remarking that the departments are beautiful, the shops. I almost stopped but I knew the crowds couldn't get in. But I want to see that store tomorrow. It is one of the best I have ever seen.

Is it one of the famous ones?

Q. It is one of the best ones here. There is nothing else like it in East Europe.

[1] The President referred to Robna Kuca, the largest chain department store in Belgrade, which he passed enroute from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to the Old Palace.

THE PRESIDENT. I have been in East Europe. I haven't seen anything in Budapest or anywhere that equals that store.

Q. How do you like your reception so far?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a very warmhearted reception, very friendly. President Tito, as we rode in the car, remarked that he was glad that everybody was so friendly and enthusiastic. He and Mrs. Tito couldn't have been more gracious and friendly. I was glad, after a long time, to have the opportunity to meet him personally, and Mrs. Tito as well, and I felt, too, that the spontaneity of the crowd was very heartwarming as we drove out through the country and as we went downtown, now as well as in the formal arrival.

Q. What was the store that you noticed downtown, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Ambassador[2] can tell me what it is. It was a very fine looking department store and I noticed the windows. I looked at it in terms of just the big windows. They had some beautiful displays of fashion and that sort of thing. I just said I want my wife to see it before she goes because it is really an outstanding store.

I had heard about some of the development here in the city, of the merchandising and the rest. When I saw that store, I saw that it was one of the best that I have seen, really, in the world. I think I am a fair judge of that. I have seen most of them.

NOTE: The exchange took place at approximately 6:05 p.m. as the President arrived at the Old Palace in Belgrade.

[2] United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia William Leonhart.

315 Toasts of the President and President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia at a State Dinner in Belgrade. *September* 30, 1970

Mr. President, Madame Broz, friends of Yugoslavia and the United States:

I am honored to be the first American President to visit Yugoslavia; and on this occasion, before this very distinguished company, with this beautiful banquet, I wish, Mr. President, to extend to you and to Madame Broz an invitation to visit our country again.

You have seen Washington and New York. But we would like for you to come again to Washington and then to see the Midwest and our State of California. Both areas are very proud to have many citizens of Yugoslav background who will give you a very warm welcome. We look forward to your visit to the United States.

Tonight, I think, after hearing you speak, Mr. President, of the many things our countries have in common—you have referred to some of them—I, of course, think first of the many Americans whose roots are here in Yugoslavia, personal friends that Mrs. Nixon and I have, for example, in California, and who have contributed so much to the life of our country.

Beyond this, both of our nations take pride in our diversity. Each of our societies is made up of people of diverse ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Yet in each of our countries they have joined together to form one great, strong nation.

Both of our nations have worked to reconcile regional diversity and national harmony within our countries. Now we must be leaders in reconciling national diversity and international harmony elsewhere in the world.

I think, too, of the steadfast independence, the courage, the love of freedom that are so much a part of the Yugoslav spirit and the Yugoslav strength, and of the times each of our nations has fought to preserve its freedom and its independence.

I think of the efforts Yugoslavia is making to help other nations, and of those places in the less developed parts of the world where our experts, your experts and ours, have worked side by side to assist with development programs.

I think of the exciting new industrial ventures that are being undertaken or planned here in Yugoslavia, in which Americans and Yugoslavs are investing together in the future of Yugoslavia, working together, to develop new enterprises.

I think also on an occasion like this of the great importance of the changes that have taken place in the world in the past 25 years, and of what those changes make possible in terms of a new structure of stability and mutual respect among nations.

A quarter of a century after World War II, we do live in a new world, a world of new nations, of altered relationships, of greater experience, and of new opportunities to strengthen that structure of orderly procedures of mutual respect that is the foundation of peace.

Even in this new world, we still confront many of the same old problems, but often in a new form.

The problem of European security still is high on the world's agenda. Yugoslavia has tried to demonstrate to the rest of Europe the basic truth that true security must rest on a firm foundation of mutual respect for the independence and integrity of all European countries and of noninterference in their internal affairs.

This same principle lies at the heart of our policies, and there could be no better example of it than the relationship that we have developed with each other and that you have sought to develop with your neighbors, far and near, on this continent.

Long ago Yugoslavia made a decision. It chose the path of nonalignment, and for more than two decades Yugoslavia and you, Mr. President, have personally played major roles in the nonaligned movement throughout the world. We in the United States respect that position.

But the great question today is not whether a nation is aligned or nonaligned, but whether it respects the rights of others to choose their own paths, and Yugoslavia, by its example, has given heart to those who would choose their own paths. The great goal that we share in this decade is the building of a stable and a lasting peace. This far transcends differences in ideology, in geography, or in systems of internal order.

It is toward this end that we in the United States are seeking to put an end to the crises and confrontations that have plagued the postwar world.

In our relations with the Soviet Union, we are prepared to discuss the requirements of a stable strategic relationship and a limit on the deadly competition in nuclear arms.

In Europe, we are prepared to join with others in helping overcome the division in this continent, at reducing the military confrontations, at developing a full

range of economic, cultural, and human contacts with each of the nations in Europe.

We respect the legitimate interests of others, including those interests that relate to their security. But we do not accept doctrines by which one power purports to abridge the right of other countries to shape their own destinies and to pursue their own legitimate interests. Every nation, large or small, has the duty to maintain its own security; but no nation has the right to do so by infringing on the security of others.

You can be our friend without being anyone else's enemy.

The pursuit of "total security" by one nation can only lead to the insecurity of others and, therefore, it will not bring order and peace.

Our sole objective in the Middle East, in Vietnam, and all other areas of the world is to help insure that people and nations will live in peace and be able to build their own lives in accordance with their own aspirations with due regard for those of others.

We oppose policies by powers outside the region that are designed to gain unilateral advantage or paramount influence.

Building a true peace requires more than coping with wars and the threat of wars. We recognize, as Yugoslavia does, that we cannot have true peace if many of the world's nations are frozen permanently into a "have-not" status. That is why we shall continue to help others who need help—and we welcome the efforts of Yugoslavia toward that same end.

As we look to the remaining decades of this century, as we attempt to plan for what Europe has not had, and America has not had, thus far in this century, a full generation of peace, it is this pattern of mutual respect among nations, of respect for their right to independence, their right to choose their own way, their right to live without interference from their neighbors, whether large or small—it is these rights that we must preserve, that we must protect.

In politics, in the arts, in the development of its economy, and the life-styles of its people, in its distribution of rights and responsibilities, Yugoslavia has pursued its own national model. And this is what national independence means: the right of each nation, of each people, to pursue its own chosen destiny in its own way, limited only by its recognition of the fact that every other nation has that same right.

And so I ask all of you to join me in a toast to President Tito, whose courage, whose determination, whose independence, have been an example to the world, and also to the principles of mutual respect for which he stands, for which Yugoslavia stands, and which embody the hope of the world for a true and a lasting peace.

Zivila [Long live] Yugoslavia; *ziveo* [long live] President Tito.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:47 p.m. in the White Palace in response to a toast proposed by President Tito. An advance text of President Nixon's remarks was released by the White House Press Office.

President Tito spoke in Serbo-Croatian. A translation of his remarks, which was posted for the press by the White House Press Office, follows:

Mr. President, Madame Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

It is my pleasure, Mr. President, to greet you, on behalf of the peoples and the Government of Yugoslavia, in the name of my wife and my own, as the first President of the

United States of America visiting our country. May I take this opportunity to extend to you, to Madame Nixon, and your associates our warm welcome.

In 1960, in New York, I had a cordial meeting with President Eisenhower, and in 1963, during my visit to your country, I had friendly and useful talks with President Kennedy. These talks contributed to the further development of relations between our two countries. We appreciate, Mr. President, your personal interest in, and contribution to, the promotion of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States of America. Your visit marks, no doubt, a very important date in the history of these relations and will further encourage their continuous progress.

The relations between Yugoslavia and the United States of America are of long standing and rest on a positive, friendly tradition dating back to the establishment of relations between the U.S.A. and Serbia and the signing of a convention on consular and trade relations in 1881. Our two countries were allied in World War I. In World War II we fought together and each of us contributed his share to the struggle against the most sinister forces that threatened mankind. In those trying days of war, our partisans saved hundreds of American pilots from falling into the hands of the enemy. On our side, we have not forgotten the substantial assistance and support extended to us by the American people during our People's Liberation Struggle and after the war.

Your country, Mr. President, is a land of many nations. People from our country, too, by their work, talent, and thought have made a significant contribution to the development of America—from miners, fishermen, and farm laborers, at the time when the foundations of the progress of your country were being laid, to Nikola Tesla, Louis Adamic, Mihajlo Pupin, and many others who played an outstanding role in American scientific thought, culture, and public life. American citizens of Yugoslav origin have always been, and we wish them to remain, one of the bridges linking our two countries.

Your great country is about to celebrate the 200th anniversary of its independence. The world has always held in great esteem the deeds of the great sons and intellects of your country, such as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and many others. Your Revolution and the Declaration of Independence have become an integral part of freedom-loving and democratic aspirations and of progress in the world.

Mr. President, we live in a world of interdependence, a world which is becoming ever smaller and which—as the brave explorers of outer space saw it—reminds of a small ship, the fate of which we all share. The achievements of every people are today property of, and source of inspiration for the whole of mankind. By epoch-making advances in the field of science and technology, to which your country has also made a historic contribution, mankind has stepped into the 21st century.

Yet, the majority of the world population still lives in misery, and many peoples are not free and truly independent. In different parts of the world, wars are still claiming precious human lives and destroying all that has been so painfully built. The world of today is characterized, on the one hand, by the existence of boundless possibilities for unparalleled progress and prosperity and, on the other, by desperate needs, injustices, and problems, by which international relations are so heavily and dangerously burdened.

Mr. President, it is only natural that mankind should expect from so vast and developed a country as the United States of America a major contribution to the well-being of peoples and peace in the world. We welcomed the significant words pronounced by you in your inaugural address that mankind should move from the era of confrontation into the era of negotiation. We have been consistently devoting our efforts to this end. It was in 1961 that the Belgrade conference of nonaligned countries appealed to the big powers to start a dialogue in order to avoid a general catastrophe.

Yugoslavia views positively the present orientation of the big powers to negotiate. Having at their disposal weapons which can destroy the world as well as enormous potentials, the big powers bear a special responsibility for the fate of the world. That is why they are expected to use this immense might and strength for the benefit and the well-being of mankind.

We all agree that the world is becoming ever smaller and ever more closely interdepend-

ent and that whatever happens in one of its parts—whether for the better or for the worse—is bound to affect the rest as well. Any conflict, any crisis has global repercussions. The whole experience of the postwar period testifies to the fact that universal peace and stability cannot be achieved by the big powers alone. Therefore, all countries, irrespective of their size and strength, must take an active part in the affairs of the world community, not only because it is their right but because it is also an indispensable precondition for the maintenance of peace and the development of international cooperation. In the same way as a "larger" peace cannot rest for long on "smaller" wars, so international cooperation cannot be promoted on the basis of anyone's monopoly or on the negation of the legitimate interests of other countries and peoples. In the absence of peace and progress for the small and underdeveloped, there can be no stable peace nor durable progress for the large and developed either.

There is, we feel, a growing consensus in the world that mere negotiations and the avoidance of confrontation between the big powers are in themselves no longer sufficient. If the basic world problems continue to remain unsolved, if we do not undertake with full responsibility the solution of the burning issues of development, disarmament, the elimination of the policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of others, the overcoming of the division of the world into blocs—then we shall gain only shorter or longer intervals of respite between periods of cold war and we shall continue to live under the permanent threat of the outbreak of a conflict with unforeseeable consequences. Actually, the postwar development has clearly shown that stable peace and cooperation cannot rest on the balance of strength and terror.

For all these reasons, Mr. President, we are striving for the negotiations and peaceful solution of controversial issues to become the generally accepted practice in international relations, in the relations among all states. Small and medium-sized countries, as well as all developing countries, are well aware of their obligations and responsibilities, both with respect to their own internal development and with regard to the solution of international problems.

Besides, what I have been saying so far reflects also the essence of the message of the recently held conference of nonaligned countries in Lusaka. The nonaligned countries were unanimous in their demand for the democratization of international relations, respect for and realization of the inalienable rights of peoples to independence and sovereignty, accelerated development of the developing countries, strengthening of the United Nations, achievement of its universality, etc. They also manifested their determination to exert utmost efforts and make their own contribution towards the fulfillment of these aims.

Mr. President, our views concerning the most dangerous hotbeds of conflict—such as, in the first place, the long-continued war in Vietnam, which has been expanded to new areas in Indochina, and the crisis in the Middle East, which is becoming ever more dangerously entangled—are known. The peoples of these areas are being subjected to dreadful ordeals and suffering and peace in the world as well as the security of all of us are being jeopardized. We have always endeavored, within the limits of our possibilities, to contribute to the search for just solutions, and we shall continue to do so. Our position has always been, and still is, that the cessation of intervention by any foreign power and the securing of the legitimate rights of the peoples of these countries to full independence and free development, without any outside interference whatsoever, are preconditions for any equitable settlement.

As regards the Middle East, I wish to say that we received with profound grief and anxiety the news of the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, an outstanding statesman and a relentless fighter for peace. His loss, particularly in the present critical situation in the Middle East, makes it incumbent on all factors to exert maximum efforts to arrive at a peaceful and just political solution, for which President Nasser strove consistently and with dedication to his very end.

Mr. President, we are also urging the immediate eradication of colonialism which is still being maintained in vast areas of Africa. This is, indeed, the greatest shame for man-

kind, in this very century of general emancipation of peoples, generations, and races.

The positive processes underway in Europe, which have resulted in a certain relaxation of tension, are paving the way for the gradual overcoming of the division into blocs and the establishment of European security on new foundations. As an independent and nonaligned country, which has in actual practice opted for a policy of open frontiers and free flow of ideas and goods, Yugoslavia is vitally interested in the promotion of all-round cooperation among all European states. We cannot conceive a stable system of European security in a permanently divided Europe.

Likewise, as a European and Mediterranean country, we are fully aware of the close interdependence between the European Continent and the entire Mediterranean region. It is, consequently, understandable that we are directly interested in the restoration of peace in the Middle East, which is so close to us, as well as in the transformation of the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and peaceful international cooperation, where the rights and interests of the peoples living on its shores will be fully respected.

Mr. President, I trust that I am sharing your opinion in saying that world peace and cooperation cannot be strengthened unless the principles of the United Nations are fully and consistently observed. The principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, noninterference, territorial integrity, and the like must be respected with no exception in the relations among all states, and the infringement of these principles cannot be justified by any political, ideological, or any other motives.

I am glad to say that the friendly relations between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States of America are developing precisely on the basis of these principles and in mutual respect. Mutually beneficial cooperation between our two countries is progressing satisfactorily. There have been problems from time to time. It is only natural that it should be so. However, thanks to a realistic approach and good will on both sides, we have succeeded in preserving continuity and ensuring constant progress.

There has been, indeed, manifest progress in the relations between our two countries in recent years. This can be partly ascribed to contacts and exchanges of views among high level representatives of the two countries and it is our wish that this useful practice be maintained. Particularly important are the results achieved in the field of economic cooperation; and we believe that there exist very good possibilities for its further expansion, especially as regards industrial cooperation, joint ventures, etc. We also attach great importance to the furtherance of scientific and, particularly, technological cooperation.

We have always been striving, Mr. President, for good relations with all countries, and it has always been our earnest desire that the promotion of relations with one country should not be to the detriment of relations with other countries. The promotion of friendly and stable relations with as many countries as possible in Europe and outside it, starting with our neighbors, is in our view a prerequisite for our accelerated development and for the strengthening of the security and the international position of Yugoslavia. Within this context, we attach great significance to the development of good relations in all fields with your country, considering them as an important factor of stability and peace in this part of the world and more widely, as well as an important factor of our economic, scientific, and technological advance.

Let me stress that the status of Yugoslavia as an independent, nonaligned, and socialist country is the unalterable basis of our entire policy and of our approach to international relations and problems. We are determined to maintain our independence, for which we paid such a high price. This is guaranteed primarily by the unity of our country and the readiness of our peoples to defend their independence and free internal development against any threat or attack.

Mr. President, the relations between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, between a large and a small country, with different social systems, testify to the viability and realism of the policy of peaceful and active coexistence. They make thereby a major contribution to wider international cooperation.

True, there have been and still are differences in our views and stands on different international issues. Such differences exist in

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our relations with other countries as well. But these differences have been no obstacle to the development of friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries.

Mr. President, I am looking forward to our talks which will afford us the opportunity to exchange opinions on the international situation and the furtherance of relations between our two countries.

In the course of your visit, you will see some of our achievements. We regret that your visit is too short to enable you to become better acquainted with the accomplishments of our people and the beauties of our country.

I hope your stay among us will be a pleasant one.

May I now propose this toast to your health, Mr. President, to the health of Madame Nixon and your associates, to friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Yugoslavia and of the United States of America.

316 Remarks at the Serbian Council Building in Belgrade. *October* 1, 1970

I WOULD like to say to the President that I wish my visit were long enough to visit all of the major States in Yugoslavia, but since I had to select two, naturally I wanted to pay my respects to the President of Serbia, the largest State, and then, of course, to Croatia, the second largest State.

I was very interested to learn that your country, this country, is somewhat like ours in that respect, that while it is one country, Yugoslavia, that the States are very competitive, what we call friendly competition, between Serbia and Croatia for the businesses, the new businesses. I think that's good. We have a lot of that in our country. It exists in California.

NOTE: President Nixon spoke at 8 p.m. His remarks were addressed to the President of the Assembly of Serbia, Dragoslav Markovic.

317 Toasts of the President and President Tito of Yugoslavia at a Dinner in Belgrade. *October* 1, 1970

Mr. President, Madame Broz, and Your Excellencies, friends of Yugoslavia and the United States:

As we complete this visit of 2 days to Yugoslavia, I wish to express appreciation on behalf of Mrs. Nixon and myself and all the members of our party for the very warm reception we have received, both officially and from all the people of Yugoslavia that we have had the privilege to meet.

We shall always remember the welcome we received in Belgrade, in Zagreb, and at the President's birthplace, the third city we visited in Yugoslavia.

PRESIDENT TITO. I thought it was the second city.

PRESIDENT NIXON. After our visit, it will be the first city in Yugoslavia.

Speaking now officially, I believe that this visit has contributed significantly to a goal to which all of us are dedicated—better relations in every way between Yugoslavia and the United States, friendship, economic cooperation, and working together in the cause of peace and progress.

But it has also been, it seems to me, very helpful and constructive on a much broader scale, beyond the bilateral inter-

ests of the United States and Yugoslavia. Over the period of the last 25 years, it has been my privilege to meet and to talk with over 70 chiefs of state around the world. No chief of state or head of government that I have met has had more experience all over the world and has known more government leaders around the world than President Tito.

It has been very helpful to me to get his appraisal of the various trouble spots in the world and his best advice as to what policies could be adopted which could lead to peace and cooperation throughout the world.

It has been for us a very worthwhile visit, if only we had the opportunity to know this country, the beauty of the countryside, the warmth of its people. But the visit beyond that has had very great significance in contributing to our joint thinking about the problems of the world and how we can develop better approaches to them.

That is why I looked to a continuing discussion with President Tito on these problems in which he gives me his best judgment, and I, in return, share with him my thoughts on problems that we have. Because after all, despite differences in systems of government, we have common goals: peace in the world and the right of each nation, each people, to choose its own system of government without outside interference.

And now, to put this visit in perspective—President Tito, to all of us who knew him only by what we read and what we heard, has built a worldwide reputation as a leader of his nation in war. But I am convinced, after this visit, that his great legacy will be that he will be remembered in history as a man of peace.

That is why I would ask that you all join me in raising our glasses to peace and friendship between the United States and Yugoslavia, and to the world peace to which President Tito is dedicated and to which I am dedicated, working together, if possible, toward that great goal.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at 9:47 p.m. in the Old Palace. President Tito responded in Serbo-Croatian. A translation follows:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

First of all, I wish to thank you very much indeed for this sincere and warm toast on behalf of my wife, on behalf of my associates, and in my own name.

And now, at the same time, I have to say how sad we are—and this is not a very pleasant feeling to know—that your visit to our country has been, alas, too short and thus you have not had the possibility to see much of what our working people have achieved since the Second World War. But you could convince yourself everywhere you went—your visit to Belgrade, Zagreb, and Kumrovec—how much the people of this country appreciate and love the American people and the United States, and how much they appreciate you personally, Mr. President.

Our people have very close contacts and roots, so to say, with people of your country. From Yugoslavia they went in large numbers in the days when poverty reigned here—in Croatia, in Slovenia, and also in Serbia—they went to win their bread to the United States, in order to earn their bread there. Many remained there. Some of them returned. And those who returned, they were actually those who were the bearers of sympathies towards the people of the United States, because there they saw something new, they saw a new democracy which made it possible for every man to live a life worthy of a human being.

Of course, they didn't say that milk and honey flowed in that country. They also spoke of very hard work, but that the efforts that people working there were making enabled them to lead a life, the same life, as the one I have just described.

And now a few words about your visit. I

share your opinion that your visit has been very successful. We had talks together, with our associates, also talks on these problems of bilateral and on international issues. And our talks were conducted in a spirit which permeates talks between leaders of countries having different social systems.

We talked about very acute, very difficult problems, which are now around the world and which are fraught with the danger of leading to a new tragedy for all mankind, and we agreed that all has to be done in order to preserve peace and all has to be done in order to insure that all questions under dispute, all conflicts are settled peacefully.

I think that the time has come when during their talks statesmen coming from countries having different social systems should try to find a way for solving all questions in the world in a peaceful way and also for eliminating all elements of escalation and aggravation, and we have such elements in both the Middle East and in the Far East.

I agree with your view, Mr. President, that it is our duty to work together and to do our utmost in order to insure the peaceful solution of international problems in order to promote détente, and to prevent tragedies similar to those which befell mankind during the First and Second World Wars.

As to bilateral questions, I think that we are on the best way. I share your opinion and your wish that these bilateral relations should be expanded still further. There is still very much room for promoting our relations, both in the economic field and in other fields, and also, in the field of political relations regarding the solution of international problems.

I think that sound economic cooperation in the interest of the two countries is also a very powerful factor in promoting better understanding with regard to many other issues.

And I think—I wish, Mr. President, that this visit of yours to our country, should yield fruitful results for our relations and I raise this glass to the health of the President of the United States of America, who, for the first time in history, visited this country as the representative of the friendly country of the United States, to the health of President Nixon, to the health of your associates, and to friendship and cooperation between the United States and Yugoslavia.

318 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Tito of Yugoslavia. *October* 1, 1970

AT THE invitation of the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito, the President of the United States of America Richard M. Nixon, accompanied by Mrs. Nixon, and their party, paid an official visit to the SFR [Socialist Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia from 30 September to 2 October 1970. During his stay President Nixon visited, in addition to Belgrade, Zagreb and Kumrovec.

The meeting between the two Presidents, which took place in a cordial and frank atmosphere, provided an opportunity for frank talks on the most important contemporary international issues and on Yugoslav-American relations. These included the Middle East, South East Asia, East-West relations, European security, less developed countries, and bilateral problems. Each side presented its views in a candid manner.

Both sides agreed that negotiation rather than confrontation is indispensable for peaceful and just solutions of international problems.

It was also emphasized that co-operation on the basis of equality among independent and sovereign countries, is the sole basis on which relations and progress in today's world can be founded.

Presidents Tito and Nixon noted with

satisfaction the growth of good and friendly relations between their two countries. They pointed out in particular that relations between the SFRY and the USA were fully based on the principles of independence and mutual respect which are also the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The two Presidents expressed the conviction that relations on such a basis were not only in the interest of the peoples of their two countries but constituted a significant factor for stability and peace in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

They resolved to continue to promote extensive bilateral relations. Concrete forms of cooperation were discussed, especially in the economic and scientific-technological fields.

The two sides agreed that it was useful and desirable to continue the practice of broad exchanges of views and contacts in their mutual relations.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

319 Remarks on Arrival at Madrid, Spain. *October* 2, 1970

General Franco, Señora Franco, Your Excellencies, friends of Spain and the United States:

I am most honored to be the first American President to visit Spain since President Eisenhower was here in 1959.

I recall my previous visits to this country and the warm welcome that we have received. As I stand here I bring to all of the people of Spain the best wishes of all the people of the United States.

We Americans owe a great deal to Spain. We remember that it was Spanish explorers who played such a great role in the exploration and the development of the New World; and we in the United States, with diverse people and diverse culture, owe a great debt to the Spanish culture and people of Spanish background who have contributed so much to our Nation.

Since 1953, we have been partners together in defense in the Mediterranean area, and over this past period, particularly in the past 10 years, we have seen increasing economic cooperation between Spain and the United States.

I am confident that the talks we will have here, with you, General Franco, and with the members of your cabinet, will contribute to closer cooperation, both in defense for peace and economic cooperation which will mean progress for all of our people in Spain and in the United States.

In recent weeks, the eyes of the world have been on the Mediterranean area. If we do not have peace in the Mediterranean, world peace will be very seriously threatened. An indispensable pillar for peace in the Mediterranean is Spanish-American friendship and cooperation. For that reason, I say, as I begin my visit to Spain, *Viva la amistad Hispano-Americana.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. at Barajas Airport in response to General Francisco Franco's welcoming remarks.

The transcript of remarks by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler to Spanish reporters about the President's trip was released the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1329).

General Franco spoke in Spanish. A translation of his remarks, which was posted for the press, follows:

Mr. President:

In the name of the Government and the people of Spain I wish to extend to you a most cordial and friendly welcome.

It was very kind of you to accept my invitation to come to Spain and it is a great honour to have you with us, in the company of your charming wife and the distinguished members of your party.

This is not the first time you have come to this country. You have had before the opportunity to see our cities, our regions—so filled with memories and evocations of the past for an American—and above all, you have met our people and you have been able to appreciate the affection and admiration they feel towards your people, your character, your history.

Today, when you arrive in our capital as President of the United States, for a visit of good will, friendship, and cooperation, which confirms and symbolizes the spirit of the agreement recently concluded between our two nations, my colleagues in the Government and myself, as well as the people of Madrid that welcome you, will try to make your stay a pleasant one, and we trust it will prove as fruitful and successful as we wish and hope it to be.

Once again, Mr. President, a most sincere welcome to Spain.

320 Remarks on Accepting the Key to the City of Madrid. *October* 2, 1970

Mr. Mayor, Your Excellencies:

It is a very great honor for Mrs. Nixon and me to receive the key to the city of Madrid.

This is not an ordinary key. An ordinary key can open the door of a house or of a room. But this key, as we have already seen in the part of the road that we have traveled, opens the hearts of the people of Madrid and the people of Spain to the people of the United States.

We are grateful for this wonderful welcome.

We have many pleasant memories of our visit here before and we look forward to our stay in this, one of the greatest cities in the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the Plaza del Marques del Duero in response to the remarks of Mayor Don Carlos Arias Navarro who spoke in Spanish. A translation of the mayor's remarks, which was posted for the press, follows:

Today, Mr. President, will always be an outstanding one in the annals of Madrid, capital of Spain. You can see in the cordial and jubilant reception offered to you by our people, a reconfirmation of their affection for the great Nation represented by you, joined to ours by bonds of friendship and common effort.

It is a great and unforgettable honor for me, as mayor of Madrid, to offer you the keys to the city, as a symbol of gratitude for the honor bestowed by your visit, an expression of our satisfaction to have you here as our illustrious guest and a fervent wish for a pleasant and happy stay.

Mr. President of the United States of America: "Welcome to Madrid!"

321 Toasts of the President and General Francisco Franco of Spain at a State Dinner in Madrid. *October* 2, 1970

General Franco, Mrs. Franco, Your Excellencies, friends of Spain and the United States:

When I visited President Eisenhower just a few weeks before he died, he was reminiscing about his great experiences as President and also as a military leader. I asked him to weigh the various receptions that he had had around the world. He thought a moment and then he said that one of the greatest and most friendly welcomes and the most memorable receptions he had as President of the United States was a reception in Spain in 1959, when he was the guest at this table and in this city of you, General Franco, and Mrs. Franco.

I now know what he meant, because today we had the opportunity to feel the kind of reception that the Spanish people, under your leadership, gave to him and that you gave to us, as representatives of the American people. We think of this magnificent banquet, at the very table where he sat just 11 years ago, with many of the same people here present.

We think of the words of welcome which you have so generously spoken. We think also, of the tremendous crowds in the streets of Madrid as we drove together to the Palace where we are staying.

And as we heard and saw those crowds, they were saying many things. Among them were these: First, General Franco, they were expressing their respect and their affection for you. Second, they were expressing their friendship for the people of the United States.

Third, as I saw those crowds, I saw the past of Spain and the future of Spain, and it is truly a great future, because I saw a vigorous people—a proud people, a young people, a dynamic people—the people that have been responsible for Spain having the fastest growth rate of any country in Europe over these past 10 years; the people who will be responsible for Spain, in the last 30 years of this century, moving into a new period of economic progress and well-being for its people and a new period of contributions to progress for all peoples in the world.

This is what I felt as we drove through the streets of Madrid today.

And then in the talks that we have had this afternoon with you, with members of your staff, with Vice President Blanco, with Prince Juan Carlos, with Secretary Bravo,[1] I felt that we, in those talks, established a new firm base for increased understanding, increased cooperation in all fields between Spain and the United States in the years ahead.

We have been good friends, our two countries. We, I believe, in the years ahead can be even better friends.

The treaty to which you have referred can be the solid basis for areas of cooperation that have not yet been explored, and we want to participate with you in this great adventure in which the Spanish people, with a proud past, move forward to one of the great periods in its entire history in the last 30 years of this century.

I would say to you finally, that as I heard the crowds in the streets today, I realized that the United States has many friends in Spain.

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[1] Foreign Minister of Spain Gregorio Lopez Bravo.

I want to assure you, General Franco, the members of your Government, and all of this distinguished company here, and all those who may hear me on television or radio, that Spain has many friends in the United States. And I assure you, particularly, that Spain has two special friends, the present President of the United States and his wife, who have a feeling of affection and of friendship for this country, for its people.

You will always have a friend in us and a good friend and a loyal friend in the years ahead.

So I ask this company to rise with me and raise your glasses to the health of General Franco and Mrs. Franco, to the economic progress and prosperity of the Spanish people, and to the cooperation of the United States and Spain in the cause of peace and progress for the whole world.

General Franco.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:49 a.m. in the Royal Palace in Madrid in response to a toast proposed by General Franco who spoke in Spanish. A translation of the General's remarks, made available by the Spanish Embassy in Washington, follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

It is an honor and a great satisfaction to have with us today President Nixon, a statesman for whom I have always felt the deepest admiration, whose qualities of wisdom, realism, understanding, and devotion to his responsibilities are an example and a source of inspiration for any public man in our times.

I wish particularly to express, in the name of my wife and in my own, our pleasure in having also with us Mrs. Nixon, a figure who is well known, admired, and loved in Spain for her qualities of distinction and personal charm.

In the short hours that his tight schedule has allowed the President to dedicate to our country, we have had the opportunity for a broad exchange of views which, in my opinion, has been of great interest.

The problems which, at this time, are of common concern for the United States and Spain, and which are also, most of them, of common concern for the West as a whole, are beyond doubt grave and urgent. I am glad, therefore, to be able to state that in this moment, in the presence of the dangers that confront us, our views have been basically coincident. This is all the more significant if we take into account the fact that the international position of Spain has very special and characteristic features. Our kinship and our historical and cultural ties with Latin America; the fact that we are, at the same time, a part of Europe; the traditional friendship with the Arab countries; our geographic position at the crossroads of two seas and two continents—all those are factors which determine and shape the international policy of our country.

Notwithstanding such peculiarities, the American and the Spanish position regarding the present problems in the areas of common interest, are practically coincident.

In this connection I cannot fail to recall the visit in 1959 of your predecessor, President Eisenhower, a perennial example of civic and military virtues. His stay among us was a cause of the deepest personal satisfaction for myself and of sincere joy for every Spaniard and contributed positively to strengthening the ties of friendship which already existed between our two countries.

Recently, with the purpose of continuing the fruitful cooperation of both Governments, our plenipotentiaries have signed a new Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation which goes beyond the intention of merely heeding to occasional considerations and contemplates the widest collaboration in a varied range of activities. My Government is determined to use effectively every opportunity of joint action which that instrument offers and to engage without reserve in the task of promoting jointly the human values and defending the ways of life to which we wish to remain faithful.

Our essential aim—and we know it is fully shared by our American friends—is the preservation of peace among all the nations. This is the supreme value in the field of human rela-

tions and the condition necessary for any other accomplishment that we could envisage for the future.

Mr. President, I raise my glass to the personal welfare of yourself and your distinguished wife and family, to the friendship of our two countries, to the prosperity and the greatness of the American Nation, which you so worthily represent.

322 Remarks on Departure From Spain. *October* 3, 1970

Generalissimo Franco, Mrs. Franco, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

As we leave the soil of Spain, Mrs. Nixon and I and the members of our party will take with us unforgettable memories—memories of the official welcome that we received, of the talks that we have had which have contributed to our thinking on the major world problems and to better relations between our two countries, and of the outpouring of the sentiment and affection that we felt from the people of Spain when we passed through the streets of Madrid yesterday and this morning.

We feel, too, that as we leave this country that this visit marks the culmination of a series of discussions which will make 1970 a year that we will look back on in both Spain and the United States as the beginning of a new era of increased cooperation, increased friendship in all areas between the United States and Spain.

I hope that the administration which I now head will be able to work toward that end so that this great country may have the complete cooperation of the United States as it moves forward in economic progress and in all areas of human life.

And finally, may I say in a personal sense that I appear here on this occasion as the President of the United States. I recall in 1963 when my wife and I, our two daughters, were here as private citizens. I recall then that the friendly reception we received from the people of Spain was just as warm as when I held this high office. And that tells us something about this country, about its people that we shall always remember. It is a great country of friendly people.

I look forward to returning either in an official capacity, and, if not that, always as one like the millions of other Americans who come here as tourists, to one of the most friendly countries we can visit in any part of the world.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9:10 a.m. at Barajas Airport in response to the remarks of General Franco who spoke in Spanish. A translation of the General's remarks, made available by the Spanish Embassy in Washington, follows:

Mr. President:

The time has come for us to say goodby, after the intense and crowded hours which you spent in Spain.

Your great responsibilities and duties urgently call you. The demands of the times are very great, and for this reason we understand perfectly that it has not been possible for you to prolong your stay in Madrid awhile longer, as we would have liked you to do.

Your visit has proved a most fruitful one for both our governments and nations. We have had an opportunity to examine together the principal world problems in which we have a common interest, to appreciate the wide areas of conformity which exist and the favorable

outlook for a coordination of our respective policies.

The agreement recently signed and the periodic consultations provided in that document, between the heads of our departments of foreign affairs and other representatives of our Governments, should benefit our two countries and will provide an opportunity to contribute together to the maintenance of peace among the nations of the world.

Mr. President, please remember that you leave behind you good friends in this country, who wish you and your distinguished wife, as well as the rest of your distinguished party, a happy continuation of your tour and a most happy return to your country and to your families.

323 Remarks on Arrival at Shannon Airport, Ireland. *October* 3, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Lynch, and all of the distinguished guests who are here, and our friends from Ireland:

Mrs. Nixon and I want to express our very great appreciation for your very warm welcome as we set foot on Irish soil. As we come here, we have many thoughts in mind.

First, Mr. Prime Minister, this is a personal visit but also one that is official—official in the sense that our two Governments, as you have indicated, have such close and friendly relations, and I look forward to the opportunity of meeting with President de Valera, with you and members of your Government on Monday to discuss those matters in which we can have further cooperation in the interest of both countries.

And, second, personal in the sense that Mrs. Nixon and I have what is rather rare for us these days, a day off tomorrow. After a rather strenuous trip in which we have visited four countries in Europe we finally get to Ireland. I don't think of any country in the world I would rather have a day off in than Ireland. We are so glad we can have it here.

Now having said that, I have never had that experience before. My wife and our two daughters did have the very warm reception that they had when they came here 3 or 4 years ago. But I have never had the opportunity of driving through the Irish countryside, of going back to where they say my great-great-great - great - great - great - grandparents came from.

I know for sure, however, that in Mrs. Nixon's case the proof is much clearer. As a matter of fact, I can't find anybody in Ireland that will claim me, but I am sure that as far as Mrs. Nixon is concerned that her grandfather, of course, came from Ireland, and if her credentials were open to any question I can tell you that when I married her, her name was Patricia Ryan and she celebrated her birthday on St. Patrick's Day. So that must prove something.

We will be traveling through the Irish countryside today and tomorrow, and having the opportunity that so many Americans have had, to come to this land, to feel the warmth of the reception of its wonderful people, and also to have the opportunity to see the sights that we shall be seeing.

I would say to you finally that in my travels over the world that have taken me to over 65 countries, I have had many very great and warm experiences. I can tell you

that none is one that I look forward to more than this one—look forward to it because I do probably claim, as do almost all successful American politicians, an Irish background.

And, second, I look forward to it because I can assure you that we in the United States are very appreciative of the enormous contribution that has been made of those Irish backgrounds to all of American life, not just in the field of politics but in the field of business, in the field of the arts, in any area that you choose. The Irish have added a warmth to the American diverse personality, a sense of humor, a spirit, a courage, character for which we will be eternally grateful.

I am glad to say those words and speak them here on Irish soil.

If I could complete my remarks with what I understand—and I wish I could say it in Gaelic but I am not sure what he said about me, so I won't try to say anything about you—I understand though that the traditional Irish salutation on this occasion, and if you will pardon me for using it I think it fits this occasion so well: Joy be with you all.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 5:35 p.m. in response to the remarks of welcome of Prime Minister John M. Lynch which follow.

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

On behalf of the people and Government of Ireland, I welcome you to our country.

I offer you the traditional 100,000 welcomes. I would like to say in our own language: *Cuirim romhat, a Uachtaráin na Stát Aontaithe agus do chéile, Céad Míle Fáilte go hÉirinn* [I give you, Mr. President, and your wife, 100,000 welcomes to Ireland.].

This is the language, Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, that your forefathers would have welcomed their visitors in. When I say "your forefathers," it is indeed the land of your forefathers. You have both come here before, and then you were very welcome.

Now that you have come again, Mr. President, as President of the great democracy of the United States of America, and you, Mrs. Nixon, as its First Lady, you are more than welcome.

You, Mr. President, coming with all the great demands and pressures on your high office makes us feel doubly honored.

The ties between our two countries have been very, very close over very, very many years. Your coming on this occasion will make these ties even more close.

I hope that your short stay with us will be an enjoyable one for you and Mrs. Nixon. I know that our people will welcome you from their hearts, and I hope that when you leave our shores you will bring with you happy memories of your stay amongst us.

Thank you, Mr. President.

324 Remarks on Arrival in Limerick, Ireland. *October* 3, 1970

Mr. Mayor:

I want to say that it is a very great privilege for me to visit, on my trip to Ireland, and come first to Limerick. This is the first city in Ireland I am visiting.

Having heard of Limerick all my life, and recalling in the 18th century when the famous Irish Brigade was fighting all over the world, the song was "Will You Come Up To Limerick?" and here I am. I am glad to be here, and I am glad I came.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke in response to the remarks of James D. Liddy, Right Worshipful

Councillor who spoke as follows:

On behalf of the citizens of Limerick, as well as in my own behalf, I want to extend to His Excellency, President Richard Nixon, a very warm and a very cordial welcome to the city of Limerick.

I think he has, by dropping off here to say hello to us, paid a very great honor indeed and we are certainly very indebted to him and we hope he will have a very happy stay in this country.

Thank you.

325 Remarks to Reporters Summarizing His European Trip. *October* 4, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I first welcome you to this reception, and I want to tell you that I hope you have enjoyed the Irish hospitality and the Irish countryside as much as I have.

I haven't had quite as much opportunity as I had hoped to travel today because we have been rather busy in catching up on some of the work that accumulated during the week and, also, in the meeting this morning that I had with Ambassador Bruce and Ambassador Habib.[1]

But I did feel that at this time, as we near the conclusion of this trip, it might be useful for members of the press who have been traveling with us and, of course, some of our guests from the Irish press who have joined us here, to have some conclusions with regard to the trip and also an indication of its general purpose.

I recognize that those who have traveled with us have a rather difficult time in covering a trip like this. It is difficult because the meetings that are held between heads of government or heads of state must necessarily be kept off the record as far as the press is concerned. Otherwise, they would lose their value.

On the other hand, that leaves the press only the opportunity to cover motorcades or to speculate on a background basis as to what is really happening. If I may paraphrase what Governor Reagan once said: If you have seen one motorcade you have seen them all, it has been said.

That really isn't true because motorcades are quite different, as you know, and we've had some very exciting ones and very interesting ones, and they do provide at least some opportunity to get the feel of the people, the strength of a country, as you move, as we have, through hours and hours of motorcading.

On the other hand, I realize that you who have the responsibility for covering a trip like this are expected, quite properly, to go to the substance and to indicate what the trip accomplished.

What a trip like this accomplishes is likely better to be appraised in the weeks and months that follow rather than immediately thereafter.

But I begin first with its purpose and then I will tell you what I think we have accomplished as we look at it, looking back over the past week.

[1]Ambassador David K. E. Bruce was Chief and Ambassador Philip C. Habib was Deputy Head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris talks on Vietnam.

The purpose of this trip, just as has been the purpose of my other trips abroad, is to strengthen the structure of peace throughout the world, and particularly to strengthen the structure of peace in the Mediterranean area which, because of recent events, has been an area of very great concern for all those interested in peace.

Now, in analyzing what the threat to peace in the Mediterranean is, we must realize that it is not the conventional threat of one nation possibly engaging in overt action against another. It is more difficult than that, more difficult because it is the threat which arises from irresponsible radical elements which might take action which, in turn, would set in the course of events, the train of events, set in motion—I meant to say—a train of events, that would escalate into a possible confrontation between major powers in the area. That is what we saw in the Jordanian crisis and that is the kind of threat to the peace that we will have to be guarding against in the months and possibly the years ahead in the Near East and the Mediterranean generally.

Now, when you have that kind of a threat, in order to meet it the primary need is for elements of stability in the area, economic and political stability, yes, but primarily, where the threat is irresponsible and where it resorts to violence, unexpected and unpredictable violence, without reason, without cause—sometimes—there must be military stability and military strength. That is why I first visited the 6th Fleet.

The 6th Fleet is one element of military stability in the Mediterranean. After visiting the 6th Fleet and being briefed by its commanders and our commanders there, I became convinced that the 6th Fleet is able to meet its mission of deterring irresponsible elements in the Mediterranean area.

After meeting with the 6th Fleet commanders and, also, after having discussed this matter with our NATO allies and with our ambassadors from the Mediterranean countries, I am convinced that it is essential that the 6th Fleet continue to have this capability in the event that other powers, with other designs on the area, other than ours and our friends who have no designs except the peace in the area, and the right of each individual nation to maintain its own integrity—in the event that other forces, naval forces, should threaten the position of strength which the 6th Fleet now enjoys, then the United States must be prepared to take the action necessary to maintain that overall strength of the 6th Fleet.

So what I am saying here is the 6th Fleet presently can meet its mission and, second, we shall be prepared to increase its strength in the event that its position of overall strength is threatened by the actions of other powers who take another position in the area than we do.

Another element of strength in the Mediterranean area is, of course, NATO, and particularly its Southern Command. Without going into the specific conversations that we had with the NATO Southern Commanders, I would emphasize here that this provided an opportunity for me to state very strongly and unequivocally these principles with regard to the United States association with NATO.

Considerable concern, I find, has arisen among many of the NATO nations, the major nations and the smaller NATO nations, as a result of some comments by political figures in the United States as

well as some of those commenting upon the American role in the world, that the United States might not meet its NATO responsibilities and was on the verge of reducing its contribution to NATO. I stated categorically to the NATO Commanders, and I do it here publicly again, that the United States will, under no circumstances, reduce, unilaterally, its commitment to NATO. Any reduction in NATO forces, if it occurs, will only take place on a multilateral basis and on the basis of what those who are lined up against the NATO forces—what they might do. In other words, it would have to be on a mutual basis.

I know that the Nixon Doctrine has sometimes been inaccurately described as one that would allow the United States to reduce its responsibilities in the world. That is not the case. The purpose of the Nixon Doctrine is to provide a policy under which the United States can meet its responsibilities more effectively in the world by sharing those responsibilities with others. And in NATO that is our policy.

To summarize, with regard to NATO, we will maintain our present strength. We will not reduce it unilaterally. We will continue to talk with our NATO allies with regard to how, overall, we can meet our responsibilities together.

Moving from NATO now to the Mideast, I found in the conversations that I had with all of the leaders that I met—and, as you know, they covered not only our allies and friends but also they covered President Tito of Yugoslavia, a nonaligned state—I found general agreement on these propositions: strong support for the American cease-fire initiative; and, second, I found that, as far as that cease-fire initiative is concerned, that there is not the pessimism that we sense in some quarters, as a result of what happened in Jordan and as a result of the new instability that inevitably will follow the death of President Nasser, that the cease-fire initiative's days were numbered.

I do not suggest that the road ahead is not difficult. But I think we have to separate our peace initiative into two parts: one, the cease-fire part of the initiative; and, second, that part of the initiative that has to do with negotiation.

With regard to negotiation, the prospect for immediate negotiation between the two or three or other parties involved on either side—as far as those prospects are concerned—they are, at this time, not bright because of the introduction of missiles into the 50-kilometer zone.

The reaction of the Israelis, of course, has been not to participate in negotiation.

However, we are going to continue to attempt to get the negotiating process started and, of course, in the process, to do what we can diplomatically to see that there are no further violations of the standstill, and dealing, of course, diplomatically, with the violations that have occurred. So much for the negotiation side of it.

On the cease-fire side of it, however, I think I can say quite unequivocally that neither party—and by neither party I say neither the Israelis on the one side or the other nations, the U.A.R. and others involved in the cease-fire initiative—will gain by breaking the cease-fire. That is why we believe that our acting and talking strongly in behalf of an extension of the cease-fire for another 90 days is the proper course and that it has considerable chance to succeed. Because any party at this time that would break the cease-fire initiative would have very, very little sup-

port in the world. It would be acting alone against the whole weight of the world public opinion and also against the weight of public opinion, I should say, in the United States.

Another comment with regard to the Mideast that I think should be made: We tend in the United States to see our role as being predominant and, of course, it is because of our strength. On the other hand, we must recognize, and this trip brought this home to me and underlined it again, that there are other powers in the Mediterranean area that can play, that are playing, and that must play, a significant role in the peacekeeping area.

The Italians, for example, have a very significant interest in the Mediterranean and have contacts that we do not have that are better than ours. The Spanish also have very significant interests in the Mediterranean and have been very helpful. And the British, in addition, of course, have had a traditional, longtime interest in the Mediterranean area. My talks with the leaders of these three countries were very helpful in that respect because it is not a healthy situation in the world for the United States to be alone, whether it is in the Far East, where we welcome the fact that the British are maintaining a presence there, or whether it is in the Mideast, or in the Mediterranean.

That is why the Secretary of State and I have worked, both before we arrived on this trip and during this trip, on developing not only consultation but participation on the part of other Mediterranean powers who share our views about the area, and participation and responsibility for keeping the peace in that area.

I would like to move briefly now to three or four specifics with regard to the leaders that I met.

I had the best, most extensive conversation with Pope Paul that I have had. It covered the whole range of world affairs, particularly the Far East, the situation in the Mideast, problems, of course, in the underdeveloped world, and specifically in the humanitarian area, his great concern about our prisoners of war. We will continue these contacts because it is extremely important that the spiritual and moral leadership which Pope Paul has exercised be leadership not that will follow our policy or we follow his, but there must be understanding and should be understanding with regard to what our aims and goals are.

With regard to Spain, I believe that the year 1970 marks a period in which we can say now that Spain, economically, is rapidly moving into the front ranks in Europe and will be moving into the front ranks in the world, and when Spain, economically and politically, when Spain's isolation from the rest of Europe will be drawing to an end.

I think this is a healthy development. It's a constructive development. The United States has close and friendly relations with Spain. We will continue them, as I indicated when I was in Spain. I was very impressed, as was the Secretary of State, with the members of the Spanish Cabinet and the Spanish Government that we met, a group of young, vigorous, new leaders who are providing for Spain leadership in the economic, political, and diplomatic field that will be extremely constructive in the years ahead.

A word now about Yugoslavia. When we talk about the structure of peace, we must realize that the most indispensable element is maintaining with our allies and our friends who choose to be aligned with us, like Spain, the strength that will deter

potential aggression. That is the first and most indispensable element.

However, there is an important element that should be added to this. We need to have, of course, negotiations, if possible, with those who might be our potential opponents, and we need, of course, the best possible contact with nonaligned nations. That is why the visit to Yugoslavia I thought was particularly important and very helpful.

Let us understand, however, what that visit did mean and what it did not mean. There are still, and will remain as long as I can look to the future, very broad differences between the United States and Yugoslavia.

For example, Yugoslavia is a country that has moved, shall we say, more into a nonaligned role than any of the other Communist states. They have a completely different view about the kind of political and economic system that they want. They have a different view, for example, about our policy in the Far East than we have. They have some differences with regard to our policy in the Mideast. But once we consider those differences, we then must lay beside them those areas where we have similarities and agreement. Here we find that we share with them a desire to avoid any major power confrontation because they know that if such confrontation and explosion occurred that they would be victims, even though they have attempted to be nonaligned.

No nation in the world will be nonaligned if the major powers do have a confrontation. They will become casualties, innocent casualties—have it that way if we must put it that way, but that is what the case may be.

The nonaligned nations know that. So they want—they share with us our desire to avoid a major power confrontation.

Another point that a country like Yugoslavia particularly shares with us is our policy of nonintervention in their affairs. We respect their right to be nonaligned. We respect their right to have the kind of a system which they have chosen. And the fact that we do not interfere in their affairs, and that in working for economic cooperation, and in some cases, even diplomatic cooperation, there is no danger of interference or domination on our part.

This is a great asset that we have in talking to the nonaligned nations.

On that score, I found, that as I talked to our Ambassadors from all of the Mediterranean countries and the Mideastern countries, that they said that one of the greatest assets the United States has in its foreign policy today is the fact that despite the fact that some, of course, foreign leaders criticize us in this area or another, there is no foreign leader, when he speaks candidly, who really fears that the United States, with its power, has designs on dominating that country or interfering in their affairs. This cannot be said of some other powers. It can be said of the United States. This is an enormous asset in our dealings with nonaligned countries.

I should also say that my discussions with President Tito were useful in another respect. He has met many world leaders, or several, I should say, that I have not had the opportunity to meet. He shared with me his appraisal of those leaders, without, of course, indulging confidences, which he did not do—but his appraisal of them, and gave me, therefore, an opportunity to know men that I may not

ever get a chance to know, but at least have not had a chance to meet up to this time.

I think I can sum up basically on the entire trip in this respect: As we moved in the period of 6 days through these four countries, we first found that among people generally, the United States has a great number of friends. It was, to me, very heartening to find very heart-warming welcomes in Italy, in Yugoslavia, in Spain, and, of course, in Ireland and in the other areas that we have had a chance to visit.

Second, I found, and this is one encouraging development, among all the leaders that I talked to, a much better understanding of our policy in Vietnam than I found when I was here in February a year ago. They believe that the United States is bringing its participation in the war in Vietnam to an end. They believe that we are working for a just peace, that we are making progress.

I did not find the questioning, the skepticism about both our motives and about the possibility of the success of our policies that I found in February a year ago.

Third, we found that in the Mideast there was universal support for our peace initiative and also recognition of the fact, again, that the United States did not have—as I indicated a moment ago—did not have any expansionist, ulterior motives in playing a role in the Mediterranean and in the Mideast area.

Now a word, finally, about the country we are in. This was not scheduled as an official stop. I have enjoyed the day, as I indicated a moment ago, that we've had off, to get to know the Irish countryside better.

Speaking of motorcades, incidentally, I thought that I had shaken hands, as I indicated to some of you this morning, with some people with pretty good hand grips, but I can assure you that the Irish have the best grips of anybody in the world.

Some of you remarked about the fact that I have lost cufflinks on occasions, including a pair in New Orleans a few weeks ago. This is the first time anybody has shaken hands with me and broken a cufflink in the process. But they were friendly handshakes and I enjoyed it very, very much.

But with regard to the Irish Government, I am glad that tomorrow I am scheduled to meet again President de Valera, who is a giant of a man in every respect. I was particularly appreciative of the fact that I had the opportunity to meet Prime Minister Lynch. I had a good discussion with him last night, will see him again this morning. He has a quiet competence which is very impressive, and having now established this personal relationship with him, I think the good relations between our two countries can be even better in the years ahead.

With that I will conclude my remarks. I think if Ron [Ziegler] could arrange it—I have met those of the press here—we could meet maybe the members of the Irish press. Don't mind that handshake thing; I have gotten mine worked up a little now. I am a little stronger.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:35 p.m. at a reception given for reporters in Dromoland Castle, Newmarket-on-Fergus, County Clare, Ireland.

326 Remarks in Timahoe, County Kildare, Ireland. *October* 5, 1970

Ambassador Moore, Mrs. Goodbody, Mr. Goodbody, and all of our friends from Timahoe and County Kildare:

I wish to express my appreciation for the documents that have been presented here which will remind us in the years ahead of our background in this, what has been very properly described, this peaceful Irish countryside.

And I am very proud that there is now this plaque here, which indicates that on this ground so many years ago, as a matter of fact, three centuries ago, my ancestors and Jessamyn West's ancestors once lived here before coming to the Pennsylvania colony in Philadelphia just before the war of the American Revolution.

I think, too, that on this occasion I would want to express my appreciation to all of you who have come out to welcome us.

As I went down the line, I met some of the children, a number of the older people. I asked if this was a school day. The children seemed to be delighted that they gave the day off. So that is a good reason for our coming. At least you could come out.

But really what impressed us, as has impressed us every place we have been on our visit to Ireland, is the warmth and friendship of the Irish people. I have been to over 65 countries during my period of public service and in private life. And I have had many friendly welcomes. I can assure you there is nothing that equals an Irish welcome, really nothing.

And I hope that I can convey in my own meetings with people around the world some of the warmth, the good will, the wit, the friendship that characterizes the Irish people and characterizes also, I trust, my own Irish background.

I, too, want to say that, as you know, I am a member of the Society of Friends and this cemetery is in a spot where once there was a church where the Society of Friends in Timahoe worshiped. I think it is not insignificant to mention a historical fact that all people in Ireland would know, but that many people outside of Ireland would not know, and that was that the Irish Quakers who lived in Timahoe and in County Kildare were always treated equally, with complete tolerance, by the Irish Catholics who were in the great majority.

I met recently with Cardinal Cooke in New York, and he was telling me about the fact that that was one of the great Irish traditions that while it was a predominantly Catholic country, that it was a country which had understanding and tolerance for people of differing religious views. This is something which, of course, the world should know.

It is a very great Irish tradition and I am very proud that I, being in that—what we might call from a religious standpoint, the minority of Irish Quakers, can, nevertheless, say that I am of a tradition in which whether we happen to be Protestants or Catholics or Quakers or some other faith, that in Ireland we always receive a welcome which is from the heart and which comes from all the people here, whatever their religion may be.

One final point I would make on this occasion, which I am sure you would think would be appropriate, appropriate

whatever our religious background may be, but particularly appropriate because of the presentation that has been made on behalf of the Irish Quakers to me as one who happens to be of the Quaker faith, now holding the office of President of the United States.

As Jessamyn West, who has written so eloquently about the background of our family, has said, the Quakers have a passion for peace. My mother was a pacifist. My grandmother was a pacifist. Jessamyn's mother was, her grandmother, her grandfather, going back as far as we know.

And I know that if they were here today that they would reflect the views that I am now going to express.

Their greatest desire for anyone in their family, who held any office, would be whether he could make a contribution to peace.

Needless to say, as the President of the United States, I have many responsibilities and many goals, not just personal goals, but primarily goals for our country. But I can assure you, the greatest purpose and the greatest goal I have, and the greatest purpose and the greatest goal the American people have, is to play a role to bring peace, not only to America but to all the world.

That is what we want. In our foreign policy after World War II, we have great power. We have great responsibilities that go with that power. If we do not meet those responsibilities, the chances for people who do not have power throughout the world to grow up in independence and freedom, will be completely wiped out on this earth.

And so the people of the United States will meet their responsibility, the responsibility they did not ask for, but that we have, to defend not only ourselves, but also when asked to do so and when it seems to be in their interests and our interests, to come to the defense of others. But let us understand one thing: The armies and the navies and the air forces of the United States of America exist for the purpose of preventing war and building peace. They are peace forces and that is the purpose of our policy.

And I can say if there was one message in this quiet peaceful valley, in this place with all of the history that is here, that I would like to leave to the people here who have welcomed us so graciously and that I would like to convey to the people of Ireland and the people of America and the people of the world, it is very simply this: The United States of America, its President, want nothing more in this last third of the 20th century than to develop policies that will make it possible for the world to have what it has not had for all of this century, and that is a full generation of peace.

If we have that, we can build on from that, and, if we make that contribution, then I can truly say that I have lived up to what I think my ancestors, who worshiped in this place so many centuries ago, would have wanted one of theirs to be, if he ever got to the high office that I now hold.

And so, as I leave you, let me say that I came here with very great feeling. I deeply appreciated the welcome that we received, and I leave inspired by the thought that this was a peaceful community. It is a peaceful community. The people here want peace for themselves and peace for their nation and peace for the world.

And I can assure you that the President of the United States, whose roots go way back to this community, has that same purpose, that same goal, that same ideal, and will do everything that he can to end the wars which presently plague the world and to build a peace in which all people can grow up in friendship, in tolerance of the views of others, and particularly in the kind of a world that I see around here—good people, friendly people, meeting those who come from afar, with the friendly smile, a firm handshake.

Thank you very much.

And also, may I express my appreciation to the Artane Boys Band. Weren't they great over there? Did you hear them play? Let's give them a hand.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:35 a.m. in response to the remarks of Mrs. Denis Goodbody, Curator of the Historical Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, who was introduced to the President by John D. J. Moore, U.S. Ambassador to Ireland. The remarks of the Ambassador and Mrs. Goodbody follow:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

It is my great honor to present Mr. and Mrs. Denis Goodbody. Mrs. Goodbody is the historian of the Society of Friends in Ireland and has a presentation to make to you, sir.

MRS. GOODBODY. *Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:*

We welcome you to Timahoe and to this quiet hillside where your ancestors lie. We also welcome your cousin, Miss West, whose writings are known, Quaker writings, are known all over the world and appreciated.

It is my privilege to ask you to accept on behalf of the Historical Committee of the Society of Friends a small memento of your visit to this part. This takes the form of replicas of the documents concerning your ancestors, the Milhous family.

We have the will and the inventory of your sixth great-grandfather. We have the registers by which their names are known throughout the centuries, but not least we have the certificate given by Timahoe Friends to Friends in Pennsylvania in order to give your ancestor a welcome in Pennsylvania. This certificate went with him and we have the copy.

These documents are usually started by the words, "Loving Friends," and it is in that form I perhaps may address you now.

We hope that the courage, the faith, and the integrity of your ancestors will help you through the sorrow, the trials, the anxieties, and the sadness which come to every man in your great office.

Mr. President.

327 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister John M. Lynch of Ireland at a State Luncheon in Dublin. *October* 5, 1970

PRIME MINISTER LYNCH. I ask you to rise with me to honor this toast to the President of the United States of America, Mr. Nixon.

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to rise with me as I propose a toast to the President of Ireland.

To the President of Ireland.

[Following the toasts Prime Minister Lynch spoke and the President responded as follows:]

Mr. Taoiseach,[1] *Your Eminence, Your Grace, Your Excellencies, friends of Ireland and friends of America:*

I wish to express on behalf of all of us from the United States today, our appreciation to the Prime Minister and Mrs. Lynch for their hospitality at this very gracious and splendid luncheon, and also

[1] Gaelic term for Prime Minister.

to express our feeling as we complete our trip to Ireland and a trip to Europe on this occasion.

As I listened to the eloquent words of the Prime Minister, I thought, of course, of those bonds that keep our two countries so closely united in so many areas of the world. While sometimes the tendency of American politicians to try to trace their ancestry to Ireland is looked upon as being somewhat strained a bit, I can assure you that in these days we will do anything that will help us win, and I think that helps us win.

However, Mrs. Nixon is very proud of her Irish ancestry. Her father's father was born in this country. And I am very proud of my Irish ancestry, which goes back many centuries and which is attested to not only by the Irish Historical Society, but also by my really more famous cousin, more famous than I, Jessamyn West, who is here today and who wrote about the Irish Quakers.

But rather than simply speaking in terms of what we as individuals owe to this country, I would like to tell you what America owes to Ireland and its Irish heritage. I speak first in terms now of our official family in this administration, as distinguished from the personal family to which I have already referred.

We have on this trip with us one of the most distinguished members of our Cabinet, one of the most farsighted leaders in the social, economic, political field that America has produced, Dr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He doesn't have to search as hard as I have to to find how quickly he came from Ireland.

I also have as a member of my staff—and I think anyone who is in service would say an absolutely indispensable member of my staff—my personal executive secretary, Rose Mary Woods. Both her mother and father were Irish. So, if there is any question about my straying from the path now and then, she brings me back.

I would like to point up, too, something that the Secretary of State reminded me of before we arrived in Ireland, about the special qualities that we like to find in government service, and particularly in the diplomatic service, and that sometimes we find in one who has an Irish background. The Secretary was attempting to find the ideal man to be the Assistant Secretary in charge of information for the State Department. He was looking for a man, he said, who was both warm and cool. Now, that sounds like a contradiction, but we can work it out, I can assure you. A man that was both warm and cool, so that he could be warm in his relations with the members of the press and others that he met around the world, but also cool in any crisis that might come up.

So, for someone who was warm he had to find someone with an Irish background. And why not a Collins, a Michael Collins, in this instance, who was Irish on both sides of his family, with all of the warmth and the graciousness of the Irish personality? Then how do you take that warm, Irish Michael Collins and make him cool? You make him an astronaut and send him to the moon.

So, we have an Irish astronaut as the man with the top position in our Foreign Service for the purpose of being the warm, cool man that we need in a crisis.

You spoke, Mr. Prime Minister, of this being a small country. It is a small country, but it is a great people. We are a large country, but we are a large country made

up of many great peoples. And when we think of the great peoples that make up America, we are very proud of what those who have come from Ireland and who are descended from those who came from Ireland, what they have contributed in many, many areas—the areas of business are well known, men like John Mulcahy who represents that—the areas, of course, in politics, where the Irish seem to have a particular capability.

All that I can say, Mr. Prime Minister: I think politics is hard in our country, but in Ireland, when you have to run against somebody who is Irish all the time, it must be impossible. I have had some experience that way myself.

We think, of course, of the individuals, we think of their work in various fields. But we think primarily, of course, of the spirit, the spirit that you referred to, the spirit that I sensed as I traveled through this land yesterday and today, and a spirit that is very much needed in the world today, and particularly needed in our country with its responsibilities of world leadership, warm, friendly, with that ability to have a sense of humor even when things are very, very difficult. And the Irish have all of these capacities. They have also stamina, character, a deep religious faith. These are qualities that make a great people. These are qualities that have contributed enormously to America. They are qualities that make this small country a great country.

We measure a nation today not in terms of simply the number of its people, or the size of its armaments, but in the quality of its spirit, the kind of people it produces, the quality of its leadership.

I think of the Prime Minister. I studied a little about his background. It impressed me very much, impressed me because when I was in school, I was very interested in sports. I went out for everything—football, basketball, baseball—never made the team. He was the champion in Irish hurling, and I understand that that is one of the most rugged sports that we can possibly invent.

So, that impressed me. But what impressed me even more, was that in the field of politics he had never lost an election. So, these qualities came to mind. But others, of course, that are even more important than these, which are basically somewhat superficial, the quality of that spirit that has seen this people and this land through centuries of what to most people perhaps would have been a hopeless situation, and in which despite the disappointments, the difficulties, wars, famines, and oppression, the spirit of the people stayed strong. The sense of humor stayed strong. The ability to stand proud, dignified in the world, regardless of what the wealth might be or what the power might be—these are the attributes that have earned for those of Irish background in America the highest respect and that earn for Ireland, this nation, the respect of the world.

I would refer also to Ireland, the new Ireland that we see today. I am delighted to see the progress that is developing.

I am delighted to see that the emigration which we, of course, have been beneficiaries of in America has now finally leveled off so that the nation will have its opportunity to grow again.

And I am delighted, too, to see that this nation is playing a very significant and helpful role in the world. We are aware of the fact that in the peacekeeping forces of the world, whether it is in very difficult

areas, like the Congo or the Mideast or Cyprus, that the Irish forces have been in the forefront.

We are most grateful, not only we in the United States but other nations in the United Nations, for the fact that the Irish—this nation, Ireland, has met its responsibility in such a forthcoming and effective manner.

So, consequently, as we complete our trip through Europe and finish it in Ireland, I would end on these notes:

First, a sense of very great pride that I can claim an Irish background and that my wife can.

Second, a sense of very great appreciation expressed on behalf of all of the American people for what those from Ireland have contributed to our country, a country that is made up of many, many people.

And, finally, a recognition of the fact that the Ireland of today, the Ireland that I see, is, though it is a small country, is potentially a great country because it has a great people.

As I leave Ireland, I know that its future is assured, that it will move forward and progress. And we in the United States hope that in the years ahead, in our position of enormous world responsibility, we can develop those policies that will make it possible for that progress to occur for Ireland and every other nation in the world in a period of peace.

The Prime Minister has very generously referred to the foreign policy of this country. I realize that our Nation is subject to very great criticism in the world because with our responsibilities naturally will come decisions that sometimes will not meet with approval by all peoples.

But I can assure you, as I said at Timahoe today, coming as I do from a background which is deeply dedicated, totally dedicated, to peace, there is nothing that I want, nothing that the American people want more, in this period in the world's history when the mantle of leadership is ours in the free world, not because we worked for it or asked for it, but because of what happened after World War II—there is nothing more that we want than to exercise our responsibilities in a way that will bring peace to the world, bring it not just for the next election, not just for the next 10 years.

It is easy to end wars; it is difficult to build a real peace. And what we want to do is to build a real peace, a lasting peace, a peace that the people of Ireland, the people of America, all the people of the world, can truly enjoy.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:25 p.m. in Dublin Castle in response to Prime Minister Lynch's remarks which follow:

Mr. President and Mrs. Nixon, Your Grace, Your Eminence, Your Grace, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

We count it as a high honor to have here with us in Ireland you, Mr. President, the President of the United States of America, and you, Mrs. Nixon, the First Lady of that great land.

We are proud that you have come, as it were, to visit family. Mrs. Nixon's name proclaims her Irish ancestry. The name of Ryan goes back to the earliest period in our history and continued to be famous in later times.

Every Irish school child learns a 17th century poem in Irish which tells of the adventures and exploits of Eamonn O Riain, Eamonn of the Hill, or Eamonn on Chnuic. The poem begins: *"Cé he sin amuigh a bhfuil faobhar ar a ghuth ag réabadh mo dhorais dúnta."*

Translated it means, "Who is that outside beating on the door with anger in his voice?"

Mrs. Nixon does not need to beat on any doors because they are all open to her. We all know that there is no anger in her voice.

You, Mr. President, you have today visited

the place where some of your ancestors met to pray and were finally laid to rest.

In that quiet place in County Kildare, the Religious Society of Friends have for centuries played a distinguished if quiet role in our community. It was in my own city of Cork that William Penn wrote a famous letter calling for toleration and freedom of conscience.

It is probably not very well known, Mr. President, that William Penn sailed from Cork before he established and founded Pennsylvania. But I am sure the President knows this because it was to Pennsylvania that Thomas Milhous went when he settled in the United States. The Milhous family lived in many parts of our country from Antrim to Kildare before some of them emigrated, like so many other Irish people, to America.

In their new home, they did not forget Ireland, and now seven generations later a descendant, one of their descendants, gaining the highest office in America, remembers the land that they, his ascendants, came from.

We in Ireland remember the devotion of these same Friends to Ireland in a time of great tribulation for this nation, the time of the great famine of the last century. Headed by Jacob Harvey, a citizen of New York, an Irishman and himself a Friend, they organized an appeal to which the United States replied with the generosity that is characteristic of that great land.

Not far from where the Milhouses lived in Timahoe was the homestead of another family, the Tones, from whence sprang Wolfe Tone who first dreamed of an Irish Republic and gave his life for the cause. When Tone was just 8 years old, just 200 years ago, Benjamin Franklin was a guest in the Irish Parliament House, which is just down the street from where we are now.

"I found them," he said, "disposed to be friends of America in which I endeavored to confirm them with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale."

The American war of independence in which there fought many Irishmen from north and south, and the establishment of the American Republic, kindled in many lands hopes for a democratic society.

Tone failed in his attempt to help set up such a society here. "Washington succeeded where Kosciusko failed," as he said to the tribunal that sentenced him to death.

But his dream lived and when an independent Irish State was achieved, its Constitution, like that of other European countries, drew inspiration from American example.

I mentioned earlier, Mr. President, cooperation between Ireland and the United States in many fields. There was one little feature of cooperation, one little exercise in cooperation, which yesterday failed and cast a certain gloom over our country. That is the failure of Nijinsky to win the Arc de Triomphe. It is an American-owned, Irish-trained horse.

Had he won yesterday, he would have had 100 percent record in his particular field of horse racing. But not very long ago there was another great Irish horse named Arkle, and we were then and still are proud of his achievements. And there was one occasion when the despondency which might now pervade our country because of the defeat of Nijinsky was jubilance in that he defeated his great rival in England named Millhouse.

However, Mr. President, something more serious. In your time, America and mankind have reached out into the stars but you, yourself, you have reminded us in memorable phrase, and I quote, that "however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts."

Like you, and like America, the people of Ireland too seek peace, again to use your words, Mr. President, "with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny."

Mr. President, we interpret your visit to Europe and to Ireland at this time, as being fully consistent with the import of those words that you spoke at your inauguration. We see your mission as one of peace. Your important and impressive statement today at Timahoe, where your forefathers came from, gives this emphasis. The opportunity you spoke of at your inauguration is also a right, the right of the small nations of the world, as well as of the great.

Ireland, like other small nations, has asserted

this right. Many of them, like our country, have played their part in promoting peace and freedom and in the elimination of fear throughout the world. Though they have exercised an influence far beyond material strength, far beyond what would appear to be justified by that strength, they look, as we do, to America, and the other world powers, to uphold their right to choose their own destiny, their right to freedom and peace.

Mr. President, we know that this is your commitment and America's purpose.

In welcoming you and Mrs. Nixon to Ireland, we are expressing once again the friendship of the spirit that unites the people of Ireland and the United States of America. May you come many, many times again amongst us.

328 Remarks on Departure From Ireland. *October* 5, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to express my very deep appreciation to you and to all of those in Ireland who have given us such a warm welcome during our stay here.

When I arrived just 3 days ago I remember saying that if I had any time, a day off or a holiday, I could think of no better place to stay than in Ireland.

After having had that time, not all of it off, but some of it, I can recommend to all of my countrymen and any others in the world if you have a day off or more, come to Ireland. It is a wonderful place to come.

I also on this occasion want to express my appreciation to you, the members of your Government for the opportunity we have had for some very serious talks on bilateral problems and other matters that concern us both as members of the world community with a deep desire for peace.

Our relations have always been good. I am sure they will be better in the years ahead and better because of the understanding on a personal basis that we have been able to develop on this trip.

Also I appreciated the fact that on this trip we had the opportunity not only to meet with members of your Government and with you personally, but also that I was allowed the opportunity to meet with members of my own staff on matters of great importance.

I will simply say that as I leave Ireland and when we look back on this stay, I am sure that these meetings, all of them, the ones that we have had with you and the ones we have had with our own staff, will be recorded as a period when we made a significant contribution not only to better understanding between our two peoples, but to the whole great ideal that we both desire, a peaceful world.

This is our purpose. It is your purpose. And I can assure you and all the members of your Government that in our meetings here we have worked toward that purpose, and we believe most constructively.

And so finally, now that we leave, I can only say that I appreciated your invitation to return. We shall return, either for a holiday or perhaps on another visit.

And may I reciprocate by saying that we look forward to the time when you and Mrs. Lynch will come to visit us in the United States. We hope that we can give you a really fine Irish welcome.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. at Dublin Airport in response to the remarks of Prime Minister John M. Lynch which follow:

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Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon:

The time has come far too quickly for you to leave Ireland and for Ireland to say goodby to you and to your gracious First Lady, but then we appreciate the pressures of your office that allow you such little time.

We are indeed particularly happy to have had the opportunity of welcoming you to this country on this, your first visit as President of the United States of America.

It is with sincere regret that we now say farewell to you and I assure you that an Irish welcome will always await you should you return to this land which has had so many connections of blood and friendship with the people of the United States.

We have been honored by your presence here for the past 3 days as President of the country which has a proud record of democratic government and which has contributed so much and so generously to the improvement of the condition of mankind throughout the world.

We are doubly proud of that achievement, Mr. President, because of the important part played by our countrymen for generations in all facets of American life.

One of your ancestors, Mr. President, Thomas Milhous, left this country as so many thousands of others did, and found in the New World opportunities and fresh horizons that were denied at the time to those who remained at home.

You can appreciate, therefore, our special pride and satisfaction at having had you with us in a sovereign democratic Ireland in your capacity as leader of the world's greatest democracy.

Your friendliness and good will towards the people of Ireland has impressed us all deeply. We trust that you have enjoyed a relaxed stay amongst us and we assure you that your visit, short though it has been, has improved still further the already excellent relations that exist between our two countries.

History has united us on many occasions and the future, no less than the past, will prove, I am sure, that our countries have very wide areas of common interest over and above the natural sympathy that lies between our people.

Our best wishes go to you in the demanding task that faces you in leading the American people through a period so fraught with so much danger to all mankind.

You have shown by your record in government and in the Presidential office, that you are equal to that task, and we hope that you return to the United States with spirit and vigor refreshed by your contact with the Irish people.

We look forward to seeing you back in our country soon again. The door is always open to you whenever you wish to return and the Irish people will always have a *Céad Míle Fáilte* [100,000 welcomes] in their hearts for you and your family.

On behalf of the people and Government of Ireland, may I wish you a safe journey to your homeland and every success and good fortune in the future.

Slán Agus Beannacht. [Health and blessings, Godspeed.]

329 Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning From Europe. *October* 5, 1970

Mr. Vice President:

I wish to express my very grateful appreciation to you for your very warm words of welcome, and I particularly want to express my appreciation to the members of the Cabinet, the Members of the Congress, the members of the Diplomatic Corps for taking the time and the trouble, along with all of the rest of you, to come out to Andrews Air Force Base to welcome us home.

As you may have noted, we were fortunate to be received very warmly in many countries abroad, and we will always remember those wonderful welcomes. But there is nothing quite like being welcomed home again. We thank you very much for that.

The purpose of this trip, like the other trips I have taken abroad and like the trips that you, Mr. Vice President, have taken abroad, and like the trips that the Secretary of State has taken both by himself and on this occasion with me, was to strengthen the structure of peace all over the world, but particularly now in the critical Mediterranean area.

I think that we made progress in strengthening that structure. This is not the time to go into detail with regard to observations about the trip, but some conclusions, I think, are worth underlining at this time.

First, the United States, through its 6th Fleet and, along with its NATO allies, through its NATO strength, now maintains the kind of strength that is needed to meet the role that is assigned to the 6th Fleet and to NATO. That is to deter potential aggression in the Mediterranean area and in Europe. It is vitally important that we maintain that strength, the strength of the 6th Fleet and the strength of NATO.

I am convinced that these are peace forces in the best sense of the word and, therefore, must be maintained and must not be unilaterally reduced.

Second, I was very encouraged to find that all of the leaders that I talked to in every country strongly approved our Mideast peace initiative. They approved the peace initiative, and they would strongly disapprove of any breaking of the cease-fire.

Third, I was encouraged to find on this trip, as compared with my trip in February of last year, much greater understanding among the leaders that I met of our policy in Vietnam. They believed that the United States is making very significant progress in achieving our goal of a just peace in Vietnam. They are correct. I believe that events in the future will demonstrate that they are correct in this appraisal.

There is one other observation I would like to make that relates to something you, Mr. Vice President, said. You remarked about the welcomes that we received. They were most heartwarming—the enormous turnout in Spain, for example, the welcome we had in Rome, and then on Thursday at Zagreb, in Yugoslavia, and then again today, earlier today, in Ireland—hundreds of thousands of people in those two areas standing in the rain to welcome us.

As one world leader pointed out to me when I met him on this occasion, he said, "You can order the people out to give some visitor a welcome, but you can't make them smile in the rain."

This was very impressive. But I think it is important that I indicate to all of you who are listening, whether here in person or on television or on radio, what that welcome meant, the welcome in every one of the countries that we had was overwhelmingly friendly.

It was not personal for the President as an individual, but because the President represented the American people and this country, and these people who were welcoming us were indicating that they believed, the great majority of them, that the United States is a land of opportunity, that the United States is a land of freedom, and that the United States is committed to peace.

I do not suggest that there are not differences of opinion with regard to some U.S. policies abroad, but one fundamental factor that I have found in all of my trips abroad, that the Secretary of State also reports, that you, Mr. Vice President, re-

port, is this: Whatever differences world leaders may have about some of our policies, they recognize the fact that the United States with its great power does not threaten the independence of any nation in the world.

No nation in the world fears that the United States will use its power to infringe upon its independence or to interfere in its affairs. That cannot be said of some other nations. We can proudly say it because it happens to be true. The power of the United States of America if necessary will be used to defend freedom but never to destroy it.

And one final thought: I see here today in this great audience who are gathered here in the hangar, a number of young people. As I saw the hundreds of thousands of people in the motorcade routes in Italy and in Spain and in Yugoslavia and then again in Ireland, I saw also hundreds of thousands of young people. I thought of the young generation in our own country. I thought of the young people in other countries. I thought of the young people in the countries of Asia and Africa and Latin America that I visited—and what we all want for them.

What we want for them is what this world has not had in this century, a full generation of peace.

I believe that the policies of the United States of America are working toward that end. We are dedicated to that end. I believe and I hope that history will record that this is the case, that this trip may have contributed substantially to that goal—a generation of peace for America and for all the people in the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 8:30 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base, Md., in response to the welcoming remarks of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew which follow:

Mr. President:

The Prime Minister of Ireland described his as a land of 100,000 welcomes when he greeted you there. As we watched you during your trip through the wonderful achievement of satellite photography, we found that those 100,000 welcomes were repeated many times as you visited those ancient European capitals and watched you receive the tumultous accolades in Madrid and also in Belgrade.

I think that tonight we could safely say that America is the land of 200 million welcomes as we greet you and your gracious First Lady on your return from such a successful mission.

But, Mr. President, I don't think there was anything in your trip that gave your fellow countrymen quite the same degree of pride and identity as your visit to the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean, to the gallant officers and men who patrol the southern flank of NATO. I think it was completely clear that the words you had to say there indicated that the United States intends to stand fast in its commitments to its allies. But I think the degree of restraint and forbearance and the statesmanship you displayed not only in your remarks that were delivered formally, but also in the person-to-person encounters you had as you went among the people of those great countries of Europe to which so many of us owe our heritage, indicated that America truly has a sense of dedication and purpose in the world.

I believe that as a result of your trip, Mr. President, our relations in that critical and very touchy area have been vastly improved and I think that the Congress and the people of the United States join me in this assurance to you that in no case have we felt quite the same sense of confidence in the vast experience that you bring to the Presidency and in your method of conducting the foreign affairs of our country.

I am very pleased to also state that we, your fellow countrymen, were immensely impressed with the demeanor and warmth of our gracious First Lady as she went about the important

business that she had to conduct in those capitals.

So, Mr. President, we are awfully glad you are back—many of us are very glad you are back—and we hope that the profitable experience will improve the climate not only in the Mediterranean but restore a sense of peace and purpose in the entire globe.

330 Remarks to Reporters Announcing a Major Statement on Peace Initiatives in Southeast Asia. *October* 6, 1970

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen:

Be seated, please.

First, I wanted to say to those who did not go on the trip that I hope you had as relaxed a week as we did. And second, I know that there has been, of course, a great deal of interest in the subject of any new proposal that might be made on the negotiating front in Southeast Asia, and particularly on Vietnam.

For the past several weeks within the administration, we have been having discussions of our negotiating position. You may recall that in California I met with Ambassador Bunker, and when we were in Ireland we had an extended discussion with Ambassador Bruce and Ambassador Habib, and got their assessment of the situation and their recommendations.

Based on the discussions that we have had and based also on the recommendations that we have received from those within the administration, who have considered this matter, I have decided to make a major statement on this subject at 9 o'clock Wednesday night. Those who may want to cover it on television and radio will be able to do so.

The statement is one that has been prepared only after very thorough consideration of all the issues that are involved in our negotiating position. It is a statement that has been discussed with the Government of Vietnam, the Government of Cambodia, and the Government of Laos, and has the approval of those governments as well, of course, as the approval of the Government of the United States.

I will brief the Cabinet at 5 o'clock on Wednesday; I will brief a bipartisan group of legislative leaders at 6 o'clock. Secretary Rogers will be briefing the foreign governments who expressed interest in this area or who have interest in the area, during the course of the day.

Ron Ziegler will work out a convenient time for members of the press—the writing press and the television press—for two briefings by Dr. Kissinger that will take place in plenty of time for your deadlines.

A word about what the statement will involve: Now, there has been speculation, and I understand that, as to what move should be made, will be made, by our Government at this time. I would suggest that your speculation, of course, can continue. I would expect it to. But I would simply give you these guidelines. I naturally will not indicate the substance of the statement until I make it.

First, it will be the most comprehensive statement ever made on this subject since the beginning of this very difficult war. Comprehensive geographically—it will not be limited to Vietnam; it will cover

all of Southeast Asia. Also comprehensive in terms of subject matter—it will not be limited to any one of the particular subjects that you have mentioned in your speculation, but will cover all of the major issues that are involved in the Southeast Asian area.

Finally, I would like to indicate that we do not consider this to be a propaganda gimmick. We are not saying it simply for the record. An indication of our attitude in that respect is that I have instructed Ambassador Bruce to lay this proposal on the table at the Paris conference on Thursday morning when he meets with the negotiators from North Vietnam and the Vietcong.

That completes my statement, and I will now get back and see if I can get the statement ready so that you can make your deadlines.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:20 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

331 Statement on Allowing the Emergency Community Facilities Act of 1970 To Become Law Without Signature. *October* 6, 1970

TODAY H.R. 17795, which authorizes the expenditure of $1 billion for construction of sewer and water lines, becomes law without my signature. I have not signed this measure because I very deeply disapprove of it.

This bill authorizes $850 million more than the administration's program level; beyond this, it does not have the redeeming feature of contributing to our attack on water pollution since it does not authorize any expenditure for additional sewage treatment facilities. Its most redeeming feature is that it merely authorizes—but does not appropriate—spending of the funds involved. For this reason and because the Congress has so much other vital business to consider without reconsidering this bill, I have not vetoed it.

H.R. 17795 is, however, another example of how this Congress is raising false hopes by authorizing excessive spending when there is little hope of appropriating a like sum without an increase in revenues. Numerous other bills are still before Congress which, like H.R. 17795, would authorize lavish spending far beyond the Federal budget. The country is misled by this type of action. For appropriations cannot match these figures without producing a disastrous fiscal effect. I urge the Congress to stop this deception and to bring the funding of these measures down to realistic levels before sending them to me for action. If Congress refuses to make such reductions, I must and will act to avoid the harmful fiscal consequences of this legislation. I will be compelled to withhold any overfunding.

If excessive spending of the kind authorized in this bill is appropriated, then Congress will have to face up to the consequences. Either it will further fuel inflation, itself the cruelest tax of all, or it

will force up the taxes of the American people.

It is plainly irresponsible to call for spending without regard to how the cost is to be borne. Our Nation has had far too much of fiscal legerdemain in years past. I believe the people now see through such irresponsibility—and, as I have demonstrated by vetoing excessive funding measures earlier this year, I will not be party to fiscal recklessness.

I urge the Congress, in considering remaining spending measures, to take the responsible road and to play fair with the taxpayers of the United States.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 17795 is Public Law 91-431 (84 Stat. 886).

332 Message to the Congress Transmitting a Study on Ocean Pollution by the Council on Environmental Quality. *October* 7, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

The oceans, covering nearly three-quarters of the world's surface, are critical to maintaining our environment, for they contribute to the basic oxygen-carbon dioxide balance upon which human and animal life depends. Yet man does not treat the oceans well. He has assumed that their capacity to absorb wastes is infinite, and evidence is now accumulating on the damage that he has caused. Pollution is now visible even on the high seas—long believed beyond the reach of man's harmful influence. In recent months, worldwide concern has been expressed about the dangers of dumping toxic wastes in the oceans.

In view of the serious threat of ocean pollution, I am today transmitting to the Congress a study I requested from the Council on Environmental Quality. This study concludes that:

—the current level of ocean dumping is creating serious environmental damage in some areas.

—the volume of wastes dumped in the ocean is increasing rapidly.

—a vast new influx of wastes is likely to occur as municipalities and industries turn to the oceans as a convenient sink for their wastes.

—trends indicate that ocean disposal could become a major, nationwide environmental problem.

—unless we begin now to develop alternative methods of disposing of these wastes, institutional and economic obstacles will make it extremely difficult to control ocean dumping in the future.

—the nation must act now to prevent the problem from reaching unmanageable proportions.

The study recommends legislation to ban the unregulated dumping of all materials in the oceans and to prevent or rigorously limit the dumping of harmful materials. The recommended legislation would call for permits by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency for the transportation and dumping of all materials in the oceans and in the Great Lakes.

I endorse the Council's recommendations and will submit specific legislative proposals to implement them to the next Congress. These recommendations will

supplement legislation my Administration submitted to the Congress in November, 1969 to provide comprehensive management by the States of the land and waters of the coastal zone and in April, 1970 to control dumping of dredge spoil in the Great Lakes.

The program proposed by the Council is based on the premise that we should take action before the problem of ocean dumping becomes acute. To date, most of our energies have been spent cleaning up mistakes of the past. We have failed to recognize problems and to take corrective action before they became serious. The resulting signs of environmental decay are all around us, and remedial actions heavily tax our resources and energies.

The legislation recommended would be one of the first new authorities for the Environmental Protection Agency. I believe it is fitting that in this recommended legislation, we will be acting—rather than reacting—to prevent pollution before it begins to destroy the waters that are so critical to all living things.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
October 7, 1970

NOTE: The study is entitled "Ocean Dumping: A National Policy—A Report to the President Prepared by the Council on Environmental Quality, October 1970" (Government Printing Office, 45 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, on the study.

333 Statement on National Newspaperboy Day, 1970. *October* 7, 1970

NATIONAL Newspaperboy Day is a fine opportunity for all Americans to express their thanks and admiration for the independent youngsters who bring the news of the day to their doorsteps.

We express thanks for the responsible way in which at an early age they carry out their duties. And we show our appreciation for the unique experience that is preparing them to become better leaders in tomorrow's world.

America is proud of her newspaperboys—and confident that their delivery route will take them far in their chosen fields.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press.

334 Statement on Signing an Appropriation Bill for Public Works. *October* 7, 1970

I AM TODAY signing H.R. 18127, which makes appropriations for fiscal 1971 in a broad area of public works, including dam construction. This bill contains funds for many important purposes and projects that must be carried forward.

However, I am deeply concerned about its impact on spending in *future* years. In my proposal to the Congress last January, I requested funds for 37 projects in construction and preconstruction planning to be started by the Corps of Engineers and

the Bureau of Reclamation. Seen through to completion, these new projects would cost over the years a total of $1.3 billion. The Congress increased the number of starts to 102 new projects which would ultimately cost $4.5 billion. The extra $3.2 billion is now committed by the Congress.

Many of these added starts are for projects which would benefit some particularly interested group but would be of little value to the people generally. There is too much pork in this barrel.

It is my intention to consider all means possible to minimize the impact of these inflationary and unnecessary appropriations, including the deferment of the proposed starts and the withholding of funds. There are too many top priority demands on our resources to permit this kind of spending.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 18127 is Public Law 91–439 (84 Stat. 890).

335 Address to the Nation About a New Initiative for Peace in Southeast Asia. *October* 7, 1970

Good evening, my fellow Americans:

Tonight I would like to talk to you about a major new initiative for peace.

When I authorized operations against the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia last April, I also directed that an intensive effort be launched to develop new approaches for peace in Indochina.

In Ireland on Sunday, I met with the chiefs of our delegation to the Paris talks. This meeting marked the culmination of a Government-wide effort begun last spring on the negotiation front. After considering the recommendations of all my principal advisers, I am tonight announcing new proposals for peace in Indochina.

This new peace initiative has been discussed with the Governments of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. All support it. It has been made possible in large part by the remarkable success of the Vietnamization program over the past 18 months. Tonight I want to tell you what these proposals are and what they mean.

First, I propose that all armed forces throughout Indochina cease firing their weapons and remain in the positions they now hold. This would be a "cease-fire-in-place." It would not in itself be an end to the conflict, but it would accomplish one goal all of us have been working toward: an end to the killing.

I do not minimize the difficulty of maintaining a cease-fire in a guerrilla war where there are no frontlines. But an unconventional war may require an unconventional truce; our side is ready to stand still and cease firing.

I ask that this proposal for a cease-fire-in-place be the subject for immediate negotiation. And my hope is that it will break the logjam in all the negotiations.

This cease-fire proposal is put forth without preconditions. The general principles that should apply are these:

A cease-fire must be effectively supervised by international observers, as well as by the parties themselves. Without effective supervision a cease-fire runs the constant risk of breaking down. All concerned must be confident that the cease-fire will be maintained and that any local breaches of it will be quickly and fairly repaired.

A cease-fire should not be the means by

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which either side builds up its strength by an increase in outside combat forces in any of the nations of Indochina.

And a cease-fire should cause all kinds of warfare to stop. This covers the full range of actions that have typified this war, including bombing and acts of terror.

A cease-fire should encompass not only the fighting in Vietnam but in all of Indochina. Conflicts in this region are closely related. The United States has never sought to widen the war. What we do seek is to widen the peace.

Finally, a cease-fire should be part of a general move to end the war in Indochina.

A cease-fire-in-place would undoubtedly create a host of problems in its maintenance. But it's always been easier to make war than to make a truce. To build an honorable peace, we must accept the challenge of long and difficult negotiations.

By agreeing to stop the shooting, we can set the stage for agreements on other matters.

A second point of the new initiative for peace is this:

I propose an Indochina Peace Conference. At the Paris talks today, we are talking about Vietnam. But North Vietnamese troops are not only infiltrating, crossing borders, and establishing bases in South Vietnam—they are carrying on their aggression in Laos and Cambodia as well.

An international conference is needed to deal with the conflict in all three states of Indochina. The war in Indochina has been proved to be of one piece; it cannot be cured by treating only one of its areas of outbreak.

The essential elements of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 remain valid as a basis for settlement of problems between states in the Indochina area. And we shall accept the results of agreements reached between these states.

While we pursue the convening of an Indochina Peace Conference, we will continue the negotiations in Paris. Our proposal for a larger conference can be discussed there as well as through other diplomatic channels. The Paris talks will remain our primary forum for reaching a negotiated settlement, until such time as a broader international conference produces serious negotiations.

The third part of our peace initiative has to do with the United States forces in South Vietnam.

In the past 20 months, I have reduced our troop ceilings in South Vietnam by 165,000 men. During the spring of next year, these withdrawals will have totaled more than 260,000 men—about one-half the number that were in South Vietnam when I took office.

As the American combat role and presence have decreased, American casualties have also decreased. Our casualties since the completion of the Cambodian operation were the lowest for a comparable period in the last 4½ years.

We are ready now to negotiate an agreed timetable for complete withdrawals as part of an overall settlement. We are prepared to withdraw all our forces as part of a settlement based on the principles I spelled out previously and the proposals I am making tonight.

Fourth, I ask the other side to join us in a search for a political settlement that truly meets the aspirations of all South Vietnamese.

Three principles govern our approach:

—We seek a political solution that re-

flects the will of the South Vietnamese people.

—A fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces in South Vietnam.

—And we will abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon.

Let there be no mistake about one essential point: The other side is not merely objecting to a few personalities in the South Vietnamese Government. They want to dismantle the organized non-Communist parties and insure the takeover by their party. They demand the right to exclude whomever they wish from government.

This patently unreasonable demand is totally unacceptable.

As my proposals today indicate, we are prepared to be flexible on many matters. But we stand firm for the right of all the South Vietnamese people to determine for themselves the kind of government they want.

We have no intention of seeking any settlement at the conference table other than one which fairly meets the reasonable concerns of both sides. We know that when the conflict ends, the other side will still be there. And the only kind of settlement that will endure is one that both sides have an interest in preserving.

Finally, I propose the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war held by both sides.

War and imprisonment should be over for all these prisoners. They and their families have already suffered too much.

I propose that all prisoners of war, without exception, without condition, be released now to return to the place of their choice.

And I propose that all journalists and other innocent civilian victims of the conflict be released immediately as well.

The immediate release of all prisoners of war would be a simple act of humanity.

But it could be even more. It could serve to establish good faith, the intent to make progress, and thus improve the prospects for negotiation.

We are prepared to discuss specific procedures to complete the speedy release of all prisoners.

The five proposals that I have made tonight can open the door to an enduring peace in Indochina.

Ambassador Bruce will present these proposals formally to the other side in Paris tomorrow. He will be joined in that presentation by Ambassador Lam [1] representing South Vietnam.

Let us consider for a moment what the acceptance of these proposals would mean.

Since the end of World War II, there's always been a war going on somewhere in the world. The guns have never stopped firing. By achieving a cease-fire in Indochina, and by holding firmly to the cease-fire in the Middle East, we could hear the welcome sound of peace throughout the world for the first time in a generation.

We could have some reason to hope that we had reached the beginning of the end of war in this century. We might then be on the threshold of a generation of peace.

The proposals I have made tonight are designed to end the fighting throughout Indochina and to end the impasse in negotiations in Paris. Nobody has anything to gain by delay and only lives to lose.

There are many nations involved in the fighting in Indochina. Tonight, all those

[1] Ambassador Pham Dang Lam, Head of the Republic of Vietnam delegation to the Paris talks on Vietnam.

nations, except one, announce their readiness to agree to a cease-fire. The time has come for the Government of North Vietnam to join its neighbors in a proposal to quit making war and to start making peace.

As you know, I have just returned from a trip which took me to Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, England, and Ireland.

Hundreds of thousands of people cheered me as I drove through the cities of those countries.

They were not cheering for me as an individual. They were cheering for the country I was proud to represent—the United States of America. For millions of people in the free world, the nonaligned world, and the Communist world, America is the land of freedom, of opportunity, of progress.

I believe there is another reason they welcomed me so warmly in every country I visited, despite their wide differences in political systems and national backgrounds.

In my talks with leaders all over the world, I find that there are those who may not agree with all of our policies. But no world leader to whom I have talked fears that the United States will use its great power to dominate another country or to destroy its independence. We can be proud that this is the cornerstone of America's foreign policy.

There is no goal to which this Nation is more dedicated and to which I am more dedicated than to build a new structure of peace in the world where every nation, including North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam, can be free and independent with no fear of foreign aggression or foreign domination.

I believe every American deeply believes in his heart that the proudest legacy the United States can leave during this period when we are the strongest nation of the world is that our power was used to defend freedom, not to destroy it; to preserve the peace, not to break the peace.

It is in that spirit that I make this proposal for a just peace in Vietnam and in Indochina.

I ask that the leaders in Hanoi respond to this proposal in the same spirit. Let us give our children what we have not had in this century, a chance to enjoy a generation of peace.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in his office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on radio and television. An advance text was released on the same day.

336 Reply to Reporter About Reaction to Address on Southeast Asia. *October* 8, 1970

REPORTER. Have you heard any comment on your speech last night from the North Vietnamese or the rest of the world?

THE PRESIDENT. The rest of the world, yes. The North Vietnamese, I think, made a brief comment this morning, indicating that they, of course, will look at the [proposal] next week.

We don't expect a formal comment from them until next week when they come back to the Paris conference. But the rest, the reaction in the world and in the Nation, has been extremely favorable.

We are particularly pleased, naturally, at the strong support within the Nation, the bipartisan support, because one of the hopes that the North Vietnamese have had is that by division in the United States they will get what they want at the conference table and a better deal than they could get now.

We have made a very forthcoming proposal, and the fact that it has wide bipartisan support will not go unnoticed in Hanoi. I appreciate the fact that our Democratic leaders like Mike Mansfield, as well as Republican leaders, have endorsed it, and Congressmen and Senators of both sides. It was a bipartisan speech. There was no partisanship in it. When people are working for peace, there's no politics in that.

World reaction, of course—I talked to the Secretary of State this morning—naturally, it takes a little time to pick that up, but it's been very favorable throughout the world up to this point, with the usual reactions that you might expect from some areas, but very favorable from European, Latin American, African, and Asian sources. This also is important because it means now that the position of the United States on Vietnam, diplomatically, has broad support within the world community. We had strong support before, and considerable understanding, but now that we have taken this diplomatic initiative, world leaders generally, I think, will give us support who might previously have waited or hedged on doing so because they may have felt that we had not gone as far as we could at the conference table.

No one now can raise a question on that. Well, they can raise a question, but serious questions will not be raised because whether it is a cease-fire or a total withdrawal of all of our forces, or whether it is a political settlement, or the offer with regard to prisoners of war, the United States has made a very forthcoming proposal. We would expect that the North Vietnamese, after their first, shall we say, reaction indicating that they do not see much new in it—which we would naturally expect at first blush—that as they consider it we would hope that they would take it as seriously as we took it when we made it, as world leaders have responded to it, as leaders in both parties here have responded to it, including critics of the Vietnam war, as well as those who support it.

REPORTER. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President responded to the reporter's question at 11:30 a.m. on his arrival at Hunter Army Airfield, Savannah, Ga.

337 Replies to Reporters' Questions About Reaction to Address on Southeast Asia. *October* 8, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. I talked to Secretary Rogers this morning and he was very pleased with the reaction, worldwide. Of course, all of the messages are not yet in, but up to this time it has been a very, very good reaction from leaders all over the world supporting the peace initiative that we have taken.

The other thing that is significant is that we had very good support in the House and Senate. That is significant because the leaders in Hanoi have said over

and over again, publicly, and all the experts say that they believe this, that they are going to wait for political division in the United States to get them at the conference table what they can't win on the battlefield.

The fact that Americans of both parties supported this peace initiative, people like Senator Mansfield, the leader of the Senate, and others, this is, of course, very important in presenting a united front on the peace initiative. So we were glad that we had support at home, support abroad, good editorial support from those that I saw in the United States.

The immediate reaction in Hanoi, of course, is no indication of what their reaction will be later. The immediate reaction always has to be one of what appears to be rejection in such a case.

But if the situation continues as we think it will, of broad world support for the peace initiative, and broad support within the United States, I believe that Hanoi will recognize that this is a very serious proposal. It is one that is fair to them and fair to us, and it is one that they should seriously consider rather than simply to repeat the same old lines that they have repeated previously.

We have made some new proposals and now we think that they have the opportunity to make some new proposals. If they do, we can make some progress. That is the way we are going to play it.

We didn't make this simply to have a propaganda line, as I pointed out. We made this proposal because we wanted to cover every base that we could. And so, that is why we offered the cease-fire, a total cease-fire. That is why we offered a total withdrawal of all of our forces, something we have never offered before, if we had mutual withdrawal on the other side. That is why we had a very forthcoming position on the release of all prisoners without regard to trading one for one or two for one. We will release all we have; they will release all they have. That means not only we, but the South Vietnamese as well—and an all-Indochina conference.

And while we indicated, too, that we were flexible on these matters, it seems under these circumstances that this is now the chance, the time, to make some progress at the peace table.

Next week we will get the official response from Hanoi in the public session and we would hope that it would indicate some progress. But whether it does or it does not we intend to continue to press this. It takes a long time to get a peace proposal like this, after a long war, on the tracks, to get progress on it.

We are not going to be discouraged by rejections. We are not going to be discouraged by attitudes that we would expect. Because we feel so strongly that this is a fair proposal we are going to continue to press it in every world forum, in Paris, and, of course, in the event that the opportunity is presented, to the North Vietnamese and other channels.

REPORTER. Mr. President, I realize you are deliberately not trying to connect any local political considerations, domestic political considerations. But as a pragmatist, Mr. President, do you feel there will be a spin-off from this in your own personal popularity in the weeks ahead? Do you think that will be of any benefit to the Republican Party as you move around and try to support and help some of these candidates?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that it has that kind of effect. I feel that it was

not, of course, intended for that. If we had intended it for that, I am politically enough astute to have done it just about 4 days before the election. Then we would not have known what the result would have been and people would have voted their hopes rather than the realities.

We did this at the right time, from the standpoint of trying to make progress in the negotiations, and at a time when all of our advisers thought it could be made without jeopardizing our forces in Vietnam.

Now having done that, the effect, politically, I do not think is going to be particularly significant at this time, and particularly in view of the fact that we have bipartisan support for it. If the other side, if other candidates were to make it a political issue, then it would be politically significant. But since there is bipartisan support for this proposal, I believe that it is not going to have any particular effect on the campaign one way or another.

REPORTER. Thank you.

NOTE: The exchange took place at 1:55 p.m. as the President arrived at Skidaway Island near Savannah, Ga.

338 Remarks at the Dedication of the Site of the Ocean Science Center of the Atlantic Commission, Skidaway Island, Georgia. *October* 8, 1970

Mr. Chairman, Governor Maddox, Congressman Hagan, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and ladies and gentlemen:

As you know, I have just returned from a long trip abroad which took us to a number of countries. As I said last night on television, Mrs. Nixon and I were very heartened by the wonderful welcomes we received in countries like Yugoslavia and Italy and Spain and Ireland and England.

I recall when we were in Ireland, I said at the Irish dinner that there is really nothing like an Irish welcome. And I must say that after traveling through the streets of Savannah today, and then seeing all of you that have come out to this island, and you had to come here by boat—I understand that is going to change—but nevertheless, to see all of you that came out here, recognizing that some of you, I understand, have been here since 9 o'clock this morning, I've got to say after this there is nothing like a Georgia welcome.

I remember when my good friend Hal Suit [1] suggested that I should come down to Georgia, he said—and I am sure, incidentally, that Governor Maddox would agree with this, that makes it bipartisan—he said, "Everybody goes to Atlanta." He said, "Why don't you come to Savannah?" So that is why I am in Savannah, and I am glad to be here.

As you know, I am here for a purpose that is very important to the future of this State, of this country, and particularly the future of our children. I was delighted to see the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, and all the young people that are here today, because my remarks, and they will

[1] Mr. Suit was the Republican candidate for the governorship of Georgia.

be very brief, relate to them and their future really more than it does to us, those in our generation.

Not that we do not care about what happens to us, but I am thinking of what kind of an America we are going to leave to those young children, whether or not they are going to have the resources that will allow them to lead a good life; whether or not they are going to have the open spaces, the recreation, the clean water, the clean air, the birthright that we want for every American. And that is, to an extent, what this program is about today.

Before referring to it further, however, I should like to say that what impresses me about this installation that is not yet built but which will be built after I unveil the architectural plans in this ceremony—what impresses me about it is the amount of cooperation and the number of various groups of people who have made it possible.

These days we tend too often, whenever we have a problem, to say, "What are they going to do in Washington?" And when always we turn only to Washington, we find that then Washington tells people at home what to do. I don't think that is a good idea.

I think the people of this country want to make their own decisions as much as possible as close at home, and I think you believe that.

So I was very pleased to find that the land here was given by private enterprise; that the Roeblings,[2] for example, are present here, who were among those who gave the land. I found that a county, Chatham County, played a part. Chatham County is going to build the bridge.

I found that the State of Georgia, and the United States Government, are cooperating in the financing of this project, and I found that the University of Georgia, a great institution, is going to operate the project. There you have, it seems to me, an ideal combination. You have local government, you have State government and Federal Government. You have private enterprise and you have a great educational institution, the University of Georgia. That is the kind of approach to government that we want—but that we want more of in the years ahead, so that we can enlist just as many various groups within our society as we can for building the better America that we all want.

Now a word about this project. We hear about the frontiers that America has had through the years, and those frontiers have changed, as we all know. First, we crossed the mountains and went to the Midwest, and then crossed the Rocky Mountains and went to the Far West. Then there were those that said there were no other frontiers left. We have all heard about the great frontier of space and what has happened there.

What we are talking about here is a frontier that is just being discovered, just being discovered in terms of its enormous possibilities. That is the frontier of the seas around us.

I was surprised to find, and I am sure you will be surprised to find if you have not studied this, that it is presently estimated that on the oceans bordering on the United States, already $20 billion worth of assets are being developed, $2 billion a year of income is derived from the

[2] The family of Robert C. Roebling, a cattle rancher on Skidaway Island, Ga.

oceans bordering on the United States. And we have only scratched the surface.

In fact, the greatest undeveloped resources in the world today are not on land but they are in the seas. That is what this project is about. This project is one that will help to develop the enormous resources of our seas, of our waterways here in these beautiful Golden Isles, and, of course, will tell us, through the experiments that are made here, of how we can, in effect, in terms of agriculture we can grow things in the sea.

I know that some of these ideas sound pretty far out, but, as I have studied it, and as I have heard about it, I find that this is perhaps one of the most exciting new areas that we can possibly think about.

I also want to say that, in speaking of agriculture, I would not want to come to Georgia without expressing appreciation to this State for, among the many people that we have from Georgia in our administration, for giving us the Under Secretary of Agriculture, Phil Campbell. We worked with him this morning, incidentally, on the farm bill. When I speak of agriculture in the seas, that, of course, is very appropriate, when we think of his great responsibilities of developing the agriculture on land.

Now let us look briefly at that problem, the development of the resources that are in the seas about us, and then let us look at another problem. We hear a lot about the environment these days, what is happening to the air in our cities.

If you have been to a city that has smog, you know what a terribly serious problem it is. We think about the waters, how the rivers become polluted, for example the Savannah River.

You don't have to go far from Washington. We think of the "beautiful blue" Potomac. You come look at it some day. It isn't that. It, of course, is one of the most polluted rivers in the world.

We think of what has happened to this great country of ours in many areas where we have had great industrial progress, progress that has given us the highest per capita income in the whole world—we should be thankful that we have that because that enables us to do things that we otherwise would be unable to do for our children—but where, as a result of that industrial progress, we also have had the byproducts of air that is very difficult to breathe, water that isn't fit to drink, and open spaces that are destroyed.

There are those who, of course, would suggest that that makes progress bad, that what we should do is to go back to the time when we didn't have any factories, when we didn't have any automobiles, when we didn't have any roads, because if we didn't, then you would have clean air and clean water, and wouldn't life be wonderful!

The answer is it wouldn't be at all. I have been to lots of countries that have no progress, and believe me, I find most of the people there want to come to the United States of America where we have it. But what we can recognize is that in this country with its enormous industrial capability, it is possible to have progress and at the same time use those enormous talents in those areas to clean up the air, and clean up the water, and develop the open spaces, the recreation that we want for our young people in the years ahead. So it is with the sea around us.

As we begin to develop commercially even more the enormous resources of the

ocean, it is vitally important that we not allow our shorelines to be polluted.

Because we referred a moment ago to these Golden Isles, we think of what gold will buy. And gold is very important. We think of it as the most—certainly, when we think of anything that we might want to have, gold seems to be as important as anything else.

But we also know that in terms of these beautiful islands and the water around them, that if they become polluted, then all the gold in the world isn't going to matter.

So what we need is a two-pronged program: One that on the one side will develop the resources of the waters around us for the future benefit and progress of mankind, but, on the other side, will see to it that as we use the oceans we do not abuse the oceans.

That is why our program in the Environmental Council is one that will see to it that, whether it relates to the drilling for oil, or the dumping from ships and boats as they are in harbors and passing along the coastline, that these kinds of activities will be carried on in such a way that they do not pollute the waters so that they cannot be enjoyed by our children in the years ahead.

What I am simply saying to this audience here in this beautiful area of the United States is this: We are very fortunate to live in the richest country in the world. We must remember, however, that with all of our wealth unless we are careful about how we develop it in the future we can spoil this country for our children. We are not going to let that happen. That is something that is bigger than whether we are Democrats or Republicans. That involves the future of our children and the future of America.

That is why this installation, under the leadership of a great university, will contribute to the development of a better America, the development of our resources, and, at the same time, develop those resources without destroying the beauty of this land in which we are so fortunate to live.

I would not want this opportunity to pass, having touched on that subject, without also speaking to you briefly about my reactions to the base that I have just visited where our Air Force One plane landed. I saw a number of servicemen there. They were from all over the country. As a matter of fact, I saw one boy who had come from a town, Huntington Beach, that was only 10 miles from where I was born.

When I was in the Mediterranean, I visited the 6th Fleet. I saw thousands of young Americans there. I also know the deep concern that every American has for a policy that will bring peace in the world.

Just let me say that when I announced last night a new peace initiative for bringing the war in Vietnam to a close—a peace initiative which included, as you know, a cease-fire, a peace conference for all of Indochina, action on the prisoner of war issues, the total withdrawal of all forces on a mutual basis—I can tell you that it would not have been possible to have made that offer unless it had been for the fact that hundreds of thousands—yes, over 2 million—young Americans, in a very difficult war, instead of deserting their country decided to serve their country.

I can tell you that I am very proud of the men that serve in our Armed Forces. They are really peace forces—the peace forces in the Mediterranean, in Korea,

and in other farflung areas across the world, and in Vietnam.

We can be proud of the fact that as was the case in World War I, in World War II, and in Korea, the United States is not fighting there to dominate any other country, to gain any territory, but we are fighting only for the right of another people to have independence and freedom from foreign domination. We can be proud of that kind of a policy and proud that America produces still young men who will do their duty so that their children can grow up in a world not only of peace but also of freedom.

I have read some comments to the effect that this war was one that was so unpopular, as all wars, of course, are unpopular for various reasons and different reasons, that our best young men have gone to Canada.

I disagree. I say our best young men have gone to Vietnam and served.

I pledge to you that we shall continue to develop policies that will end this war, but end it in a way that we can have a just peace.

Let me just tell you what I mean by that. When I became President just 20 months ago, it would have been very easy to end the war. After all, I was President of the United States, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. I could have ended the war, brought the boys home, and everybody would have certainly had a sigh of relief. But, you know, ending wars does not necessarily build the peace. We have ended three wars in this century. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea. And yet no generation of Americans in this century has enjoyed a full generation of peace.

What we must do is to end a war in a way that serves the peace, that builds the peace, that discourages aggression, and that is what we are doing in Vietnam and we are going to accomplish it.

So I would say to this wonderful audience, in conclusion, I am very proud to be here in Georgia to participate in these ceremonies that will begin a very exciting, new project which will develop the waters around us for our children and their children in the years ahead.

I also can assure you that, as the President of the United States, I shall continue to work with all the power at my command and with all the ability that I have for those policies that will bring what we have not had in this century, a generation of peace for all Americans.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m.

The Chairman of the Ocean Science Center of the Atlantic Commission was Laurie K. Abbott.

The Commission is Georgia's principal executive agency for the advancement of marine sciences.

339 Remarks in Hartford, Connecticut. *October* 12, 1970

MRS. NIXON and I want to express our great appreciation for your welcoming us here to this State, her father's State. We are very proud that her father came from Connecticut.

I am very proud, too, to have Mayor Ann Ucello here, one of my favorite mayors in the whole country, running for Congress here in this city.

On this occasion, too, as I came through

the streets, I noted a number of signs, most of them friendly, some not. But this I do know, I know that the people of this State, like the people of America and the people of the world, want peace in the world, and we are working for peace every day, I can assure you.

I also want you to know that the people in this State, like all the peole of this country, want a better life for their children, better opportunity. We are working for that.

I also want you to know that in the Congress of the United States I have known two young men—I call them young, although they perhaps have been there some time. But Tom Meskill, who has done such an outstanding job as a member of the Judiciary Committee—incidentally, I gave his best regards to all of his Irish relatives when I was just there the other day. And Lowell Weicker. An indication of how well he is thought of is that he was elected the president of all of the Congressmen at the same time at which he was elected to the Congress of the United States.

You know when you see two men in the House of Representatives doing a fine job for their districts, it is very hard to think of losing them. But when Congressman Meskill can be Governor Meskill, and when Congressman Weicker can be Senator Weicker, that is a good trade. So that is what we are for.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:07 p.m. during a pause in his motorcade through the city to the Hartford Hilton Hotel, where he met with news executives from the Northeastern States who were attending an administration briefing on foreign policy.

Representative Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., was elected president of the 91st Club which was made up of the freshmen Republican Members of the 91st Congress.

340 Statement Announcing Further Withdrawals of U.S. Forces From the Republic of Vietnam. *October* 12, 1970

ON APRIL 20 I announced that progress under the Vietnamization program would permit a reduction of 150,000 Americans in our authorized troop ceiling between then and the spring of 1971. The first 50,000 increments of these withdrawals has already been completed ahead of the October 15 date which I set on June 3.

The continued progress of the Vietnamization program has made possible an acceleration rate of withdrawal within the overall schedule announced previously.

Accordingly, I have instructed Secretary Laird to reduce the authorized ceiling of our forces in Vietnam by another 40,000 between now and Christmas. As a result of this decision, there will be authorized 205,500 fewer Americans in Vietnam by Christmas of this year than when I took office.

NOTE: The statement was released at Hartford, Conn.

341 Statement About Decision To Continue the Turbotrain Experiment. *October* 12, 1970

THIS ADMINISTRATION has been trying to apply some of the space age technology and expertise to practical problems such as rail transportation. To this end, Secretary of Transportation John Volpe has recommended—and I have agreed—that we should continue the Turbotrain demonstration experiment beyond its scheduled October 22 termination date. I know that this experiment—which reaches from Boston to New York—is important to Connecticut and I thought you would like to know what we are doing about it.

While the final details are yet to be worked out, we are hopeful that within approximately 3 months the Department of Transportation and its Federal Railroad Administration will be able to consummate an agreement with United Aircraft Corporation and the Penn Central Railroad to develop an expanded demonstration; one that would possibly involve additional cars as well as changes in design to improve the dependability of the service.

The rationale behind our decision is this: We have had a double benefit from the Turbotrain program. In addition to conducting a successful experiment, proving that new, clean, fast, safe trains will be used by the traveling public, we have also provided a service that has come to be accepted, used, and counted on. The service provides jobs, it contributes to the economy, it is an experiment that succeeded to the point where it is now almost a necessity. It would be wrong to flatly discontinue the service simply because the Railroad Administration has proved its point.

There has been great interest in the Turbotrain throughout the Northeast—Governor Dempsey, Governor Rockefeller, and Governor Sargent have *all* been enthusiastic about it. And we intend to retain the service, save the jobs, and continue to fill the public need.

And I want to point out how much I appreciate the great interest and great effort your Congressmen Lowell Weicker and Tom Meskill have played in working to find solutions for our transportation problems. Connecticut can be very proud of what they have done on this—and on a great many other issues that we face today.

NOTE: The statement was released at Stamford, Conn.

342 Veto of a Political Broadcasting Bill. *October* 12, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

I return herewith, without my approval, S. 3637, a bill to revise the provisions of the Communications Act which relate to political broadcasting.

This legislation is aimed at the highly laudable and widely supported goals of controlling political campaign expenditures and preventing one candidate from having an unfair advantage over another.

Its fatal deficiency is that it not only falls far short of achieving these goals but also threatens to make matters worse.

S. 3637 does not limit the overall cost of campaigning. It merely limits the amount that candidates can spend on radio and television. In doing so, it unfairly endangers freedom of discussion, discriminates against the broadcast media, favors the incumbent officeholder over the officeseeker and gives an unfair advantage to the famous. It raises the prospect of more—rather than less—campaign spending. It would be difficult, in many instances impossible, to enforce and would tend to penalize most those who conscientiously attempt to abide by the law.

The problem with campaign spending is not radio and television; the problem is spending. This bill plugs only one hole in a sieve.

Candidates who had and wanted to spend large sums of money, could and would simply shift their advertising out of radio and television into other media—magazines, newspapers, billboards, pamphlets, and direct mail. There would be no restriction on the amount they could spend in these media.

Hence, nothing in this bill would mean less campaign spending.

In fact, the bill might tend to increase rather than decrease the total amount that candidates spend in their campaigns. It is a fact of political life that in many Congressional districts and States a candidate can reach more voters per dollar through radio and TV than any other means of communication. Severely limiting the use of TV and radio in these areas would only force the candidate to spend more by requiring him to use more expensive techniques.

By restricting the amount of time a candidate can obtain on television and radio, this legislation would severely limit the ability of many candidates to get their message to the greatest number of the electorate. The people deserve to know more, not less, about the candidates and where they stand.

There are other discriminatory features in this legislation. It limits the amount of money candidates for a major elective office may spend for broadcasting in general elections to 7¢ per vote cast for the office in question in the last election or $20,000 whichever is greater. This formula was arrived at through legislative compromise and is not based on any scientific analysis of broadcast markets. It fails to take into account the differing campaign expenditure requirements of candidates in various braodcast areas. In many urban centers, the $20,000 limitation would permit a Congressional candidate to purchase only a few minutes of broadcast time, thus precluding the use of radio or television as an effective instrument of communication. On the other hand, $20,000 spent on television broadcasting in another district would enable a candidate to virtually blanket a large area with campaign advertising spots. For example, 30 seconds of prime television time in New York City costs $3,500; in the Wichita-Hutchinson, Kansas area, it costs $145.

S. 3637 raises a host of other questions of both principle and practice. It would require that broadcasters charge can-

didates no more than the lowest unit charge of the station for comparable time. This is tantamount to rate-setting by statute and represents a radical departure for the Congress which has traditionally abhorred any attempt to establish rates by legislation.

Among the other questions raised and left unanswered are these: How would expenditures of various individuals and organizations not directly connected with the candidate be charged? Would they be considered part of a candidate's allowed total expenditure, even if they were beyond the candidate's control? And how would money spent by a committee opposing a candidate be accounted? Would it be included in the total for that candidate's opponent, even though spent without his consent or control? This bill does not effectively limit the purchase of television time to oppose a candidate.

In the end, enforcement of the expenditure limitation would in most cases occur after the election. This raises the possibility of confusion and chaos as elections come to be challenged for violation of S. 3637 and the cases are still unresolved when the day arrives on which the winning candidate should take office.

There is another issue here which is perhaps the most important of all. An honored part of the American political tradition is that any little known but highly qualified citizen has the opportunity to seek and ultimately win elective office. This bill would strike a serious blow at that tradition. The incumbent—because he has a natural avenue of public attention through the news media in the conduct of his office—would have an immeasurable advantage over the "out" who was trying to get in. The only others who would share part of this advantage would be those whose names were well-known for some other reason.

What we have in S. 3637 is a good aim, gone amiss. Nearly everyone who is active or interested in the political process wants to find some way to limit the crushing and growing cost of political campaigning. But this legislation is worse than no answer to the problem—it is a wrong answer.

I urge that the Congress continue to analyze and consider ways to reach this goal through legislation which will not restrict freedom of discussion, will not discriminate against any communications medium, will not tend to freeze incumbents in office, will not favor the famed over the worthy but little-known, will not risk confusion and chaos in our election process and will not promote more rather than less campaign spending. Such legislation will have to be far better than S. 3637.

I am as opposed to big spending in campaigns as I am to big spending in government. But before we tamper with something as fundamental as the electoral process, we must be certain that we never give the celebrity an advantage over an unknown, or the officeholder an extra advantage over the challenger.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
October 12, 1970

NOTE: The message was released at Stamford, Conn., and at Washington.

The Senate sustained the President's veto in a vote on November 23, 1970.

343 Remarks at the Dedication of the Italian Community Center in Stamford, Connecticut. *October* 12, 1970

Mr. Chairman, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of you gathered here in Stamford:

May I tell you how very much Mrs. Nixon and I appreciate your very warm welcome. We are sorry we were a bit late and we are sorry for the delay. But I understand as the helicopter landed that the sound system went out and we had to wait until it was repaired. I hope that all of you can hear so that we can have the chance to express our very best wishes to you.

I am very honored to be here to participate in this dedication ceremony for the Italian Community Center. And as I see this great audience here, I realize that I am really seeing a cross section of America. When I think of the State of Connecticut, I think of a State that owes so much of its greatness to all the people that make up America.

Connecticut has a proud heritage of groups, nationalities, of all kinds, and among the proudest, of course, is the Italian heritage.

As I speak to you today with regard to this center, I naturally have some comments with regard to this Italian Center for Stamford, Connecticut. I wish to speak on Columbus Day of what America owes to those of Italian background, the many that have contributed to this country.

On that point, I think that one indication of what we owe we see right up here on this platform. One of the most valuable members of our administration team, a man that has been particularly strong in the whole field of transportation and many other fields, and who has made an announcement today with regard to our transportation system, particularly the transit system as it affects commuters and the rest, is Secretary John Volpe. I want Secretary Volpe to stand up again.

John Volpe was Governor of your neighboring State of Massachusetts. He has served as Secretary of Transportation for this administration. He has handled many other assignments for us. But one thing that always impressed me about John Volpe is the way that he speaks so movingly of his background. He is proud that he is a first-generation Italian-American. He is proud of that background and justly so.

When I was in Rome just a week, 2 weeks ago, I recall that as we spoke in that great city, that one of my Italian friends there said there were twice as many Italians living in America as live in Rome, 8½ million.

I was thinking not only of the number of those of Italian background who live in America, 8½ million, but of the long history that we have of those of Italian background and what they have contributed to America. Everyone knows this is Columbus Day. We also know that through the years those of Italian background in all areas in the field of science, in music, in art, in business, in government, have made their contributions to America's greatness.

But today I think it is important for us to think not just of those of Italian background but of all of those who came to this New World, and to this new country, and created an entirely new people.

When I speak of a new people, I think of the backgrounds of all of you in this audience. Some, I am sure, are proud of your Italian ancestry; others, perhaps, of some other background. I was just thinking of the people here on this platform. My wife, for example. Her mother was born in Germany, her grandfather was born in Ireland. I was thinking, for example, of Tom Meskill. His grandfather on his mother's side was born in Ireland, and his grandfather on his mother's side was a Ryan and you can guess where he was from.

I was thinking, too, of Lowell Weicker. His background is German, two generations back, and British. We could go on down the line.

When we think of this great country of ours, we are all proud that before we are anything else, we are Americans. We are Americans. But we can also be proud in this country that we have a very diverse heritage, and it makes this country richer because of it; that there are people of Irish background, German, Italian, Polish, French—all the nations of the world, all the races of the world are here in America, and we are a richer country because of it, richer in our culture, richer in our tradition, and stronger.

I was talking, at the time of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, to former President Hoover, who was in charge of relief operations at that time, about the fears that many Americans had of the influx of approximately 200,000 Hungarian refugees. He made a very interesting comment. He said, "You know Americans. There have been some from the beginning of our history who have always worried about these immigrants or that one, the fact that they would come in, take the jobs away from others, or have a bad effect on the future of this great people." And he said that his study of American history showed that every group that came from abroad to America made America stronger, made America richer. It gave us a new vitality. It gave us a richer background. It gave us more strength and that, I hope, all of you who are young here will remember. You can be proud that you live in this great country of 200 million people.

You can be proud that wherever you go in the world you will find there are those who will criticize the United States about this policy or that policy. But I can assure you if you ask people in other parts of the world where they would like to go, the traffic is all one way. They want to come to the United States. They don't want to go anyplace else.

And we in the United States also have a very great responsibility at this time. It happens that we have a responsibility because we are the strongest nation in the free world to have policies that will bring peace to the world and that will keep the peace. It is very difficult. I know there are those who criticize what America has done in this century for that cause. We have fought two World Wars. We fought in Korea. We are now trying to bring the war in Vietnam to a conclusion.

But let us be proud of one thing: Young Americans have gone abroad. They have fought and they have died. We can be proud of the fact that America in this century has never gone abroad to conquer anybody else. We have gone abroad to defend their freedom rather than to take it away.

And in the years ahead, as we bring this present war to a conclusion, and as we work for policies that will bring peace for a whole generation, something we haven't

had in this century, as we work for those things let us remember that what we must always remind ourselves of is of our heritage, is of our background. Be proud of the fact that your parents or your grandparents were Italian, if they were, or Irish, if they were, or, for that matter, as my father used to say—I once asked him what was mine—"You are Heinz, 57 varieties."

But in any case, be proud of your American heritage because that is what makes America great, the fact that we come from all the nations and all the races, and here in this climate of opportunity and this climate of freedom we have a chance, and we want to make it an equal chance for everybody to go just as high as he can go. That is the American dream and that is what we want you all to believe in.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak in a very personal vein about the heritage that we owe to those of Italian background, not simply Christopher Columbus, the navigator who found the New World, and not Enrico Fermi, the man who found another new world along with other scientists, the breaking of the secret with regard to nuclear power. But I think of what happened recently in the world of sports that to all of us who follow sports moved us very greatly.

I think of Vince Lombardi and what he meant. We think of him as a great coach. As I recall, as we walked out of the Cathedral of St. Matthew's in Washington, Cardinal O'Boyle spoke to me about Vince Lombardi. He noticed there were so many young people there worshiping at that mass, as we were. And he made this point: He said that Vince Lombardi, at a time when it seems to be unfashionable to have very close family ties, was a man devoted to his family; at a time when permissiveness and lack of discipline seemed to be the order of the day he was a man who believed in playing by the rules and following the rules, playing hard. And he was a man, in addition to that, who, at a time that it seemed not to be the thing to be patriotic, who was deeply dedicated, a patriot in the very best sense of the word.

What he stood for basically was something that every young person in this audience particularly, I know, will want to stand for. He stood for character. He stood for strength. He believed deeply in his family, in his church, and in whatever cause he was involved. He believed that a man had to become involved in a cause deeper, bigger than himself in order to reach the fulfillment of all of his talents.

I simply say, as I dedicate this center, let us think back to the history of America. Let us think of all of those who came across the seas, at very great sacrifice, to this country and then helped to make it greater. And then let us think of what we have. Here we are, 200 million Americans, the richest country in the world, the strongest country in the world, and the chance—the chance that comes only to one people in a century—the chance to provide leadership which will bring peace to a troubled world, and the possibility of progress and prosperity not just for Americans but for all people.

That is what Americans stand for. That is what we are here for. I dedicate this center to that cause. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m.

344 Letter to the President of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization on Airplane Hijacking. *October* 14, 1970

Dear Mr. Binaghi:

It was deeply gratifying for me to learn that the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization had called upon states to take strong, concerted measures to deter hijacking for international blackmail purposes. The Council's concern with this threat to the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation, its recognition of state responsibility for taking all appropriate action against this menace, and its acknowledgement of the need for joint action to enforce state responsibility constitute a significant advance in the effort to secure the safety of the international air traveller.

In accordance with the Council's Resolution, I have instructed my representatives to put before the Organization's Legal Committee a draft convention which would implement these principles. It is my hope that the participating states will take rapid and affirmative action on this proposal.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Mr. Walter Binaghi, President of the Council, International Civil Aviation Organization, Montreal, Canada]

NOTE: The letter was dated October 13, 1970, and released October 14, 1970.

The United States draft convention, calling for international sanctions against nations failing to meet their responsibilities in the suppression of air piracy, was put before the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in late October 1970.

An earlier exchange of letters, released August 13, 1970, between the President and Mr. Binaghi on the subject of hijacking, together with the text of ICAO Resolution A17-1 adopted during the Organization's meeting in Montreal from June 16 to June 30, 1970, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1061).

345 Remarks at a White House Conference on Drug Abuse. *October* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I wanted to say that I asked that all of you come in the office here—I know it is a bit crowded—because I want each of you to feel a sense of the personal appreciation that I have in the responsibilities of this office for your attending this meeting and for whatever you may determine you will do as a result of it.

Of course, perhaps it would be more appropriate to have you seated in an auditorium, and I could make a few remarks with radio and television and others covering it.

I want you to know that I chose this particular forum because I just wished that I could sit down with each of you individually and express my own concern with this problem and how much I think you can contribute toward its solution. Now by "solution" I don't mean anything that is going to solve it magically very soon. There are few instant solutions to anything in the world, as we know, par-

ticularly where social behavior is involved.

As you go through the balance of the day with speeches all day long, you will have a lot of statistics pounded out and a lot of facts. All of us know the enormous escalation in the use of drugs in this country.

We think, for example, of the California area where there has been a 2,000 percent increase in drug use between 1960 and 1970. We think, for example, of the State of New York where, if this year the present rate of deaths continues, it will be in excess of 1,000 for a year, of which 25 percent will be young people.

That, incidentally, compares with another area of the world in which we are deeply concerned and which people very properly can be stirred up about, in Vietnam.

Both are wrong in terms of what we want to do about our society. We want to find ways to end wars and to have a just peace which may avoid other wars in the future, or at least discourage them.

We of course, and our young people particularly, must recognize this rather insidious danger, one that is insidious because it appeals to the passion; it is something new; it is something that projects. It is an insidious danger and it is one that is perhaps more difficult to deal with, far more difficult to deal with than having a specific foreign policy problem where we say this action should or should not be taken. That is, of course, where all of you come in.

We had a meeting a few months ago with television producers. As a result approximately 20 television programs throughout the country are going on this fall dealing with the drug problem in one way or another, and dealing with it not in the way of just a straight-out sermon but in terms of that subtle, far more effective, method of approach where a story is told and the individual—and usually the young individual—watching the program becomes interested in the story and, therefore, they get the message.

Now we come to radio. As you may know, in the campaign of 1968 I made a great deal of use of radio, which indicated that I thought the radio was still here and here to stay. I did make great use of it because I have found that while naturally the primary emphasis these days in terms of any public relations program and any political program is on television because of the huge impact that it has, the radio audience is first a very large audience and a very significant audience; second, it is a growing audience—all of your advertising is, too; and, third, it is particularly a large audience in the teenage group.

I read figures before you came in today indicating that 98 percent of those between the ages of 12 to 18 listen to the radio. The average American family owns four radio sets. And I suppose if you were to paint a picture or a caricature of the average teenager, he or she would be holding a transistor radio, whether at the beach or driving a car or whatever the case might be.

Those radio programs which go out usually in the form of music, sometimes talk shows and the rest, of course have an enormous impact.

Now, having defined the problem, you will hear more about that all day long in much more detail, having indicated how you can affect the problem because you hit the audience and hit it very, very dramatically as these statistics indicate, I now would like briefly to tell you what we would hope you might do.

First, I do not think it is proper for

Government to come to people in the private sector and say you must do this or that for the public good. We can urge you to, but I think when we get into the position where we cross the line and say that this or that radio station, even where radio and television stations are licensed as they are—as the networks are not but as the stations are, they are licensed by Government—I believe it is very important to maintain that independence. It is not only the independence but the right to criticize and the right to program in the private sector in our American tradition.

On the other hand, I think that all of you would agree that it is the proper province and responsibility of your national leaders, and particularly in the Government, when there is a great national issue to try to present that issue. Then in the event, in your own judgment and in your newsrooms and in your programing, you feel that you could cooperate in your interest and in the national interest, we ask you to do so.

It is in that spirit that I invited you here to this meeting to hear the facts and listen to the facts. If you think the problem is one that deserves attention, then make a decision as to whether or not you can help on the problem. If you do reach that conclusion, I can only assure you that I think the Nation will owe a very great debt of gratitude to you.

I would not suggest, in conclusion, that what we do on radio programs and television programs and Presidential statements and statements by Governors and teachers and ministers and priests and religious leaders and so on will stop this massive escalation in the use of dangerous drugs.

On the other hand, it is vitally important that we recognize the danger, that we slow it down, and eventually reach the point where we can turn it around.

I think it can be done, and I think it must be done.

When I look at the history of great civilizations in the past, many of them have gone down this road and they slip into basically the drug psychology, the drug society; it is terribly destructive of the character of that nation.

We are thinking not only of our young people in terms of the deaths. We are thinking in terms of their lives, their contributions that they can make to the future of this country.

With that, I simply want to tell you again that I am grateful for your coming. Above everything else I realize that in your business, and I hope it will always be this way, your programs will be interesting, and I hope that people listen to them. I am not asking you to put on something or urging that you do, or ordering that you do anything that is dull, because if it is that, you are not going to accomplish any purpose in any event.

But I do suggest that in this powerful medium of radio communications, particularly its impact on the young people, if you, to the extent that you feel it is consistent with your own interests and consistent with the interests that you have to serve in the organization with which you are associated, if you can make a contribution here, I believe you will be serving the national interest.

It is in that personal way that I am making this presentation to you, not to put you on the spot but to ask for your cooperation if the facts, after you have heard them all, lead to the conclusion that that cooperation will be justified.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. in his office at the White House to 70 representatives of group-owned, teenage-oriented, and ethnic radio stations in all regions of the United States. An announcement of the conference, released October 9, 1970, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1357).

346 Remarks on Signing the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970. *October* 15, 1970

Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Kennedy, and ladies and gentlemen:

The purpose of my coming to the Department of Justice today in this Great Hall is to sign the organized crime bill. And before the signing ceremony before this very august assembly, I would like to say a word as to how it came into being.

Eighteen months ago we sent the recommendations to the Congress for consideration in this area. The Congress has been working on the legislation since that time and, finally, as a result of a bipartisan effort—and both parties are represented here today very appropriately—the bill has come to my desk for signature.

However, I think it is very appropriate to mention at this time that we did not wait for the legislation to arrive before taking action in this field.

I think the Attorney General of the United States and his staff, his fine staff of lawyers and investigators, Mr. Hoover, the people from the FBI, Secretary Kennedy and the people from the Treasury Department who have responsibilities here, the Secret Service, all of them moved forward in this area to the extent they could before the legislation which we had asked for had come into being.

As a result, more strike forces have gone across the country. As a result of wiretaps that have been authorized by the Attorney General, there have been over 400 arrests in the racketeering field since we began to institute that operation approximately a year and a half ago.

What I am simply saying is this: Signing this rather formidable piece of legislation—and I know that it went through the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and the Judiciary Committee of the House and, consequently, has had a great deal of care and attention—signing this piece of legislation will provide the tools to do the job, but what really counts is the fact that we have the men and the women who will do the job. I know we have them. I know we have them in the person of the Attorney General and his staff, Mr. Hoover and his staff, and in the areas where they have responsibility, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secret Service and their staffs.

I am very proud of these people. I think all Americans can be proud of the fact that the work they have done before they got the necessary tools that they needed, and now that they have these tools, I think that we can say that they shall now be able to launch a total war against organized crime. And we will win this war. It can be done. And the billions of dollars that organized crime has taken out of American society, what it has done to society in other ways, its, for example, support of the drug traffic in this country, in many of these areas where we have seen

organized crime doing so much harm to America, we are going to find now that those who are fighting against crime will have the tools that they need to do the job and they will do the job.

One area that this bill covers that was not covered a year and a half ago because it did not seem then to be necessary is in the field of antibombing legislation. I think that in the past few weeks we have seen the wisdom for the passage of this particular provision of the bill. I asked for it, as you know, a couple of months ago.

Last week we saw bombings in California, we saw one in Rochester, we saw one, in addition, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. And it seems that every day we pick up the papers and we see some sporadic incident without reason, without cause, simply a terrorist activity which we have not been able to cope with adequately in the past.

Now, what this legislation does is to provide that where there is a Federal interest, Federal support for an installation, then the Federal law enforcement officials will move in.

Before the legislation comes into effect as a result of my signing it today, I have directed, and the Attorney General has approved the direction, that the FBI go forward in investigations now of bombings in areas where the bill might provide for a Federal presence or Federal activity.

I think that this should be a warning to those who engage in these acts that we in this country are not going to tolerate that kind of activity in the future and that the full force of the Federal Government, and particularly of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, will be brought against these actions wherever there is a Federal interest.

This bill will help. It will allow the FBI to move into cases on a positive basis where previously they have been able to do so only when asked to do so by the local law enforcement officials.

And I think that at this time to point out that the actions of the FBI in apprehending Angela Davis [1]—a rather remarkable story again in the long history of remarkable stories of apprehensions by the FBI—is an indication that once the Federal Government through the FBI moves into an area, this should be warning to those who engage in these acts that they eventually are going to be apprehended. This is a warning by signing this bill: We are going to give the tools to the men in the Justice Department and the men in the FBI and we shall see to it that those who engage in such terroristic acts are brought to justice.

The Federal Government will play its part, supporting law enforcement officials, local law enforcement officials, but we also will assume our responsibility at the Federal level wherever there is a Federal interest.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:14 a.m. in the Great Hall at the Department of Justice Building. As enacted, the bill (S. 30) is Public Law 91-452 (84 Stat. 922).

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[1] Miss Davis was apprehended in New York City on October 13, 1970, and charged with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for murder and kidnaping in connection with the fatal shooting of Superior Court Judge Harold J. Haley on August 7, 1970, during a trial in San Raphael, Calif.

347 Remarks on Signing the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970. *October* 15, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

Having signed this bill, I would like to comment briefly about its significance. I note that every time I sign a bill I inevitably use the word "historical." Of course, any new action is historical. It will be part of the history of this office and of this Cabinet Room.

But this bill, I think, when we look at the record of this Congress and of this administration, will be one that will be one of the landmark pieces of legislation.

As we look back into the history of this country, we recall the development of the western frontier. It was made possible because of a massive program of transportation which enabled us to develop that new frontier in the West.

Now we have the challenge of the urban frontier. And it is through this bill and the support that it will provide for new programs in the field of mass urban transportation that we are going to be able to meet the challenge of the urban frontier. Just as the western frontier was the challenge of America in the 19th century, the urban frontier is the challenge of America in the last third of the 20th century.

We had this brought home to us again on our trip to Europe. We found that as we flew from the capital of Rome to Belgrade, from Belgrade to Madrid, and from Madrid to London, and London to Dublin, that the flight time had been cut to approximately an hour to an hour and a half or 2 hours in each case, depending on the distance. Over and over again, we found that, even without the motorcade, the time to get from the airport into the city was as great or greater than the time it took to fly hundreds of miles from one capital to another.

I think the story of Washington and New York is a pretty good one. Many of you, I know, will be flying back to New York after this ceremony. It will take you approximately 45 to 50 minutes to make that flight. If you go into Kennedy Airport and if you get there around 5 o'clock, it will take you an hour to an hour and 15 minutes to get from Kennedy Airport to any place downtown in New York City unless you try the helicopter and the weather won't allow for that. The same is true around the country.

That only highlights it in terms of air transportation versus ground transportation as far as the cities are concerned.

This bill goes far beyond that, as you know. It provides a very significant financial commitment on the part of the Government to mass urban transportation systems. And it will mean that we will find the methods whereby in the future we can move into the cities and through the cities of our country in a way that will enable life in those cities to be much more attractive than would be the case, when the cities are jammed with traffic, when the air is polluted because of what comes from the automobiles that is directly related to this, and where people, therefore, find cities becoming basically unattractive due in great part to the very fact that going from home to work is just too much of a chore.

This, we believe, is an historic step to meet that challenge. It isn't going to be met in a year, not in 2 years, not 3 years, not 4 or 5, but the action this Con-

gress has taken and by the action that the Secretary of Transportation and his Department will take to implement this bill means that within 5 years, 10 years, as we move over the next decade that we are going to see a significant breakthrough in mass urban transportation.

Having made that statement, I wish to give credit where it is due: first, to the support that this bill has received in a bipartisan nature in both the House and in the Senate. This is one of those pieces of legislation which did go through both the House and Senate with overwhelming votes which indicates the unanimity of action behind this bill and which indicates also that this problem of transportation is not a partisan problem. It is a problem that all Americans are interested in, and we do not divide on partisan lines.

I express appreciation to the Members of the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party in the House and Senate for giving bipartisan support to this legislation.

Also at this time I wish to pay tribute to the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Volpe. I understand there are several other pieces of legislation in the transportation field that are on the way to the White House.

When the record of the Cabinet is written during this session of the Congress, my guess is that the highest batting average will be that of Secretary Volpe. I don't want him to get puffed up about it, because, as I have pointed out, it happens that transportation is one area where there is no partisanship. Consequently, he has had a lot of assistance. But he has worked day and night along with the members of his staff in getting this legislation prepared and working it through the committees and getting support for it.

Finally, I want to pay a tribute to those who have supported this legislation in the nongovernmental sector. There are leaders of business, leaders of transportation, leaders of the great labor unions of this country, all of whom have given all-out support to this legislation. This is in a great American tradition, and the name I have now attached to this bill was of course the easiest and quickest action that could be taken. It could not have been taken if it had not been for a combined effort, a combined effort in which both parties participated, in which business and labor worked together, and in which we have fine cooperation particularly and leadership by the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Volpe.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (S. 3154) is Public Law 91-453 (84 Stat. 962).

348 Statement About Farm Legislation on Signing Bill To Postpone Wheat Referendum. *October* 15, 1970

H.J. RES. 1396, which I signed into law today, postpones for the second time this year the pending wheat referendum.

This postponement is necessary to avoid the additional cost of conducting a nationwide referendum on a wheat program which would be superseded by the farm bill [H.R. 18546] now being blocked by the Senate. This farm bill has been reported by the House-Senate Conference

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Committee and approved in a timely manner earlier this week by the House of Representatives.

It is a matter of extreme disappointment to me that the Senate, despite my letter explaining the urgency of the new farm legislation, recessed yesterday without considering this highly important measure.

This callous indifference to the needs of the American farmer is shocking to me and I believe it will be resented by farm people throughout the United States.

Here are some of the consequences that will flow from this inexcusable delay:

1. The preparation and planting for 1971 harvests must be carried out by the farmers now. Land must be prepared; fertilizers and other chemicals must be applied; arrangements must be made for credit and other production needs. Delay will cause farmer hardships.

2. Blight-afflicted cornfields may have to be planted to other forage producing crops. Delay will cause farmer hardships.

3. Landlord-tenant contracts must be completed by November 1 in many areas. Delay will cause farmer hardships.

4. Cotton farmers must arrange for allotment leasing, credit, and other needs. Delay will cause farmer hardships.

5. Trading in cotton is likely to come to a virtual halt as buyers and sellers await development on basic cotton pricing. The farmers' cotton market is jeopardized by delay.

6. Food for Peace—Public Law 480—negotiations will be slowed, impairing the export flow of rice, cotton, wheat, and soybean oil. Delay jeopardizes the farmers' markets.

NOTE: As enacted, H.J. Res. 1396 is Public Law 91-455 (84 Stat. 969).

The transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement by Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin was released the same day.

349 Statement Announcing the Jobs for Veterans Program. *October* 15, 1970

THIS YEAR over one million servicemen and women will complete their military service in the Armed Forces and return to civilian life. Almost four million Vietnam era veterans have already returned to civilian life. These servicemen and women deserve every opportunity that a grateful nation can provide. For this reason I am announcing the Jobs for Veterans Program, and appointing Mr. James F. Oates, Jr., as National Chairman for this effort. Mr. Oates will be assisted by an Advisory Committee of 100 composed of business, labor, government, and civic leaders. This Committee will be jointly appointed by the participating agencies and announced at a later date.

Jobs for Veterans is a nationwide effort to highlight the quality of the American veteran whose blend of skills and self-discipline make him an ideal candidate for employment. He has proved himself in the military—all he needs is the opportunity to demonstrate that he can contribute as much in civilian employment. I want this program to increase the national awareness of the veteran's potential as an employee, and I am confident that public and private employers will meet the challenge by providing veterans with widened

job and training opportunities.

I have instructed the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Defense, the Veterans Administration, and other agencies of the executive branch to support the program fully within their areas of responsibility.

Today I call upon American business, organized labor, veterans organizations, and State and local governments to lend their support. The Nation must make full use of the talents and ambitions of these fine young people.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released an announcement of Mr. Oates' appointment, which is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1377), and the transcript of a news briefing on the program by Mr. Oates and Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard.

350 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Vermont. *October* 17, 1970

I HAVE COME to Vermont to support a great United States Senator, Win Prouty, a great Governor, Deane Davis, and the entire Republican ticket. While here, I also want to reassure the people of Vermont and of New England about a matter that has become a cause of great concern to many: the question of fuel supply.

I have talked with Senator Prouty and Governor Davis about this. I have investigated the situation. I want to say that despite all the discussion, and despite all the alarms, there is now no fuel crisis. And we are taking all necessary steps to ensure that Vermont and New England have adequate supplies of fuel this winter.

I have known and admired Senator Win Prouty for many years, and I know him as a man of thoughtful good sense and a real voice of Vermont. He works hard at his job, and works hard for the people of his State. He gets things done. Senator Prouty has been one of the great leaders in the Senate in education, in health, in transportation, in getting a better break for the elderly. He understands what it takes to achieve our goal in the world of a full generation of peace.

People in Washington listen to Senator Prouty because they know that what he says is worth listening to. With Winston Prouty in the Senate and Bob Stafford in the House, the people of Vermont can be sure that the voice of Vermont will be heard—and heeded.

Let me say a word, too, about Governor Davis. Two years ago Governor Davis inherited a fiscal mess from his predecessor—and he had the courage and the determination to do what was needed to clean it up. He knows what it takes to make State government work. He knows how to fight crime. Under his leadership, Vermont is setting an example for the Nation in fighting pollution.

If we are to get power back to the States and back to the people—where it belongs—we need more Governors like Deane Davis. And as we look ahead to the Nation's needs in these next critical years, we need the clear, respected voice of Winston Prouty in the United States Senate.

NOTE: The statement was released at Burlington, Vt.

351 Remarks on Arrival at Burlington, Vermont. *October* 17, 1970

Governor Davis, Senator Prouty, Congressman Stafford, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of the distinguished members of this audience:

As you probably are aware, this is the first campaign stop that I have had the opportunity to make in 1970, and I am proud that it is in the State of Vermont. There are personal reasons for that statement that would be of interest, I am sure, to the young people here. My two daughters have very fond memories of their visit to this State to Camp Teela Wooket. I am glad to be back because of that.

The other reason is that as I look back on the record of the State of Vermont, in a personal sense, again, on all the occasions that I have been on the national ticket, I have lost some States but I have always carried Vermont. Thank you very much.

A third reason is that I am very proud to be here on a special day which is nonpolitical in one respect, certainly, the homecoming day of the University of Vermont. I also want to say that, speaking of the university, let's pay our respects to the Rice Memorial [High School] Band over here. How about that? And to the Canadian Geese [1] in the back. The Vermont Turkeys are going to go up to Canada on an exchange visit for the Canadian Geese next week.

But there is a more fundamental reason in this year 1970 that I am very happy to be here to open this campaign in Vermont. It has to do with the fact that I have enormous respect for the men who are candidates on your ticket here this year. Let me mention them each briefly. Bob Stafford, who has been formerly your Governor, then a Congressman.

One thing that you know about the people from Vermont is this—and it is true of all of those representing Vermont in Washington and in the statehouse—whether it is George Aiken, who is a man whose wise counsel I have benefited from as President of the United States and prior to that time, or whether it is a case of Bob Stafford, a man who came to the Congress in the 87th Congress, and all of the Congressmen in the country who were elected that year elected him as their leader.[2]

That is an indication of what they think of Vermont and Bob Stafford in Washington, D.C.

I have had the opportunity to meet all the Governors of the 50 States at various Governors' Conferences, and I respect them all. But there are some who stand out and one who stands out is your Governor because he has courage, the courage to do what is right for his State, to take a mess fiscally and clean it up in the State of Vermont.

There is another reason that I admire your Governor and also your Congressman and your Senator, and that is their tenacity. When anything involves the State of Vermont, they are down there in my office pounding on that door until we do something about it.

[1] The Canadian Geese Rock Band of Saint Michael's College, Winooski, Vt.

[2] Representative Robert T. Stafford was president of the 87th Club which was made up of freshmen Republican Members of the 87th Congress.

For example, over these past 2 weeks they have expressed concern about a possible fuel oil shortage in the State of Vermont. Let me tell you I talked to General Lincoln, the head of the Office of Emergency Preparedness before I left Washington.

There will be no fuel oil shortage—we will see to that, thanks to what your Governor has told us and your Senator and your Congressman—in the State of Vermont.

Now I come to your Senator, Win Prouty, the man who is running in this State for reelection. Can I speak to all of you now about the importance of this one man, this one vote, and your one vote in this State of Vermont?

Let us understand that in 1968 the country elected a new President, called for new leadership. We also recognized that at that time we had the Congress, both the House and the Senate, under the control of Members of the other party. Nevertheless, we worked with that Congress. Sometimes they voted against, sometimes for.

But in the United States Senate particularly—and all of you, particularly you who studied political science at the university and those who studied it also in high school will know, and all of you who read your papers and listen to television—the United States Senate on the great issues, the issues that involve whether we are going to have a program to bring lasting peace in the world, the issues that involve whether or not we are going to have a program that will stop the ruinous inflation that is robbing your pocketbooks and making it impossible to balance your family budget—when we look at all of these problems we find that in the United States Senate on vote after vote a majority of one determines the outcome.

A shift of one Senator, sometimes two, will determine whether the President's program goes through or whether it doesn't go through. I want to say to you, without Win Prouty's vote I couldn't stand here today and speak with pride of a record of accomplishment in this great field. He is providing that majority of one.

I would like to take the three issues, and I think I am going to take the hardest one first. I hear some of the young people here say stop the war, and I heard it said outside. I understand that.

Let me tell you what we found and then you judge the record and you judge Win Prouty on the basis of that record. When we came into office, we found 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring them home. There was no plan to end the war. There was no peace plan that had been submitted.

And what have we done? Let me tell you. We have implemented a plan to bring Americans home, and during the spring of next year half of the men that were in Vietnam when we got there will be coming home. That is what we are going to do.

Second, we wound down the fighting by the strong stand that we took to clean up the sanctuaries in Cambodia. We have cut American casualties to the lowest level in 4½ years.

I am not going to be satisfied until not one American is killed in Vietnam, but we are cutting them down and we are going to continue on that course.

And third, my friends, we have presented to the North Vietnamese, over national television—and I am sure many of you heard it—a far-reaching peace plan. We have offered a cease-fire without conditions. We have offered to negotiate

all the political settlements with regard to South Vietnam, one that would allow all those in that country to participate in the making of that settlement. We have offered also a plan that would provide for the release of war prisoners on both sides. We have offered a conference on all of Indochina.

Now let me tell you exactly where it stands today. As I stand before you today, I can say confidently the war in Vietnam is coming to an end, and we are going to win a just peace in Vietnam. It will come to an end either—if the enemy accepts our proposal for a cease-fire, it can come to an end more quickly.

If it does not accept that proposal, then we will bring it to an end by continuing to withdraw Americans and replacing them with Vietnamese and allowing the Vietnamese to have the right to choose their own government without having it imposed by North Vietnam or by the United States. Now, isn't that the fair thing to do?

Now let us see what the other side of the argument is. I know the people in this State. My good friend Consuelo Bailey,[3] who has always advised me about Vermont, she has said to me from time to time, "The people up in this State, they want to hear both sides of the argument and want to make up their minds."

Let me tell you the other side. I know there are people who say: Why this long road? Why don't we just end the war? I could have done it the day I came into office.

I could have brought all the Americans home. Let me tell you ending a war isn't very difficult. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea. And yet, in this century we have not had a generation of peace.

My friends, what we want to do is to end the war so that the young people that are shouting "Stop the War" will have a generation of peace, and that is the kind of plan that we are trying to implement. So that is what we are doing.

We are ending the war in a way that will discourage those who might start a war.

We are ending the war in a way that will bring permanent peace in the Pacific. It is that kind of program that Win Prouty has stood firmly by.

So I say let us work for what all of us want, not just peace for the next election but peace for the next generation so that the younger brothers and the sons of those who have fought in Vietnam won't have to be fighting in some other Vietnam sometime in the future.

So there is the choice. It is a clear one. Win Prouty, who stands for a just peace and a generation of peace, and those on the other side who say without regard to the future, let's simply end the problems that we are in today.

This is real statesmanship. That is one of the reasons I am here for him.

Let me turn to another subject of equal interest, equal interest in the sense that it affects the pocketbooks of everybody and every family budget. You all know what has happened to prices. You know that when we came into office we found prices going up and up.

You will find also that the reason they were going up and up was that in the years previous to our coming into office that the previous administrations had spent

[3] Consuelo Northrop Bailey, National Republican Committeewoman for Vermont and Secretary of the Republican National Committee.

$50 billion more than the economy would have produced in terms of taxes at full employment.

And what did that do? Because Washington spent more than it was taking in or that it could have taken in in full employment, it raised the prices for everybody.

I said when we came into office we were going to stop that. That is why I had to veto some measures—that I felt people were poor in many instances.

Let me just say this: What we have to realize is that we need Senators and Congressmen who have the courage to vote against spending programs that may benefit some of the people but that raise prices and taxes for all people. That is the kind of a program that we stand for. That is the kind of fiscal responsibility that your Governor stands for. It is the kind of fiscal responsibility that Win Prouty stands for.

And we come to a third area, the area of progress. The great choice that the American people had in 1968 and that we now have a chance to reaffirm in 1970 is this: Do we continue to pour good money into bad programs so that eventually we end up with both bad money and bad programs or do we reform the programs of America? That is why this administration says let's reform the welfare system, let's reform our educational system, let's reform our health system, so that America can move forward on a new road. That is the kind of proposal that we offer.

And here the issue is clear. On the one side there are those who say keep pouring the same amount of money, billions, into the welfare program. Let me tell you what I think. I say that when a program makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, it is time to get rid of it and get another program. And that is why Win Prouty's strong support of the Family Assistance Program in which we provide help for all of those who need it, but in which we provide that those who are able to work will not only have an incentive to work but a requirement to work—let them work, I say, and if they cannot work then, of course, the welfare will be provided. It is that kind of reform that we stand for.

I could go on in other fields. Take the environment. I noticed that as the plane came down and I looked down on this magnificent countryside, and I know that pretty soon the tourists, the winter tourists, will be coming in, the summer influx having gone home. I can only say to you this, that as I look over America, and I fly over it many, many times, of course, on the way to California, to Florida, and to other States, this is a beautiful country. But, my friends, what we have to realize is that because of our wealth, what we are doing is that we are poisoning our water. We are also poisoning our air. We are having our cities choked with traffic and terrorized by crime. So what we have to do now is to clean up the environment of America.

That is why we have presented to the Congress an historic new program to clean up the air, to clean up the water, to provide open spaces for these young people to go to in the years ahead.

And, my friends, that is the kind of progressive legislation that Win Prouty supports, and that is another reason we need him in the United States Senate.

Then one other program I should mention—and Governor Davis, you will be interested in this and all of your fellow Governors—I think back to the history of this country, to the fact that Vermont has played a proud role from the time of the

beginning of America. I think back to the fact, too, that when America was young the States felt that they had responsibilities and then power began to flow, particulary in this century, from the people and the counties and the cities and the States up to Washington, D.C. And Government in Washington got bigger and bigger and bigger, and government in the States found that they didn't have the funds to handle their problems, and taxes, particularly on your property, went up and up and up. So I said this has got to change.

That is why we have authorized and asked the Congress to approve, and they will not yet act on it, a program of revenue sharing, where the Federal Government will turn over to the States funds that the States can use to handle their own problems.

Let me tell you why this is important. For 190 years, my friends, power has been flowing from the people, from you, and from the States, to Washington. I say that it is time now for power to flow back from Washington to the States and to the people of America. That is the kind of a program, again, that Win Prouty supports.

Now one final point. I realize that in this year 1970 there are those who have very deep disagreements with our country's policy, whether it is abroad or at home. I know there are those who demonstrate and say that America is a sick society, that everything is wrong.

Just let me say this: I can tell you, my friends, I have seen this country, and I have also been abroad. I have just finished a trip to Europe. I was in a Communist country, Yugoslavia, and 350,000 people stood out in the rain cheering, not for me but for the United States of America. I was in Spain, in Italy, in Ireland, in England, and the same thing happened. The same thing happened in Asia last year, in India, and other countries.

Let me tell you something: Yes, there are those that criticize America, many abroad among leaders criticize our policies. But to millions of people on this earth we can be proud of the fact that the United States of America—not because simply we are the strongest country and the richest country but because we are a country that provides the greatest freedom and the greatest opportunity for people in the history of the world—the United States is respected, and let's be worthy of that respect.

Now the question is: The voices are being heard in the year 1970. You hear them. You hear them night after night on your television, people shouting their obscenities about America and what we stand for. You hear those who shout against speakers and shout them down, who will not listen. And then you hear those who engage in violence. You hear those, and see them, who, without reason, kill policemen and injure them, and the rest. And you wonder: Is that the voice of America?

I say to you it is not. It is a loud voice, but, my friends, there is a way to answer: Don't answer with violence. Don't answer by shouting the same senseless words that they use. But answer in the powerful way that Americans have always answered. Let the majority of Americans speak up, speak up on November 3d, speak up with your votes. That is the way to answer.

My friends, the people in this great State may well determine whether or not on the great issues which will determine whether we can have a program that will bring lasting peace for a generation, progress in the field of the environment and

welfare, and all these other areas that I have described, a program of strong and fair law enforcement—whether or not we have that majority of one in the United States Senate, a majority that crosses party lines, may well determine on what you do in the State of Vermont. I say this to you because Win Prouty not only provides that vote but because this quiet, confident man has such enormous respect among his colleagues.

Let me tell you something. I have known the Senate and the House, served in both, and anybody who has known those bodies will agree with me that there are the doers and the talkers. Win Prouty isn't a talker; he is a doer. He gets things done. He works for the elderly. He works for progress. He works for education. He is a man who for 20 years has given his life. There isn't a man in that Senate that works harder than he does for Vermont and America.

And because he is a doer and not a talker, send him back and give us that majority of one.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:22 a.m. at the Burlington Municipal Airport.

352 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in New Jersey. *October* 17, 1970

I HAVE COME to New Jersey to help Nelson Gross because I want him to come to Washington and help the Nation.

If the people of New Jersey want a Senator who takes a strict stand against the perpetrators of violence in America; who believes that our college campuses should be ruled by reason and not by force; who would take strong action against the menace of drugs; who himself has been a law enforcement official, and would take strong action against crime—then Nelson Gross is the man.

As New Jersey's Senator, Nelson Gross would stand up for America's position in the world, and help us not only to achieve peace in Vietnam but also to achieve our goal of a full generation of peace. He would help us keep the "Big Spenders" from chewing holes in the housewife's pocketbook. With his strong support of welfare reform, he would help get people off the welfare rolls and onto payrolls. He would help New Jersey—which now ranks last among the States in Federal money returned per tax dollar—to get its fair share of Federal outlays. He would help us help every State by enacting a plan to turn a part of the Federal tax dollar back for the States and localities to use themselves.

There is another point that I think is important. Nelson Gross would be working with New Jersey's other Senator. He would be working with the Governor and with the White House—and that means he could do more for New Jersey, and New Jersey's two Senators, together, would give New Jersey a stronger voice and do more for the country.

So I urge the people of New Jersey to vote for Nelson Gross for the U.S. Senate—and for the entire Republican ticket, so they can help us to achieve the things America needs today and in the critical but promising years ahead.

NOTE: The statement was released at Newark, N.J.

56-087—71——58

353 Remarks on Arrival at Teterboro, New Jersey. *October* 17, 1970

Senator Case, Governor Cahill, Members of the Congress, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and my friends here in New Jersey:

It is a very great privilege for me to return to New Jersey, and I want to say first of all—— [1]

I think that clearly shows that the silent majority is not going to be silent any longer.

I am glad to return to New Jersey because I well recall that in this century no one has been elected President of the United States unless he carried the State of New Jersey, and in 1968 I am proud to have carried the State of New Jersey.

I am also proud to appear here with Bill Cahill, a man who has returned the statehouse in New Jersey to that high class of leadership which Republican Governors have given. Now how about a hand for Bill Cahill, your great Republican Governor?

And since we are speaking of winners, can I say that I am very proud today that we have the Hasbrouck Heights Band. I understand they haven't lost a game in 2 years. Good luck.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this State of New Jersey in this year 1970, you will make a decision that is going to affect the State of New Jersey. It is going to affect your lives, and it is going to affect the United States of America for many years to come.

I want to tell you what that decision means. I could simply speak in terms of the candidates that I am proud to support. I believe we have the best group of House candidates in the State of New Jersey that I have ever seen in campaigning this State for many years. I want to give a hand to every one of these House candidates: those that are in and those who are seeking in.

Second, I'm here to speak in behalf of my friend Nelson Gross, a man—— [1]

Thank you, very much. I am very proud to be here to speak in behalf of Nelson Gross for personal reasons. He was my chairman in 1968. He is a man I deeply respect. He is a member of my party. But, my friends, I want to say to you today that the issue in this election is much bigger than whether I happen to like this man personally, as I do.

It's much bigger than whether he happens to be a member of my party, which he is. He stands for what is best for America. That is why we are for Nelson Gross today.

And there is a very clear issue, a clear issue between him and those who oppose him. Let me put it to you in the terms that every citizen of the State of New Jersey, young and old, is interested in.

What do you want from your Government? We begin, of course, with that item which is more important than anything else in the minds of all of us. We want to build a world in which we can have peace—peace not just for the next election but peace for the next generation. Nelson Gross stands for that.

Since I have been in office, after 5 years of men going to Vietnam, we have been bringing them home, and we will continue to bring them home. After 5 years of American casualties going up and up,

[1] At this point, applause from the audience drowned out some demonstrators who were attempting to interrupt the President.

they've gone down and down to the lowest in 4½ years, and they will continue to go down.

After 5 years of the war going on, the war is coming to an end, and you can be sure that we shall move in that direction.

So what we stand for here is a program of a just peace. We have offered a cease-fire. We have offered an exchange of prisoners. We have offered a peace conference. We have offered a political settlement. My friends, let me tell you why we need a just peace. It is very easy, I know, as some of those who may be here in this audience today have been shouting, to simply end the war. My friends, we have ended wars. What we want to do is to end this war so that young Americans won't have to fight in another war. That is the kind of program that we are for. That is why we are ending this war in a way that will discourage those who might start another war.

We are ending this war in a way that we have a chance for peace in the Pacific in the years to come, and we are maintaining the strength so that we can negotiate that reduction in nuclear arms so essential to lasting peace.

Let me put the issue to you very directly. The United States Senate is the body that has the most effect on the foreign policy of this country. We need in the Senate a man who will stand with the President on the great issue of ending the war and building a just peace.

Let me turn to an issue very close at home. I see many here that probably took off from their shopping in order to be here. I know that as you go to the stores today you are going to be concerned with the fact that the prices are going up and up. Let me say that when we came into office, we found that we had the worst inflation since World War II. And the reason was that we had had a government in Washington, D.C. that, over the past 8 years before then, had spent $50 billion more than the economy of this country at full production would have produced through its tax system. And when a government does that, it means that spending more in Washington means higher prices here at home.

Let me say this to you: We need in Washington a man like Nelson Gross who will support the President on this fundamental issue, and it is a very tempting issue for a political man. It is very easy to vote for every spending program. But we need a man who has the courage to vote against the program that might benefit some people but would raise prices and taxes for all people. That is the kind of a man that we have in Nelson Gross.

And, my friends, we need to reform the institutions of government in this country. We need to quit putting good money into bad programs in America.

Let's look at our welfare program. The welfare costs in New Jersey go up and up and up by the millions of dollars. That is true all over the country. Hundreds of thousands more people go on welfare.

Let me say to you, when I find a program which makes it more advantageous for a man not to work than to work then it is time to junk that program and get something new.

When I find a program that will encourage a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, it is time to get rid of that program and get another one.

That is why this administration, over a year ago, submitted to the Congress of the United States a new program that would take care of everybody who needs

it, and everybody who is unable to work, but which would say that a man would have an incentive to work, would be required to work, and if he is able to work and is offered a job and then won't work then he doesn't get any welfare. That is the kind of a program that Nelson Gross suggests.

We need programs, my friends. You know about what is happening to your local taxes, any of you that are homeowners, how they go up and up and up. You know here in the State of New Jersey how Bill Cahill has had to fight the problems of his budget because the funds that are needed to run State government seem always to get smaller and smaller, and the problems get bigger and bigger. That is why this administration has offered a revolutionary new program in which the Federal Government will share its tax revenues with the States.

And you know another thing that that does? It means that for 190 years we have seen power in this country flowing from the people and from the States up to Washington, D.C. I don't think that is right. I think the power belongs to the people, and I think it is time that we have a program in which power will flow from Washington back to the States and back to the people of New Jersey and the people of America.

Now, my friends, there is another place where we need Nelson Gross—in the Senate. Not only will he support the President on this great issue of bringing a just peace in the world, of reforming the institutions of Government, of reducing that kind of spending that would lead to higher prices and taxes. But, my friends, Nelson Gross is a man who knows law enforcement, and he is a man that will stand firmly for the legislation that this President has asked for and that has been delayed and, in many times, not passed that would wage a winning war against crime in this country. It is time that we wage that war, and Nelson Gross will help us win that war.

It took the Congress almost a year and a half to pass the organized crime bill. The bill which would stop the obscenity and the pornography from going into the homes of Americans still languishes in the Senate. It is time to get that bill out of the Congress of the United States and enacted into law.

And also we have in Nelson Gross a man who is not just for law enforcement during an election campaign, but who stands for it all year round. That is the kind of man that we want in the United States Senate.

I turn now to a problem that concerns many Americans. We see here a number of television cameras. We appreciate their covering this rally. On the television tonight I will predict that what you are likely to see is not this great crowd. You are likely to see a few demonstrators here, or in Vermont where there were a few hundred, and thousands who did not demonstrate. I do not say that critically of television because, you see, that small minority with their obscene language, throwing their rocks, engaging in violence, they come across the television screen and many, I think, it seems to me, without justification, have gotten the impression that that small minority is a majority of Americans. My friends, they are not a majority, and I want to tell you what you can do about it.

Some have asked me, "What do we do about those that shout obscene slogans? What do we do about those that throw rocks?" My answer is, "Don't answer in kind. You don't have to shout obscenities

back to them. You do not have to engage in violence. You do not have to throw rocks. It is time for the great majority to stand up and be counted and to be heard."

I could tell you how you can be heard: You can be heard in a quiet way but with the most powerful voice that democracy has ever created. On November 3d, you walk into that polling booth and you vote, and one vote is worth a hundred obscene slogans.

Vote for Nelson Gross.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:08 p.m. at Teterboro Airport.

354 Remarks in Ocean Grove, New Jersey. *October* 17, 1970

Governor Cahill, Senator Case, all of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, my friend Nelson Gross, all of the other candidates on the platform, and ladies and gentlemen, my friends here in New Jersey:

As I stand in this hall, one which has such historic memories for the people of the United States, I particularly want you to know that I am honored by the fact that as I look back on the history of this country, in this century, I realize that no man has been elected President of the United States unless he had the support of New Jersey. I had it in 1968, and I'm glad we won it.

I am honored, too, to be here with my old friend Clifford Case with whom I served in the House, and with whom I also worked in the Senate. I am honored to be here with Bill Cahill, who had that great victory that encouraged us all last year and who has done such a fine job as Governor of the State of New Jersey. And I am honored here, to be with all the candidates.

I am going to speak primarily about Nelson Gross because of the enormous importance of the Senate races, but remember those House races are important.

I see some signs around here, "Nixon Needs Dowd." [1] Nixon needs every one of those candidates.

Ladies and gentlemen, would the Congressmen and all of the candidates for the House of Representatives please stand who are on the platform—and give them a hand.

It's a great team. Those that have been there I have worked with and those you're going to send there we will work with as well.

Also, I want you to know that I've been impressed by the size of this crowd. I remember my last visit to Monmouth County. Some of you may remember it. I got a little wet on that occasion, I mean outside, at least. But in any event, I remember it was at Eatontown, at the shopping center, and it rained—it rained buckets. We were 3 hours late, and there were thousands of people there.

As we came into the auditorium today—and we're late because the crowds were so large, and we had to wait for the press to get in and set up their cameras and all the rest—but as we came in I asked the police captain how many were inside. He said 10,000. He said there were also 10,000

[1] William E. Dowd, Republican candidate for Congress from the Third District of New Jersey.

outside. That's an enormous crowd. It means we're going to do well in New Jersey this year.

And incidentally, I know that in this crowd are people of both political parties, people of all ages, people from not only this county but other counties in the State, and, incidentally, some who may be rivals in other respects. I say when any meeting can bring together Asbury Park High School and Neptune High School, that has got to be a great meeting.

Incidentally, that truce is one we welcome. It will only last to the next football game, I can assure you.

And now, my friends, I want to come directly to the subject which I discussed in a previous meeting in New Jersey earlier today, one that I am going to talk to you about, and one that I'm going to cover in Pennsylvania later today, the question of the next United States Senate, what its membership will be, how important the election of this one man may be in that Senate.

Let me tell you first what it's about. As you know, in the year 1968 because there was a division in the country, a third party and all the rest, we found that the Presidency did not carry with it, as is usually the case, the House and the Senate. This was not a disaster for the country, as some predicted. We have worked with the House and the Senate on some matters. We have been opposed on others. And I respect those who oppose.

But I think it is important in an election campaign for the people of the United States to know those who are going to stand with the President and those who are going to be against him. And in this case we have a man who will stand for him.

But the significant thing about this last Senate—in vote after vote when the great issues were involved a majority of one determined how they came out. A shift of one vote in the Senate, and sometimes two, would determine whether the program of the administration went over or went down. And, so, this involves your vote, of course. It involves one Senator.

But more than that, what happens in New Jersey may determine the fate of policies that will determine peace, determine your pocketbook, determine all of those elements that you believe in for progress for this country in the years ahead.

And let me say in that respect that I want you to consider now my endorsement of Nelson Gross, not because I like him as a man, as I do because he was my chairman in 1968, not because we were born on the same day—he was born a few years afterwards, but on January 9 we celebrate the same birthday—not because he's a member of the same party, but because he stands for those policies that are best for America.

Let me come to the one that these young people over there are shouting about right now, "Peace Now." Let me talk about that for just a moment, and I think we should have an answer to that.

A young man stopped me outside the door as I came in and said, "Peace now, end the war, get out of Vietnam." And I said, "Have you been to Vietnam?" He said, "No." I said, "Those men are fighting so you won't have to go. That's why we're there."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we came into office with a war that had no end in sight, with Americans going into Vietnam, with casualties running at 300 a week, and what have we done? Instead of sending more men in, we're bringing hundreds of thousands of men out of Viet-

nam. And it's going to continue.

Second, instead of casualties going up, we wound down the war so that casualties are their lowest in 4½ years, and they're going to go lower.

Third, instead of having no plan for peace, we have set forth last week—you heard it on television—a plan for peace, a plan which would provide for a cease-fire, for a negotiation at the conference table, for an exchange of prisoners, all of the elements that should lead to a peaceful settlement. And I can say to you now we are ending the war. We shall have peace in Vietnam.

But now let me come to the key point. Why not now? Why not just bring them home? I'll tell you why. My friends, it's very easy to end the war, but do you realize what has happened to America in this century? Look back. I can remember, you can remember, we've had four wars in this century. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea. But not one generation in this century has had one generation of peace.

It isn't ending the war. It's ending a war in a way that we win the peace, and I say let's win the peace as we end the war in Vietnam. And that is what we are doing. We are ending the war in a way that will discourage that kind of aggression in the future. We are ending the war so that the younger brothers and the sons of those fighting in Vietnam won't have to be fighting in some other Vietnam sometime in the future.

Now there's your choice. That kind of responsible policy Nelson Gross supports, and that is the kind of support that we need in the United States Senate.

Let's go further. Vietnam is not the only danger spot. We have avoided a war in the Mideast, and we trust that we can continue to avoid it. We have a cease-fire. We hope that we can continue it. We're negotiating with the Soviet Union for the limitation of arms.

And as we go on with those negotiations, may I say, and I make this statement to this great audience in this historic hall with full knowledge of what it means: My friends, I think that with the right leadership—leadership that is courageous, leadership that is sound, leadership that will not say just peace for the next election but peace for the next generation—with that kind of leadership we have the best chance since World War II to have a generation of peace. Give us the men that will support that kind of leadership. Give us Nelson Gross.

Let's turn to the issues at home. I know that—as I look over this audience I see a lot of men, I see a lot of women. And I know you'll be shopping later in the day and you'll be looking at those price tags—up. And you know that when we came into office that we had this economy so heated up that the prices were on an escalating wave which had to be stopped. And we had to move on it, and we did.

We recognized that we had to stop the increases of spending in Washington so that you'd have more to spend at home, and we need the men that will support that kind of policy.

Let me put it more directly. You know, it's very difficult for a Congressman or a Senator to have a bill come up and for him to say, "Well, this will spend money for here, and there, and someplace else." After all, it isn't his money. It's the taxpayers' money. And it's very difficult for him not to vote for it.

But I tell you what we need: We need men in the House and the Senate who

have the courage to vote against huge spending programs in Washington that may benefit some people but that will raise prices and taxes for all people. That's the kind of man you have in Nelson Gross.

And then there's one other thing that we need. This administration has submitted the most historic program for reform of the institutions of American Government in history: reform of our welfare program, reform of our tax program, revenue sharing for the States, which is of such vital interest to this State, to men like Bill Cahill who are having an increasingly difficult problem in attempting to balance their State budgets and deal with State needs.

Let me give you one example of it, and here is a clear choice. It's a choice between the old approach and the new, between the old politics and the new politics. The old politics simply says spend more and more and more for the same old programs; and the new politics, what we stand for, the reform politics, says no, let's quit putting good money into bad programs or otherwise we're going to end up with bad money and bad programs, and let's not have that happen in America.

I give you an example of it: The welfare program. Everybody in this room wants to be sure that any individual who is unable to work has proper assistance, and he should have, without the demeaning qualifications that we have in our present welfare system.

But let's look at that welfare system. It continues to grow, and people continue to go on the list. And we find that at the present time this system has these problems. I can put it to you quite directly: I say to you when any system makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, it's time to get rid of that system and get another one in its place.

I say to you when any system encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family and support it, that system ought to be changed. That is why our family assistance program, which provides for help for anybody who is unable to work, but which has work incentives and the requirement of work, we think that is the right approach. Let's reform this system. This is the kind of a program that Nelson Gross—his support, as well as that of Cliff Case, it's that kind of support that we need, because I submitted it over a year ago and they still haven't acted on it. Now let's get some men down there that will act on it. You can do it with Nelson Gross.

I could cover other programs—an historic recommendation for the environment. We need to clean up the air, and clean up the water. We need better programs in transit, in health, in education. But let's don't continue to put good money into bad programs.

This administration offers a new approach, a new approach to the problems, one of reform, one of restoring the beauty of America, one of renewal of the American spirit. That is the spirit in which I address you today.

Then, finally, this point needs to be made to this audience and before every audience in America today. I spoke about the necessity to have a program that would bring peace abroad. If America is going to provide the leadership that will bring peace abroad, we have to demonstrate that we can keep the peace at home. That means, my friends, that as we look across America today we see some problems, we see the fact, for example, that last year, up to this point in 1970, I should

say, 66 policemen had been killed, hundreds had been wounded.

We have seen also an unprecedented wave of violence. We have seen indications on many sides that there has been a growth of crime. This administration recognized this in 1968, and we submitted to the Congress the most comprehensive proposals in terms of a crime program that had ever been submitted, organized crime, dealing with pornography and obscenity, dealing with the problem of drugs and narcotics.

The Congress has been slow to act. We just got the organized crime bill last week. And the others, many of them, are still languishing in committees and in Congress.

We need a man who understands this problem. Nelson Gross understands it. He knows law enforcement.

And, incidentally, he will not simply be one who's for law enforcement during an election campaign. He'll be for it year round. That's the kind of a man we need in the United States Senate.

I could go on, but you have been here a long time.

I conclude my remarks simply again with an historical reference, with regard to this country, what it means to all of us and how we can make it an even greater country.

Some of you know I returned recently from a trip abroad. It took me to a Communist country, Yugoslavia, to Spain, to Italy, to England, to Ireland. And I was enormously moved by the fact that whether it was in Yugoslavia, Spain, or in Ireland, hundreds of thousands of people turned out to welcome me, not as a person but because they were trying to say something about America.

We hear these days about what's wrong with America, and there are things wrong. But let us never forget that because we are so strong, because we have the wealth that we have, we're able to correct the things that are wrong. And just remember this: To millions of people in this world today, America is the hope of the world. It's the hope of the world for peace, for freedom, for opportunity, and, believe me, let us live up to that hope; let us not disappoint it here in the United States of America.

This is a great country and a good country. I have flown over it; I have visited its towns and its cities. I respect those who may have different points of views, as you do. But I also want to say this—there is a small group in this country, a small group that shouts obscenities, as they did at the last meeting, that throws rocks, as they did at a meeting earlier today in Vermont; a group of people that always tear America down; a group of people that hate this country, actually, in terms of what it presently stands for; who see nothing right with America. And those people night after night appear on our television screens, and people here in the United States get the impression that that, if it is not the present of America, may be the future.

Let me tell you what the facts are: That is a minority today. It is not going to be a majority in the future because the majority are the people that I see standing in front of me here in this audience.

And I want to tell you now as I leave what you can do. How do you answer those that shout obscenities and shout speakers down, or try to? How do you answer those that throw rocks, engage in violence? How do you answer those that have nothing but invective and refuse to listen to the other side?

Don't answer in kind. Don't engage in violence. You don't have to use the epithets. The way to answer them I can tell you—and it's time for the great silent majority to speak out—the way to answer them is with the most powerful voice known in the history of man. That is the voice of the vote, at the ballot box.

On November 3d you can walk into that polling booth and in the quiet of that polling booth you, the majority, can vote for what you believe is right about America. You, the majority, can vote for those policies, and for a man who will support those policies, that will bring lasting peace to America, that will provide reform for the institutions of America, that will provide the opportunity for all of these young people that I see here and these bands, not only to live in a period of peace but in a period of progress and opportunity and freedom in which the air can be clean, and the water can be pure, and the parks and the living spaces can be as they once were in this country. And that can happen. That's the promise of America. That's what we stand for. That's what we're trying to work for.

But, my friends, we cannot do it unless we have support in the Congress, and Nelson Gross is the man that can help us. Give him that chance.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. in the Ocean Grove Auditorium.

355 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Pennsylvania. *October* 17, 1970

I HAVE COME to Pennsylvania to voice my support for the reelection of Senator Hugh Scott and the election of Ray Broderick as Governor.

Lieutenant Governor Broderick is a man superbly qualified for one of the most far-reaching executive jobs in the Nation. As president of the Constitutional Convention, he demonstrated his capacity to lead: Thanks to his ability to work together with both Democrats and Republicans, Pennsylvania's constitution was rewritten for the first time in 94 years.

As Governor, Ray Broderick will build on the foundation of fiscal responsibility that is the hallmark of the administration in which he has played an important role. He will resist the kind of big spending that leads to heavy taxation. I endorse his candidacy wholeheartedly; he will make a great Governor, one who will work with this administration to make revenue sharing and welfare reform working realities.

Senator Hugh Scott is a man who has my complete confidence and who has earned the confidence of the voters of Pennsylvania. He is a man of deep convictions, who has the courage of those convictions; at the same time, he is a team player, one who knows how to get progressive legislation moving through the process of government.

Hugh Scott carries not only the title of Minority Leader, but he carries the quality of leadership with him in all he does. I have worked closely with him on matters of the highest national importance; I trust him; I know you can trust him to act in the best interests of this Nation at home and abroad, and—as his successful effort in regard to the 1976 Bicenten-

nial shows—you can be sure he will fight for the best interests of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Republicans' candidates for Congress, for statewide office, and for the legislature are all part of a team; never before has it been so important to elect men who will work together to build a better State and a better Nation.

NOTE: The statement was released at Lancaster, Pa.

356 Remarks on Arrival at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. *October* 17, 1970

Governor Shafer, Senator Scott, Lieutenant Governor Broderick, all of the distinguished guests, the candidates on the platform, and all of the distinguished members of this audience:

May I first apologize to you for being late. I started this morning in Vermont and I have been in two stops in New Jersey. We are here now in Lancaster. Then we finish tonight in Wisconsin before returning to Washington—a rather light day.

I ought to say that I am so glad to have this wonderful crowd here. I remember my visits here back in 1960. I recall, incidentally, on that occasion that the two bands that played then in 1960 are here today. I am so glad that they are here. Let's give those bands a hand back there.

I recall, too, in 1966, my visit here—not outdoors, but an indoors meeting. I recall on that occasion that Ed Eshleman was sent to Washington as your Congressman. I recall, too, that through the years this has been what we call one of the strong areas for support of the Republican Party, and I would like to put it another way, support for those great principles that we believe in in this country.

Today I am here in behalf of not myself as a candidate, but I am here in behalf of some very great programs that I deeply believe in. I think they are in your interest. I think they are in the interest not just of Republicans but of Democrats, of all Americans.

I would like for you to consider, if you will, in the few minutes that I talk to you, what we stand for, what we believe in, and if you believe that that is what this country needs and what your State needs, then I am going to ask you to go out and work for those candidates that we are here to support.

Now let me begin by saying that this is a particularly appropriate State for me to put this whole campaign in the context of not only the past but of the future.

As you know, due to the efforts of your Governor and of Senator Scott, who is a very persuasive man, whatever his problems involving the State of Pennsylvania or other problems are involved, that the Bicentennial Commission has selected Pennsylvania for the major event in 1976.

In 1976, when that great event, the 200th birthday of America is celebrated, we will look back to the year 1776, and we will look back to this time right now, the year 1970. We will try to evaluate what America was and what it became.

Let's think for just a moment in this beautiful countryside which has so much of the history of America around it and in it and in the hearts of the people who

are working, let us think of that year 1976 and what we want America to be.

Let me tell you what I want it to be, and this will indicate the programs that I support, the programs that Ray Broderick will work for as Governor of this State, the programs that Hugh Scott has worked for during all of his life, the man in whom I have confidence, in whom our party has confidence, who has been our leader, and I know will continue to be our leader in the years ahead.

Let me come to these points. What do we want, looking down that road to 1976? Above all else, I find, as I travel this country, the American people want peace. They want peace. They want an end to the war in which we are in, but they want more than that: They want the kind of policies that will give us something we haven't had in this whole century, a whole generation of peace.

I think back to the people in that band over there. I think of those young boys particularly, and I think of their future.

I want to tell you what I feel about that future, and I feel it very deeply. I feel about the future of this young lad here, who is perhaps about 12 or 10 years old.

I remember that in this century we ended World War I; we ended World War II; and we ended the Korean war. And yet, there hasn't been one generation that has had a full generation of peace.

So you see, what we need are policies that will not just end a war; what we need are policies that will end a war and win the peace. That is what we stand for and that is the kind of program that we are for.

I remember at the last stop in New Jersey a very intense young man, as we were walking through a huge crowd of people, waving signs that were very friendly, came up to me. He sort of shook his fist in my face. That didn't bother me. He said, "End the war. End the war in Vietnam."

I said, "Have you been there?" He said, "No." I said, "Those men are fighting out there so you won't have to go."

So you see what we are trying to do is to end this war, and we are doing it in a way that it will discourage this kind of aggression in the future.

What we are trying to do, and we are doing it—we are bringing American men home, whereas they were going in when we came in. We have reduced the casualties. We have presented a peace plan, a program for a cease-fire, a program for a negotiated peace, a program also for an exchange of prisoners, which goes, I think all objective observers agree—it goes to the point that is fair for both sides.

We believe that it is possible and that we can proceed along this line. Either we are going to get peace through negotiation or we will get it through our program of Vietnamization, in which Americans come back as the South Vietnamese are able to defend themselves.

But, my friends, the important thing is this: Let us end this war in a way that we have not been able to end other wars. Let's end it in a way that the younger brothers and the sons of those who fought in Vietnam will not have to be fighting in some future war in history someplace.

That is what we are working for. And I want to tell you, as I stand here referring not just to Vietnam but to the other trouble spots in the world, to the Mideast, our negotiations with the Soviet Union in other areas, while they are very difficult, while the dangers are very great, I believe we have the policies; I believe we have the strength; I believe we have the wisdom to accomplish this great objective

that I referred to, not just peace for the next election, but peace for the next generation.

I believe, my friends, that we can have that. It is that that we are working for. I believe the chances that we can have a full generation of peace are better today than they have been at any time since the end of World War II.

I ask support for that kind of a program. Hugh Scott has loyally supported that kind of a program, and I know that Ray Broderick will support it just as Ray Shafer has in the Governor's chair in the State of Pennsylvania.

Looking ahead to the year 1976, what else can we have? We want prosperity for America. We want the kind of prosperity, however, in which Americans have jobs and in which we have prosperity without war.

Let it be said that during this administration, over a million men have been let out of defense plants and out of the armed services as we have wound down the war in Vietnam. That has, of course, caused some problems insofar as unemployment is concerned. But this economy is strong. This economy is growing. And all of the people of this country, those who want jobs, should have the opportunity to have them.

I simply say this: I think that Americans—every American wants the kind of policy which will provide prosperity without war for the American people and jobs without war. And that is what we are working for.

Third, we would like to have prosperity without the cost of the ruinous inflation. I see a lot of ladies here, and I imagine you have been doing some shopping today, and you may be doing some tomorrow or later this afternoon. You look at those prices in the grocery store and other places, and you say, "Why do they keep going up?" I will tell you why, because in the previous administration, over a period of years, they spent over $50 billion more than this economy, at full production, would have produced in tax revenues. All that that could possibly do would be to create inflation. We have been fighting against that.

As a result, we have cut the rate of inflation in half. But that is why we need the kind of support in the Senate and in the Congress, the kind of support that we will get from Ed Eshleman, George Goodling, the kind of support that has the courage to say when a huge new spending program comes up that might be popular for some people, that we must vote sometimes against the program that might benefit some people if its effect is going to raise prices and taxes for all people.

That is the program that I think that Americans also want to support.

In 1976 we want to see this country's government reformed in so many areas—the area, for example, of the cost of State government. I know the problems the State of Pennsylvania has had, the problems that you have had, like the other major States, to meet all of the great concerns of your State with inadequate tax revenues.

That is why this administration has recommended an historic new program in which the Federal Government will share tax revenues with the States. This does two things: It relieves the burden of property taxation in the States, which is becoming too heavy for people who own property in the States to bear. And, second, it does something else: For 190 years, from the beginning of this country, and its Constitution, we have seen power flow

from the people and from the States to Washington, D.C.

Now we think it is time to turn it around. Power belongs to the people, and we are, therefore, presenting a program, a new federalism, in which, whether it is manpower training, whether it is revenue sharing, whether it is in the field of welfare or education, the power will flow from Washington, D.C., back to the States, back to the counties, back to the people of the State of Pennsylvania and all the States of this Nation.

When we speak of reform, let me talk briefly about another subject that I know is of deep concern to people all over this country. It is our welfare program.

First, let us understand what we are talking about. Every American wants to see to it that anybody in this country who is unable to earn a living for himself does not go hungry, that he has an adequate income, to the extent that this Nation can afford it. And this is a rich country.

We can be thankful that we are rich enough so that any individual in this country can have an adequate income. But, on the other hand, I think all of us recognize that our present welfare program has resulted in very great inequities.

The number on the welfare rolls goes up and up, and people who work hard, people who pay their taxes, have to pay an increasing load for people who are not working, and some of them could work if they would just go out and do so.

So, my friends, I say to you today that any program which makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work ought to be abolished, and we are going to abolish it.

I say that any program that rewards a man for deserting his family rather than staying with his family and supporting it, needs to be changed, and we are going to change it.

You see, that is why we have presented the historic family assistance program for which Hugh Scott has fought, and for which Ray Broderick will fight as Governor of this State. We need to get it through. We need support. We will have it by the year 1976 and it will mean that every family in America who needs help will have it, but it will mean that those who are able to work will be required to work, and if they have a job offered and they are able to work and won't work, then they shouldn't get welfare. We think that is the fair thing to do.

Now to another subject. How do we want our country to look in 1976 in terms of what is really basic to a free society, the right, certainly, of everybody to dissent, but also the right of all Americans to be free from fear, free from fear in our cities, in our homes, wherever the case may be.

During the 8 years before this administration came into office in 1968, crime went up 150 percent in America.

During that 8-year period, there was an attitude of permissiveness in high places. There was also a failure to back up our law enforcement officials. There was also a failure to enact the laws that would give our law enforcement officials the tools they needed to deal with those that engage in criminal activities.

That is why one of the first recommendations I sent to the Congress over 18 months ago was a new program to deal with crime in this country, to deal with organized crime, to deal with pornography and filth and obscenity, which is being sent through the mails and that ought to be stopped, and to deal with narcotics and drugs.

What has happened? One of those bills

has been passed, the organized crime. The others, of course, have been delayed. We hope they will be passed.

But the important thing is this: What we need are not only the laws but we also need those men and the backing for those men who have the responsibility to enforce the laws.

I simply want to say this: In the case of your Lieutenant Governor Ray Broderick, who will be your Governor, we have a man who has demonstrated his leadership capacity as head of the Constitutional Convention in this State, a man who understands law enforcement and takes a strong, firm line on it.

We have in your Senator Hugh Scott and in the congressional candidates here, men who take a strong, firm stand on this issue, men who will not only pass the laws but will back up our law enforcement officials in that respect.

I want to say to you, my friends, I recognize that on this particular issue that this does not involve partisanship. It isn't a question of whether you are a Democrat or Republican as to whether or not we are going to have the laws and we are going to have the law enforcement with justice that Americans want.

But I do say this: It is time now that the President of the United States gets support from the Congress and support from the country, and that the Governors of the States and the mayors of the cities get support for a program to wage a winning war against the criminal elements in this country. Let's give them that kind of support.

So I look down to that year 1976, and I want to tell you what I see. I see a world that will be at peace, at peace largely because America as the strongest free world power will have played a courageous and responsible role to bring peace.

I see an America in which we will have new programs to clean up our air and our water where that needs to be done, to deal with the problems of an environment.

I see an America in which we will have unprecedented reform, in which every American family will have certainly the opportunity to have a decent living, where all Americans who want to work have an opportunity to have jobs.

Let me tell you why that can happen. You know it can't happen in any other country in the world. Because America is the richest country in the world, we are able to stand for programs that will provide more freedom, more opportunity, a better living than in any country in the world.

That is the picture of America I see. And yet I hear some other voices in this country. I heard them in Vermont today. I hear a few here today. I understand that. I respect the right of anybody to disagree. But let me tell you what some of those voices do and what some of those voices say.

In Vermont some rocks were thrown. That, of course, is happening in other places as well. And in the last place they were shouting obscenities. All over this country we find violence, the bombing and the burning of buildings in this senseless fashion. We find, in addition to that, those who have lost faith in America, those who say that America is on the road to fascism. Let me tell you, don't you believe it. This is a great and a good country.

But that small violent minority, because it is on that television tube night after night, appears to many to be either the majority or about to become the majority.

Well, I have news for you. That small minority is not the majority in this country

and it isn't going to become the majority of the people in this country.

But there is only one answer, and that is for the great silent majority to stand up and to speak out and to be counted. I will tell you how. Don't answer them with the same obscenities. You don't need to do that. Don't engage in violence. You don't need to do that.

You have a more effective answer, a more powerful answer than any of those things that those on that side who believe that way resort to. You have that vote.

On November 3d, you can walk into the quiet of that polling booth and you can vote. Then you will determine the future of America. I say that on that day let your votes be for policies that will bring America real peace, a peace we can keep in the generation ahead, that will bring us reform of our institutions and opportunity for every American, regardless of his background, to have an equal chance, an equal opportunity, to go forward, because let us remember we cannot fulfill the American dream unless every American has a chance to fulfill his own dream.

Vote for those kinds of policies that will have respect for law and laws that deserve respect.

My friends, that is what I have been working for since becoming the President of this country. That is the kind of leadership Hugh Scott has been giving in the United States Senate. And that is the kind of leadership you will get from Ray Broderick as the Governor of this State. It is for that reason that I am very proud to stand here with this great team, and I urge you to support them.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:10 p.m. at Lancaster Airport.

357 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Wisconsin. *October* 17, 1970

I GIVE my strong endorsement to Jack Olson for Governor and John Erickson for Senator.

As your first 4-year Governor, Jack Olson will stand firm against the kind of excessive government spending that drives up taxes and helps to drive up prices.

Governor Olson will carry on the superb work in cleaning up the environment that has made Wisconsin a leader of the Nation in this field. He is a valuable member of the Air Quality Advisory Board, helping the Nation as well as the State purify the air we breathe.

One basic reform of my administration has been to channel power and authority away from Washington, back to the States and to the people where it belongs—to make this happen and to rise to the new responsibility, strong and experienced Governors like Jack Olson are needed now as never before.

Now is the time, too, for teamwork in Washington—and with John Erickson, we will get the kind of teamwork we need to hold down the cost of living, to wage a war on crime, and to bring about a generation of peace.

John Erickson knows as few men do how to inspire young people and direct their energies to useful ends. He knows the campus community; he understands how to motivate the administrators, faculty, and students to isolate the disrupters

and to govern the campus firmly from within. His special experience with young people would be especially valuable in the United States Senate, cooperating with this administration instead of fighting every step of the way.

I hope no citizen of Wisconsin will overlook the importance of the races for Congress and the State legislature; here, too, I urge you to support the men who will hold down the spending, move firmly against disorder, and back up those who are determined to bring peace with honor to Southeast Asia and the world.

NOTE: The statement was released at Green Bay, Wis.

358 Remarks on Arrival at Green Bay, Wisconsin. *October* 17, 1970

I JUST WANT to take a moment to thank you all for welcoming us here at the airport, and to tell you that I'm delighted to return to Wisconsin, a State that has always been very good to me, when I've been running on my own account, and a State that I am sure is going to give its support to Jack Olson as the next Governor of this State, and to John Erickson as the next United States Senator, and, of course, to your own Johnny Byrnes as your Congressman.

I also note, my friends, as we look out at this crowd, that we have a few here that indicate that they have other views with regard to my visit.

Let me say that I respect their right to be heard even if they do not respect my right to be heard.

And let me say also, ladies and gentlemen, I can assure them that they are a very loud minority in this country, but they are a minority, and it's time for the majority to stand up and be counted.

And the way you can be counted is not by trying to shout speakers down, not by throwing rocks, not by bombing buildings, not by shouting obscenities, but I'll tell you how you can be counted: with the most quiet, powerful voice in the world, by voting on November 3d for Jack Olson, for John Erickson, and Johnny Byrnes.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:58 p.m. at Austin Straubel Airport.

359 Remarks at a Testimonial Reception in Honor of Green Bay Packers Quarterback Bart Starr. *October* 17, 1970

Mr. Commissioner, and the distinguished guests on the platform, and all the distinguished guests in the audience:

I want you to know that it's a very great honor for me to be here on this occasion. As some of you may have heard, we're in the midst of another political campaign in this country, but if there is one thing that is nonpolitical, it's being for Bart Starr tonight.

I was delighted to have the opportunity to come here, to this stadium. I remember in 1956 when I was Vice President I had the honor to be here when the football

stadium was dedicated.

I even remember what happened—the Packers beat the Bears that day 21 to 17. And that was before Bart was the first-string quarterback, too.

See, my memory goes back even further than his, I am sure, on that score.

Also, it's a great privilege for me to be in this State to see a lot of old friends. I, as you know, served in the Congress, when I first came to the Congress, with Johnny Byrnes. He had been there a couple of years before I had.

And I don't need to say anything to his friends here in Green Bay that you haven't already said, but in my view he's really "Mr. Integrity" in that Congress and I'm very proud to serve with him in the Government of the United States.

And there's another man on this platform who is not a candidate this year and, consequently, we can say anything good about him without its being taken in a partisan context. I've seen many Governors in my time and I know that as I consider those Governors who have real quality and stand just a bit above the others, if they can stand above them, and there are a few in that category, one would be Warren Knowles, of the State of Wisconsin. You can be very proud that he leaves a legacy not only of good government in this State, but also a legacy in terms of the future, of the future for the young people that are here. I am speaking, of course, of the Packers and the Rams, and everybody else who is young here, and their children, because he has thought about the beauty of this State, its "Wonderland of Lakes" and all the rest, and how we can have this environment of ours go on down to other generations without having the water poisoned and the air becoming such that we can't breathe it.

There's no Governor in this country that has given more progressive leadership than he has in this field, and I wanted to say that about him in a year that he wasn't running, so that you would know it was really meant. I want to say that about Warren Knowles.

And naturally, my old friend, Jack Olson, who's the Lieutenant Governor—I understand he's a candidate for something this year. And also John Erickson, another old friend, I'll just introduce him tonight as he has been introduced, as a friend of Bart Starr's. I won't have to say he's a candidate. That is enough.

But I do want to say, too, that this is not the night of any of these men. It is not my night. But it is a night for another man. And I would like to say something about him, something about him before his friends here in Green Bay and before the Nation.

When I think of Bart Starr I think of where he came from. I just met his mother and his father. They must be very proud that they have a son who is so honored as he is by his friends and associates and teammates here in Green Bay.

And also, when I think of him, I think of the fact that we—as a matter of fact, he and I—have very little in common as far as athletics goes, at least. As a matter of fact, I do come from California and I am a very close friend of George Allen.[1] And tomorrow, I must say that I would have to be neutral, but tonight I'm a "Packer Backer."

I think of Bart Starr's accomplishments on the football field. They've all been mentioned before, the great record that he's made. What really impressed me was

[1] Head coach of the Los Angeles Rams professional football team.

that he's been in two Super Bowls and won them both.

In my profession of politics, I got into the Super Bowl twice and only broke even.

And, then I looked into his record to find, is there really something that would identify me more closely with him? And I found that we did have something in common. I spent a lot of time on the bench and so did he. You wouldn't know that.

His first years at Alabama were very great years, and in his junior and senior years, as you may recall, due to injuries and other reasons, he was sitting on the bench a lot.

And consequently, he was the 17th draft choice, and the Packers picked him up and he came up here and he was the fourth quarterback at Green Bay, and he sat on the bench a lot here, too.

And then he came on, and you all know the record: the greatest pass completion record of any man in pro football, 58 percent, over a period of years.

All of the accomplishments in leading the Packers to their great years during the sixties—all this we don't need to go into. The sportswriters cover it. The television and radio people will cover it much more accurately and effectively than I can. But I think that in speaking about him tonight, what really impresses me is that here was a man who didn't start at the top.

Here is a man who did sit on the bench. And instead of whining about it, instead of saying that the coach was at fault or the system was at fault, and quitting or, for that matter, sulking—which seems to be rather a fashionable and common thing to do these days when everything doesn't go your own way—he just kept going along and trying harder, and eventually he came up. And that's what he stands for.

Yes, he's a very, very great football player. But, more than that, he's not only the number one pro quarterback in this period; he's a number one American citizen when it comes to character.

And that's why we're all proud to be out here to honor him tonight. It's why I am very proud to have been able to arrange my schedule to come from Washington to honor him, and why also another man, and I want to say a word about him before I present the real star of the evening—and that is not intended to be a pun at all, of course—I simply want to say that that's another reason that the Secretary of Defense, who is one of the most valued members of our team, was proud to return to his State.

A word about your Secretary of Defense. I think it's only proper to speak of him in this room where all of us who follow football—and I guess that Presidents have no secrets but it's no secret that I'm a football fan—that we know that the defense is essential if you're going to be able to win the game.

I remember the two Super Bowl games. I think Bart will agree the defense played as much of a role in winning those games as the offense—the defense against the Chiefs and the Raiders.

And I think, too, that as we look at the United States of America today, we look at the defense of America which Mel Laird, a great son of Wisconsin, now has responsibility for.

The defense is important, as Mel Laird has said, not because the United States wants a war, but because with that kind of a defense we can discourage anyone who might want to engage in an offense.

These are the peace forces of America that he maintains, and tonight here in his native State I'm proud to say that it was this son of Wisconsin, Mel Laird, who de-

veloped the plan, after 5 years of American men going to Vietnam, of bringing them home through a program of replacing Americans with Vietnamese so that they could have a just and honorable peace in that area. It was Mel Laird who has developed the program for a strong defense of the United States.

Why? Because that is the basis with which we are able to negotiate with other countries, to reduce the arms that hang over this world, and to produce what we all want, and what we all want is not just peace for a year, not just peace for 2 years or 3 years, but peace that we haven't had in this century, peace for a generation.

That's what he's working for and that's what I'm working for.

And now, that brings me again back to Bart Starr. We honor him as a very great practitioner of his profession, the proud profession of professional football. And as we honor him for that, we honor him not only for his technical skill but, as I've indicated, also for something that is just as important: his leadership qualities, his character, his moral fiber.

It is this that will be his legacy to the Packers. It will be this that will be his legacy to the sport and his legacy to America.

I also want to pay tribute on this occasion to all of you, everybody in this great auditorium, all of you who may be listening on radio and television, who live in Packer territory.

To think that this city, the smallest city in population in the whole National Football League, could put out year after year, as it did in the sixties, the first team in professional football, tells us something about the Packers, but it also tells us a lot about Green Bay. This town has character and a lot of character and I congratulate this town for it.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I say to you my own envy of those in this crowd today is that I have to return to Washington tonight and won't be able to see that great game between the Packers and the Rams. I am for whichever team wins, believe me. And I'll write a nice letter to the loser, too. You can be sure.

But I think the best way that I can present Bart Starr to his friends is to say very simply that the sixties will be described as the decade in which football became the number one sport in America, in which the Packers were the number one team, and Bart Starr was proudly the number one Packer.

Bart Starr.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:35 p.m. in the Brown County Veterans Memorial Arena, Green Bay, Wis.

Pete Rozelle was Commissioner of the National Football League.

360 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Ohio. *October* 19, 1970

IN TERMS of experience, character, and ability, Robert Taft and Roger Cloud are among the most highly qualified candidates running for office in any State this autumn. I am proud to endorse them and the entire Republican slate in Ohio.

Bob Taft's record of service to his State and his Nation is well known, in Ohio and around the country. He has been a key leader in both the Ohio State Legislature and in the national Congress. I have followed his career with great interest and

with deep admiration. I am proud to be a Taft supporter again this year.

Over the years, Bob Taft has developed a special expertise in the field of foreign affairs. He shares my conviction that only a strong America can bring peace with honor to our world. A man of high principle and sound judgment, he has written a bright new chapter in a long and distinguished family history. The Nation needs another Bob Taft from Ohio in the Senate of the United States.

Roger Cloud is also an outstanding public servant. Certainly few candidates anywhere, for any office, can boast records of experience in State government as great as his. Roger Cloud's political career began with his election to the school board in 1936, and he has gone from one success to another ever since. Along the way he even set a record for the most terms served as speaker of the Ohio Legislature. Roger Cloud has learned from experience that good government need not be costly government. He knows that a man can be an effective leader without being a big spender.

Both Bob Taft and Roger Cloud know that America cannot bring peace abroad unless we also restore peace at home—in our streets, our schools, our cities. I know that both of them—and all of the GOP candidates in Ohio—will work closely with the Nixon administration in meeting the challenges of the seventies. To the voters of Ohio, who are accustomed to judging "All-Americans," I say that I look upon those men as "All-American" candidates. I regard their election as a matter of especially high priority.

NOTE: The statement was released at Columbus, Ohio.

Roger Cloud was Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio.

361 Remarks on Arrival at Columbus, Ohio. *October* 19, 1970

WHAT a great day you have got here. I am certainly delighted to be here and be here with such a great team. This campaign is moving. That is the main thing.

I met a few of your Ohio people yesterday. The most important thing in a campaign is basically momentum—who is going in the last 2 weeks.

About a week or 2 weeks ago, it began to run. I think that this campaign in Ohio and in the Nation will be determined in the next 2 weeks. I think that I have never seen as many undecided voters in the polls that I have seen. I don't know whether it is true in this State.

The undecided voters are going to determine it. And that is why these appearances that all of us are making in the last 2 weeks may have some effect. I think that, in other words, what people will decide in the next 2 weeks will determine the future in all the close races.

Also, I have never seen so many close races, close races in all fields. They are real tight. That is why momentum is important. In a close race we want the momentum on our side. So let's move. Let's go.

Nice to see all of you.

I will see you downtown.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 11:45 a.m. at Port Columbus Airport.

362 Remarks in the Ohio State House, Columbus, Ohio. *October* 19, 1970

Governor Rhodes, Senator Saxbe, Congressman Taft, all of my distinguished colleagues from the House of Representatives who are here, Bill McCulloch, the senior Member of the House delegation, Sam Devine, Chalmers Wylie from this district and all the others, all the candidates both at the Federal and the State level:

I want you to know that I am very proud to stand here in the company of a fine team for Ohio and for America. I want them all to stand up together.

The last time I stood in this spot was exactly 2 years ago about this date. Many of you were here. There was a feel of victory in the air then. Ohio State was on the way to the Rose Bowl and I was on the way to the White House.

And based on what I have seen on the football fields and what I sense in this great crowd today, there is the feel of victory here today. We are going to win in this year 1970.

One word, first, with regard to Ohio State. I can only say that in that respect I recall seeing Ohio State play in that Rose Bowl Game and beat my wife's alma mater, Southern California. This year, I have a complaint to make.

I am going to talk about the TV people. I usually leave this to Vice President Agnew. But it is time that I did a little something with that.

I have a complaint to the ABC national network, why they didn't have the foresight and the judgment to make Ohio State and Michigan the game of the week so I could see it on TV.

When I saw Woody Hayes [1] coming in, I said, "Woody, do you think I could get a ticket, if I came out to see the game?"

He said, "I can't even get a ticket. I can't get you one, even though you are President of the United States."

All that I can say is this: In the field of football, there is the feel of victory and I can assure you that in the field of politics, I sense that same tide running in our direction. It is running in our direction for a number of reasons.

First, because Jim Rhodes, as Governor of this State, has given this State magnificent leadership, the lowest taxes of any industrial State, the lowest unemployment of any industrial State, and it is because Ohio should continue that kind of leadership, that Roger Cloud will follow in his footsteps with the experience, with the ability and the strength that Jim Rhodes has displayed.

There is another thing I like about Jim Rhodes. He is a team player. You know, in my political life, I have won a few and I have lost a few. But the real test of a man is not when he wins but when he loses. And what I like about Jim Rhodes is after a tough primary, he is in there fighting for the team, because the team is bigger than any one man and let's give him the appreciation that Jim Rhodes deserves for that.

And now I come to the contest for the United States Senate. I spoke 20 years ago in Ohio for another Robert Taft. He

[1] Head coach of the Ohio State University football team.

was not the favorite that year, but he won overwhelmingly. And it was a great service, not only to Ohio, but to the Nation, that he was sent to Washington, D.C., and that he was immortalized as a result of his service in the United States Senate.

Let me say that on this occasion, I am proud to speak for another Robert Taft, not only because he will write a bright new page in the history of a very distinguished family, not only because he happens to be a personal friend of mine over many years, not only because he happens to be a Republican—those are all good reasons to be for a man and here in Ohio to speak for him particularly when I am a grandson of Ohio, and very proud of that fact—but my friends, this election this year is too important to think in terms of family, in terms of personality, even in terms of party labels.

Let me tell you this is a year to think of what is best for America, and it is because Bob Taft stands for what America needs, that I am for him for the United States Senate and I hope that you support him for the United States Senate.

I hear some people who express concern about various policies that we have. I believe in handling the tough, high, hard ones and here we go right now on the major one. The first responsibility of your Government in Washington, D.C., is to develop policies which will not only end the war, but more important, end it in a way that we can win the peace and a real peace for the next generation.

Let me tell you what we have done. When I spoke on these steps 2 years ago, there were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam, with no plans to bring them home. During the spring of next year, one-half of them will be back. We are bringing Americans home, rather than sending them out there. Aren't you for that?

At the time that I spoke here 2 years ago, American casualties were 300 a week. They are the lowest in 4½ years and they are continuing to go down. Aren't you for that? Let's get them down.

When I spoke here 2 years ago, there was no peace plan on the table. We have offered a cease-fire. We have offered an exchange of prisoners of war. We have offered a negotiated settlement which is fair, according to all standards of international diplomacy.

My friends, we are on a program which will end this war and win the peace. But we need Bob Taft in the Senate so that we can support those policies, rather than to fight against them.

Why not now? A young man in New Jersey, Saturday, talked to me and he said, "Bring the men home from Vietnam, bring them home right now." I asked him, "Have you been there?" He said, "No." I said, "Those men are fighting there so you won't have to go."

And my friends, let's look back on the history of this country. We fought World War I and we ended it. We fought World War II and we ended it. We fought the Korean war and we ended it. But did you know that in the whole history of this century, we have not had one full generation of peace? And I say, let's end this war in a way that we will discourage those that make war. Let's have a generation of peace for the young men that are shouting out there, a generation of peace for all the young men of America.

That is our foreign policy. At home, in Vietnam, and throughout the world, it is a strong policy, a policy of strength, and I

am proud to defend it here today and advocate those men who will also stand with it.

We turn to the problems that many of you are concerned about here at home. I see this immense crowd—Jim Rhodes says it's the largest crowd that has ever been gathered here in this historic place. Let me tell you that I know that when you leave this place, you will go shopping. I know that as you go into the grocery stores and the clothing stores and all the other places, you are going to be concerned about the fact that prices have been going up. Let me tell you what we have found.

Two years ago we found that our Government in Washington, D.C., was on a runaway spending binge and now the American people have a hangover in higher prices. I say let's cut spending in Washington, D.C., so you can have more to spend right here at home in Columbus and throughout the State of Ohio.

And there is a clear issue here. Are you going to be for the big spenders or a man like Bob Taft or a man like Roger Cloud or a man like Bill Saxbe and the others here in the House delegation who are going to vote to see to it that we handle our Federal budget in a way that people can balance their family budgets. That is responsible government. It is a kind of government you want. If you want to stop the rise in inflation, then ours is the program. Stand with us and not against us.

Let me come to a third point. I know that many are concerned about the problems of the escalating costs of our welfare in this country. Let's understand that and understand it in the great humanitarian tradition of this State.

Every American wants to see that every individual who is unable to work, every child whose fault is not his in the event that he does not have that income from his family in order to have an adequate living—to see to it that people who need help are helped, and this administration has a new program which will do exactly that. It is called family assistance. I want to tell you what it does.

It provides a floor of assistance on which every family that needs help can stand with dignity. But on the other hand, it has a work requirement and a work incentive. And I want to tell you why.

Look at the present welfare program. When a program makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when it encourages him to desert his family than to stay with his family, then let's get rid of it and get another kind of a program for the American people.

If an individual is trained for a job, is offered a job, and refuses to work, then the taxpayers should not subsidize him on welfare. I think that is the kind of a program you also want.

In this whole area of reform, reform of our government so that the Federal Government will share revenues with the States, so that the States like Ohio will be able to meet their responsibilities more adequately and so that power that has flowed to Washington, D.C., will come back to the people of the United States, these programs we need support for in order to get them through the House and through the Senate. That is why I am for these Members of the House and these Members of the Senate who will vote for reform rather than a return to the old ways.

Let's quit putting good money into bad programs. Let's have new programs. Reform America. That is what we are going to do. There are so many other areas.

The historic program on the environ-

ment—clean up the air, clean up the water, provide open spaces, provide again for our young people the heritage that every young American should have—this we can have but we need support in the House and support in the Senate and not the foot-dragging that we have from the present Congress.

Let's have that kind of program, and we ask for your support in that respect.

Now I come to another issue that deeply concerns everybody here in this audience, and it should. I read this morning of a report from Minneapolis where a Federal building was bombed. I read a report also, a report in Canada—and I called the Prime Minister of Canada and expressed my sympathy—where a Canadian Government official was kidnaped, held for blackmail, and when it was not paid, he was killed.

All over this country today we see a rising tide of terrorism, of crime, and on the campuses of our universities we have seen those who instead of engaging—which is their right—in peaceful dissent, engage in violence, try to shout down speakers with obscene words. My friends, it is time to draw the line and to say we are not going to stand for that.

My friends, I want to tell you we cannot provide the leadership that will keep peace abroad unless we can keep the peace at home. And we are going to keep it at home.

And, my friends, we need in the House and in the Senate and in the Governor's chair, not men who become strong for law and order just at election, but strong for it all the year round, and that is Bob Taft and Roger Cloud. That is the kind of men that we need.

My friends, law, order, justice—let me tell you what has happened in this administration's program. I submitted a program to deal with organized crime, to stop the flow of obscenity and pornography into the homes of our children, to stop the traffic in narcotics and drugs 18 months ago. Only 2 weeks ago the first bill arrived on my desk and the others have not been acted upon.

I say it is time to give us men in the House and the Senate who will vote for strong laws to deal with law and order rather than against them. That is Bob Taft and that is the Members of the House and our candidates.

There is one other point I would like to make. I think it should be made in this great university town, Ohio State, that celebrated its 100th anniversary. A few weeks ago I spoke at Kansas State University. The press was rather surprised that in a crowd of 15,000 there were a few who demonstrated like these. But most of them stood up against violence and because they recognized—and get this—that any society that provides as our society does, a means for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence and lawlessness.

Some of those who covered that meeting said that was only Kansas State. That wouldn't happen at other universities. Then I was in Wisconsin Saturday night. And a student from the University of Wisconsin came up. And he said to me, "You know, there are a lot of Kansas States in this country." Don't get the idea that those that bomb buildings, those that shout four-letter obscenities, that they are the youth of America. They are not the youth of America today and they will not be the majority of the youth of America tomorrow.

I have a message for you, all of you. This great crowd of 100,000 here, all of

56-087—71——59

you listening on radio and television, wherever you may be, whether you are Democrats or Republicans, whether you are students or workers or employers or whatever you are, all of you as Americans, I have a message for you. Listen carefully.

I know people are concerned when there are those that throw rocks at the President of the United States, as they did in Vermont. I know there are those who are concerned when people shout four-letter obscenities, as this crowd over here is doing. And so they say, what do we do?

I say, don't answer in kind. Don't engage in violence against them. You don't have to shout four-letter obscenities. But it is time for the great silent majority of America to stand up and be counted.

And I will tell you how you can be counted. On November 3d, in the quiet of the polling booth, consider the candidates, consider their record the year round and if that candidate has given encouragement to, has condoned lawlessness and violence and permissiveness, then you know what to do.

My friends, here is what you do on November 3d. The answer to those who shout obscenities, who throw rocks, who engage in violence, is not to answer in kind but with the most powerful voice in the history of mankind, one vote. And I say that on November 3d, the American people, the majority, are going to be heard with their votes, by voting for Bob Taft and Roger Cloud and all those who stand for what America really wants.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m.

363 Reply to a Reporter's Question About Events in Canada. *October* 19, 1970

Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment about the internal situation in Canada?

THE PRESIDENT. I called the Prime Minister yesterday and expressed my sympathy for what had happened.[1] Naturally, I will not comment on the internal situation in Canada. That would not be appropriate.

But the thing we have to bear in mind is that what happened in Canada—the issue there happens to be liberation for Quebec—is not limited to Canada. It is an international disease—the idea, if you have a cause, you use any means to bring about that cause, to accomplish it, and that the cause justifies the means. That is the principle that we must stand against, the idea that any means can be justified if the cause is right.

We have got to stand against that in the whole world community, whether it is Canada, the United States, or anything else. That involves hijackers, it involves demonstrators, and everybody else.

If it is peaceful, nobody can complain. That is in the great tradition of the free society. But if they engage in violence, then we should all stand firmly against it, and no cause justifies violence if the system provides, as ours does, the right to change it peacefully, and as Canada's does.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1 p.m. as he left the Ohio State House in Columbus, Ohio.

[1] Pierre Laporte, Minister of Labor, Province of Quebec, was kidnaped on October 10, 1970, and held until October 17 when he was slain by members of the Quebec Liberation Front.

364 Remarks on Departure From Columbus, Ohio. *October* 19, 1970

I WAS THINKING of Montana. I am going on to Grand Forks, North Dakota, and then on over to Kansas City tonight. Tomorrow we will be in Tennessee and in North Carolina, and Fort Wayne, Indiana.

After the meeting today, at the invitation of Dr. Fawcett,[1] I dropped in at the university. I have been wanting to do this for some time.

As you may recall, I was invited to address the university at the commencement 2 years ago, and the Midway conference came up and I had to fly out there, and Vice President Agnew filled in for me.

This year, since we had about 15 or 20 minutes left for the schedule, Dr. Fawcett invited me to stop off at the campus. It was a brief visit. Some of the pool reporters were there to cover it.

But what was impressive to me was the chance, even though I was surrounded, as you might imagine, with quite a few reporters, but not many Secret Service or security men, because it was a surprise to them, too, but in that brief visit I got to shake hands with and met quite a few students.

I was very impressed by their dedication. I met several students, girls who are going into nursing, some who were going into elementary education, another was going to be a counselor in secondary education and then, also, college after she got her master's degree, and three or four from the law school.

The general impression that I had was a sense of great pride in their school and great dedication to their work.

But the other thing that impressed me was that on this impromptu visit, while I did not see anywhere near the total number or even a substantial part of the total number of this great enrollment at the university, but the overwhelming number of people on this impromptu visit—where there was no chance for demonstrators to plan in advance—were friendly. I don't mean by that to suggest that we polled them to see whether they support all of our policies. But they were friendly, they were glad that I came, they wanted to talk and they also were willing to listen.

That bore out the point that I tried to make in my remarks downtown, that we must not lose faith in young America because we see a few who engage in violence and hurl out four-letter obscenities. They aren't the majority of students, they certainly aren't the majority of America, and are not going to become the majority of students or the majority of America.

I think here at Ohio State, as at Kansas State and other universities, there are, of course, a great number of students who are concerned about many of our problems as I am. They want peace in the world, as I do. They want to clean up the environment, as I do. They want a better chance, as I do, as Bob Taft does and Roger Cloud does.

But the important point is the means. I think they are turned off this year, as they weren't turned off last year before the violence began to get to them. But they are turned off by the disgraceful conduct of the disrupters, those who close down campuses, those who engage in vio-

[1] Dr. Novice G. Fawcett, president of Ohio State University.

lence, those who shout four-letter obscenities or any other kind of obscenities and those who try to shout down speakers.

Young America wants to talk, but it also wants to listen. And I am very proud of them. And I am glad that my visit to Ohio State, even though it was brief, renewed my faith in young America. I always had it, but it renewed it, recharged it, because every time you get out and see any cross-section of young Americans, they are a very fine and dedicated group. They are concerned not just about themselves, but about their country, about their cities and about the future of the world. That is good. The fact that they don't accept the things, many of the things, that are going on, that is good. We need change and we need young people constantly questioning everything we are doing, but it should be peaceful change in our society. That is what I think the majority of the students at Ohio State think and Ohio State is certainly a representative university among our universities in the country.

Incidentally, I hope to get back to that game, too.

One of the students offered me his student card. He said, "Gentlemen, I want to see the game. But if you will come, I will give you one of these cards that you get into the game with."

I said, "Gentlemen, have you got 30 for the Secret Service?" And he took it back. But we may come back. It will be the only game I will see, though.

Thank you very much. Good luck and see you the next trip.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. at the Port Columbus Airport.

365 Statement in Support of the Republican Candidate for the United States Senate in North Dakota. *October* 19, 1970

IN EACH of the four elections in which I have been on the national ticket, North Dakota has been one of the top States for the Republican Party. It is my hope that history will repeat itself in 1970 and that North Dakota will prove that it is once again a top Republican State by electing Tom Kleppe to the United States Senate.

North Dakota is a strong agricultural State and it is appropriate that it has produced in Tom Kleppe one of the leading experts in Congress on the problems of the farmer. As an enterprising member of the Agriculture Committee in the House of Representatives, Tom Kleppe has earned an outstanding reputation as an informed and articulate defender of the farmers' interests. He deserves much of the credit, for example, for the maintenance of 100 percent of parity on domestic wheat. Tom Kleppe stood with the administration when we asked the Congress for "action now" on the farm bill this autumn. Unfortunately, the answer we got back from the Democratic Congress was "wait until later."

Tom Kleppe is also a strong administration supporter on other issues. His voting record shows that again and again he has said "No" to the congressional "Big Spenders." In the area of foreign policy, Tom Kleppe has consistently supported the administration's strategy to end the war and win the peace in Vietnam and around the world.

When Tom Kleppe is elected to the United States Senate, North Dakota will be represented there by two great Republican leaders, Tom Kleppe and Milton Young. The voters of North Dakota should keep in mind the fact that if enough Republicans are elected to the Senate this fall, Milton Young will become chairman of one of the most important committees in the Senate—one that vitally affects the people of North Dakota and of every other State—the Appropriations Committee. Therefore, a vote for Tom Kleppe for United States Senator is also a vote for Milton Young as chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

If the Nation is to meet the challenges of the 1970's, then government must function as effectively as possible at every level—from the townhall and county courthouse all the way to the national Government in Washington. The voters of North Dakota can do much to enhance the effectiveness of national Government by electing to the Senate of the United States another strong member of the Nixon team, Tom Kleppe.

NOTE: The statement was released at Grand Forks, N. Dak.

366 Remarks on Arrival at Grand Forks, North Dakota. *October* 19, 1970

Congressman Kleppe, Congressman Andrews, Mr. Chairman, all of the distinguished guests, and all of this great audience here in Grand Forks:

I first want to express my great appreciation to you for this wonderfully warm welcome and to tell you that I have been to North Dakota more times than Tom Kleppe has mentioned. I started campaigning this State when I was not a candidate for national office back in the year 1948. You'll remember, Mark.[1] And I am very proud to say that during my political career, as all of you who have studied politics know, I have won a few and I have lost a few. But I am proud to say that every time I have been on the national ticket, I carried North Dakota.

Thank you very much.

Today, I am not here in my own behalf. I am here in behalf of the United States of America. I am here in behalf of those things that I think you stand for, all of you stand for, Democrats, Republicans; and incidentally, let me say that I welcome the fact that we have some who express disagreement here. You have every right to be here. I can handle it. Don't worry about it. Go right ahead.

I simply want you to know that our great system, that is what gives it life. The only thing that we have to bear in mind is that if you want to know the facts, you have got to listen. When it is your turn to talk, then you talk, but sometimes, listen and don't try to shout the speaker down. That is all we ask.

And on that score, I have some things to say to you today, not just about the candidates that I am here to speak in behalf of, and I am proud to be here, not only for Tom Kleppe, but for Bob McCarney running for the House of Representatives, our fine congressional candidate in the other district. But I want to

[1] Representative Mark Andrews of North Dakota.

talk to you about what this election means in terms of where America is going to go, where it is going to go these next few years, in terms of the things we want. I am not speaking what Republicans want or what Democrats want, but what we as Americans want.

And we begin with something that is tremendously important to everybody here. We begin with what those young people are talking about—peace.

I want you to know that when I campaigned 2 years ago in 1968, and when I went into the Presidency almost 2 years ago, this is what I found: I found 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. I found our casualties at 300 a week. I found there was no plan to end the war. I found that Americans were going out there rather than coming home. So we went to work on it.

And you know what we have done? After sending Americans, as was the case in the previous administration, to Vietnam for 5 years, we are bringing them home, and we are bringing them home by the hundreds of thousands.

Second, after casualties of Americans going up and up and up, we have wound down the war and they have gone down, and if you will look at the records, they are the lowest in 4½ years, and they are going to go lower.

Third, instead of the United States standing there with no peace plan, those of you who heard on television a couple of weeks ago, you heard what we offered, the most generous peace settlement in the whole history, certainly, of international diplomacy: a cease-fire without conditions, the willingness to negotiate on a political settlement, to negotiate for all of Indochina, and also the vitally important issue, we said let's exchange the prisoners of war. We have far more than they do, but we said, "We will give all we have. You give up yours as well."

That peace offer is on the table. We are bringing home Americans, and I say to you we are on the road to a just peace in Vietnam. And I say to you further that in order to get that just peace in Vietnam, we need support. We need it in the House of Representatives where people like Mark Andrews have given us such great support along with his colleagues. We need it particularly in the Senate of the United States.

And listen to this, a majority of one at this time—even before we control the Senate—in vote after vote determines whether the President is going to be supported in his plan for a just peace or whether he is going to be rejected.

Let me be very precise on this point.

As I speak here in behalf of Tom Kleppe, I am not here to speak personally against his opponent. I know him. I respect him as a man. They have a difference of opinion. One man opposes the President and the other man is for the President. You have got to decide which you are for.

I think that North Dakota should think not in terms of whether a man is for the President or against him on a personal basis, but again on the great issues.

Let's look at the peace issue. Here is the question: These young people say, "End the war." I agree. Let's end it. But my friends, let me tell you, I see some older people here. You know that we have had in this century four wars. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the war in Korea and yet, we have not yet had a full generation of peace. I say it is time to end the war in a way that we win a peace and that is what

we are doing in Vietnam.

I say that what we need to do is to end this war in a way that will discourage those who would start another war, and that is why I say, my friends, that we are on that road. We are ending this war. We are training the South Vietnamese so that they can defend themselves against those who might start another war and it means that these young people—and we think so deeply of their future and what we want for them—they will have a chance that none of us have had in the older generation, a chance for a full generation of peace.

That is what we are for. That is what Tom Kleppe is for and that is why we need his support in the United States Senate for that kind of quality.

There are some other issues that you are interested in. This is one that covers the whole country. It is a question of what everything costs. You go to the grocery store, you go to the clothing store, you go down and buy farm equipment and farm machinery and I know that North Dakota is the State that has the greatest percentage of agriculture in the whole country, at the present time. You can be mighty proud of that. It is one of the great strengths of America, this great productive State of North Dakota in the farm field.

But I know from talking to farmers, to workers, to housewives across this country, in 1968 and now, they say, "What can we do to stop the rise in prices?" I will tell you what you can do.

You can send people to Washington, D.C., who will stop spending more and more money in Washington, so that you will have more and more money to spend right here in North Dakota.

Here there is an honest difference of opinion. I realize it is honest. On vote after vote in the United States Senate, where Milt Young has stood with us and other Members of the Senate have stood with us, we have had the situation where Tom Kleppe's opponent—and I know he honestly believes this—has voted every time for more and more and more spending. I say we need a Senator who will vote to stop the runaway spending in Washington, D.C., so that we can stop runaway spending here in North Dakota.

Now I want to say something about the farm program. I know that I am among experts here. I am proud to say that among those that advise me on the farm program are Milt Young, who, as Mark Andrews has well pointed out, will be the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the most powerful committee in the Senate, if we can elect Tom Kleppe and six more like him. A vote for Tom Kleppe is a vote for Milt Young to be chairman of that committee. And I am for that.

But I can tell you that Mark was in my office with Milt and Tom Kleppe a few months ago. They talked about the farm program. And we have attempted to work on that program.

We have not yet got it through the Congress. It is not our fault. The fact is that the Congress has delayed until after the election to move on it.

But there is one important thing that you should know: There is a critical amendment in that farm bill. It provides for 100 percent parity for wheat. The man who recommended it, the man who came down to the White House and talked to me about it, the man who got it in the farm bill is Tom Kleppe. He ought to be in the United States Senate so that he can speak for the farmers of North Dakota.

He is a man that can get things done. He is a man I will listen to, because I know what he is talking about, because I know that he speaks for the farmers, speaks for North Dakota, and he speaks for America. I respect him for that.

Let me say another thing: You live here in North Dakota and I know you are aware of the fact that under the latest census something has happened, something that, incidentally, to me, is not welcome in this country. It is a shift in population. North Dakota may lose one Congressman. The reason that it will lose one Congressman, as you know, is simply that because farm production has become more and more efficient, there has been a movement from the farms to the cities. That is why this administration has an exciting new program, a new program in which we recognize that what was once the old frontier of America, this great Midwest with all of its hope and its promise and its beauty and its strength, becomes a new frontier.

You know what it is? It is North Dakota and South Dakota and Wyoming and Montana and all the rest. This is good country. It is beautiful country. It is great country to raise a family in. And we ought to have programs that will provide the jobs that will bring new people into this country.

That is what we are for and that is what Tom Kleppe is working for, and Mark Andrews and the rest: a program to revitalize rural America, to see that the counties of America that are emptying out of people and promise then attract by reason of the fact that they offer those job opportunities to the people that would like to live here if they had the chance. That is why in the future in this administration as we locate airports, as we locate defense installations, as we locate government buildings, as we do the planning that could have effect on the development in this country, rather than concentrating it more and more in great cities which are already too overcrowded, we say go into rural America and build it up and that is, I think, a program that you in this great State will appreciate and will support in McCarney and Tom Kleppe.

There is another area that I feel very strongly about with Tom Kleppe. He is a man of progress. He's a man that looks to the future. He is a man that believes that we have to clean up the environment in this country, the air and the water and retain the open spaces and develop them for our future, for our children.

He is a man also, that believes in those programs that are essential for our older people. He supports the program that is not yet through the Congress, but should go through it, where those on social security will have an automatic escalation or increase in their social security, if there is a rise in prices. You know people that are on social security. You see them try to make their bills time and time again. The prices go up. Their social security stays the same. And it is time that we show concern for those people. We are doing it. Tom Kleppe is that kind of a man. He is one that understands it. He is one that is for people, believes in people, as you believe in them and I do.

And now, there is one other point. This is a subject that I am sure needs not to be discussed in this fine city in North Dakota, the home of a great university. May I say, however, it is one that should be discussed, it seems, at every city in this land, due to some of the events that we have been reading about in months and in the past weeks and, as a matter of fact, the past days.

Yesterday, I called our neighbor to the north, the Prime Minister of Canada. I expressed my sympathy to him for what had happened there—you remember reading about it in the paper and hearing about it on the television—where a government official was kidnaped; the cause had something to do about the liberation of Quebec. That is not the important thing. But the government official was kidnaped; ransom and blackmail was demanded. The Prime Minister refused to pay it and the government official was killed.

That was a terrible tragedy. That didn't happen in some faraway country. It happened in Canada. And that also happens in the United States. All over this land we see a new doctrine developing in recent years, that if the cause is one you believe in, and if the cause is right, any means is right to serve that cause. You can bomb a building. You can burn a building. You can engage in illegal conduct. You can not only demonstrate peacefully, but you can shout four-letter obscenities in a crowd. You can do all these things and the cause justifies it.

And we also see a rising rate of terrorism and crime across this country. I have been trying to do something about it, but I need some help. I want to tell you why.

I submitted a crime control bill, the whole package, to the Congress 18 months ago. And only one of them, the only major one, the organized crime bill, came to my desk just a week ago. But the one that would stop the flow of obscenity and filth into the homes where children are living, that isn't there yet. The one that would allow me to deal with, as it must be dealt with, the dangerous traffic in narcotics and dangerous drugs, it still isn't on the President's desk. And there is something else, too.

If we are going to stop the rise in crime in this country, we not only have to have laws, we have to have judges in the courts of this land who will enforce the laws, and enforce them effectively and fairly.

My friends, the President of the United States can ask for the laws and the President of the United States can appoint judges. But the Senate of the United States has to approve those laws and it must approve those judges. And I know where Tom Kleppe stands, not just in election, but all year round. He is strong for law and order and justice. And we need that kind of man in the United States Senate representing North Dakota.

Finally, I come to the key point that I think we all have to realize. I do appreciate the fact that in this audience there are those who disagree, those who agree. I appreciate your courtesy in listening to what I have had to say. We have had some rather interesting experiences in the last couple of days. They don't particularly bother me. After all, I have been heckled quite a bit during my political career, not just here but abroad as well. Saturday in Vermont, they threw a few rocks. In New Jersey, they shouted a bit. And so it was today earlier in Columbus, Ohio.

And so, the impression gets around the country, a false impression, that young Americans are all like that, that young Americans express their disagreement, not by courteously listening and then arguing their point of view, but that they always have to try to shout down a speaker, use four-letter obscenities, or even engage in violence.

And the reason that that is the impression across this country is that on our television screen night after night, you see it, you know, a building burned here,

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demonstrators shouting here, throwing rocks at the President there, or whatever the case might be.

Let me tell you something. I have news for you. That isn't a majority of young America. I have faith in young America, and I will tell you why. Because the majority of young Americans, they want progress for this country, they want peace for this country, they may not agree with every program that we have, but they also recognize that the way to progress and the way to peace is not through engaging in violence. And they also recognize that you are not going to learn anything unless you listen.

I simply want to say this: People will tell me; I have been asked, "What do you do? How do you answer those who throw rocks, shout their four-letter obscenities? Do you do it, do you answer in kind?" The answer is no, not at all. I will tell you what you do. You have got an answer. It is the most powerful answer in the world. It's time for the great silent majority of this country to stand up and be counted, and the way you can stand up and be counted is on election day. Go to the polls and vote.

Remember, the four-letter word that is most powerful of all the four letters in the world is vote—v-o-t-e.

And so there is your issue, my friends. Two men running for office in the Senate in this State. Both men are what I would call in personal terms good men, but deeply believing in different philosophies.

One man, Tom Kleppe, will support the President in his efforts to bring not just peace now but peace we can keep, not just peace for the next election but peace for the next generation for these young people. That is what we want.

One man, Tom Kleppe, will vote for that strength that is necessary for America to have if we are going to be able to deter those who might start war, peace for the next generation.

One man will vote against those spending programs that will raise your prices and raise your taxes.

One man will vote for those programs of reform of our welfare system and reform of our environmental programs.

And one man will stand firmly for action, action on laws and action on approval of those judges who will enforce the laws that will stop the rise of crime in this country. That is your issue.

And I say that is bigger than whether you are a Republican; it is bigger than whether you are a Democrat. It involves the future of America, because I believe the future of America requires that kind of leadership, that kind of policy that I say the people of North Dakota should give their votes on November 3d to Tom Kleppe, a man who will stand with the President for what is best for America and best for North Dakota.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:44 p.m. at the Grand Forks International Airport.

Jack Huss was chairman of the North Dakota Republican State Committee.

367 Statement in Support of the Republican Candidate for the United States Senate in Missouri. *October* 19, 1970

THE PEOPLE of Missouri have an extraordinary opportunity in 1970: the chance to vote for a change by sending to the Senate an exceptionally able, aggressive young leader. I am proud to give John Danforth my strong endorsement, and I look forward to working with him in achieving progress for Missouri and for the Nation.

As Missouri's crusading Attorney General, John Danforth has shown both the State and Nation that he knows how to meet the problems of crime, drugs, and disorder with firmness and justice. He understands the urgency of rescuing our natural environment. He brings the perspective of the 1970's to the needs of the 1970's.

For Missouri, the election of John Danforth would be a long step toward effective and responsible two-party government—and it would mean representation in the Senate by a man in tune with the State and in tune with the times.

For the Nation, the election of John Danforth would bring to the Senate the kind of voice that it needs: a voice of reason and firmness that understands what today's issues are and what they require.

In the Senate, John Danforth will help us put an end to the reckless spending that feeds inflation and erodes the dollar. He will help make this an era of reform: reform of government, reform of welfare, reform of the old system that drained power and responsibility away from the States and away from the people. He has given strong support to our initiatives for a just and honorable peace in Vietnam, and he will help us attain our goal of achieving in the world what Americans have not had in this century: a full generation of peace.

The people of Missouri can be proud to be represented in the United States Senate by John Danforth. And his voice and his vote will make the Senate a more effective chamber in the 1970's.

NOTE: The statement was released at Kansas City, Mo.

368 Remarks in Kansas City, Missouri. *October* 19, 1970

Attorney General Danforth, Senator Pearson, Congressman Hall, Congressman Winn, the next Governor of California, Kent Frizzell—I am sorry—the next Governor of California is Ronald Reagan. The next Governor of Kansas is Kent Frizzell—that is one way to get on television—and all of those who are the candidates on the State ticket in Missouri, those who are the candidates here in the audience in the front row, and those from the State of Kansas and from the State of Missouri who have welcomed me so warmly, and more important, who have cheered so loudly for the next Senator from the State of Missouri, Jack Danforth:

I am glad to be back in Kansas City. I remember my visit here in 1968. I remember that when I came here they were saying that it was not possible to carry Missouri. They are saying the same thing,

some of them, about Jack Danforth today. We carried it in '68. He is going to carry it in 1970, because I sense a great tide running in this country and I sense it running in this hall.

I see it among the people along the motorcade routes. I feel it among the audiences that I speak to. I feel it also in this country, as I travel over it from State to State.

And speaking first of this State, I want to tell you why I feel so much at home here and so appreciative of your welcome.

First, as you know, I am somewhat of a football fan. And I am always honored to be in the city of the champions of the world, the Kansas City Chiefs.

I didn't make any votes in Minnesota with that one, did I?

Also, I am very honored to be here because Kansas City, Missouri, is right next door to Kansas City, Kansas.

And I recall my visit to Kansas State a few weeks ago, the wonderful reception we had there. I met the fine candidates. I know the splendid services being rendered in the United States Senate by Senator Bob Dole and Senator Jim Pearson and I know that they would say, if they were speaking here, that they would like to have just one more vote with them in the United States Senate, in the person of Jack Danforth.

And I am very proud to endorse wholeheartedly, as I did in Kansas, and I will do it here, Kent Frizzell, their candidate, the candidate for Governor. I believe that he is a strong man and will be a strong Governor in that State. I am proud to be here on the platform with him today.

And now, if I may come to the subject of the Senate race here in the State of Missouri, I want to discuss it in a way that will be somewhat surprising to you.

I listened to Doc Hall's [1] moderate rhetoric. [*Laughter*] I am going to have you write some speeches for Vice President Agnew.

And I know that in this State—and believe me I appreciate the tradition of this State—I know that in this State that it is a great tradition to put on a fighting campaign. I like to put on a fighting campaign, particularly when I am the candidate.

But I want to say to you today, that I want to give you today the arguments. I want to talk to you, not in terms simply of why we are against the other fellow, but why we are for Jack Danforth and why he ought to be the next Senator from the State of Missouri.

I could say that for a number of reasons, one, because he is a Republican and I am a Republican; second, because he is a man who is one of our bright new stars on the political scene, a young man with all of a great future ahead of him. As he spoke here so quietly with such poise and such confidence, I could think of that voice in the chambers of the United States Senate. It would be a fine voice. It would be listened to, believe me.

I know his opponent. I know the other Senator from Missouri. I have nothing personal against either of them. I know them both personally.

But it seems to me that when Missouri in 1968 cast its votes for the Republican President, and when he has attempted, as Jack Danforth has so eloquently pointed out, to bring new leadership to this country, new leadership to bring peace abroad, to restore peace at home, to stop the rise in the cost of living, to reform government, and when on virtually every major issue

[1] Representative Durward G. Hall of Missouri.

when there was a real test, both votes in the Senate from Missouri were against the President, I think if the President carried Missouri, he ought to have one Senator that is going to be with him from Missouri and that is Jack Danforth.

Understand, I don't mean all the time. I don't expect that. I respect and you respect a man that disagrees or a woman that disagrees with you on this issue or that one. But what I am suggesting to you, my friends, is that today what we are going to decide on November 3d, is more important than that I happen to like this man, this young vigorous man of the future, as I do, the fact that he is a member of my party, which I am proud that he is, what is important is that we are deciding the future of America. That future is going to be determined more by the makeup of the next United States Senate, than perhaps by anything that happens in the elections this year.

There is a reason for that, a very strong reason, because the Senate, as Bob Dole will tell you, is very evenly divided. I am not referring party-wise. I am referring right at the present time, it is very evenly divided.

You have noted whenever the great issues have come up, there is usually a majority of one that determines it, or two or three. And so, it means that you, in this State of Missouri, are going to determine not just one Senator out of 100, you are going to determine, by yours votes, as to whether or not that majority is going to be for the kind of leadership that the President is trying to give or against it—not for him personally, that is not important, but for what he stands for and what he is trying to do for the country.

Let me talk to that issue, then. What are we trying to do? What do you want? What do we vote for?

I remember that campaign. I remember what I said when I was here. Some of you may remember.

In 1968, as I campaigned in Missouri, and in January of 1969, when I was inaugurated as President of the United States, I found that we had been in the war in Vietnam for 5 years.

I found that we had 550,000 Americans there. I found that there was no plan to bring them home. There was no plan that had been presented, a peace plan at the conference table in Paris.

I found that it was necessary to do something to bring that war to an end and win a just peace, and so we began. Here is what we have done. Listen.

Instead of sending more to Vietnam as has been the case for the past 5 years, we have been bringing them home and we will continue to bring men home and replace them with South Vietnamese.

Instead of the battle going up and up and up, and the casualties at 300 a week as they were when we came in, they have gone down and down and down, and they are going to go lower because we are for the kind of a program that is reducing the lives that are being lost in Vietnam.

And instead of the United States standing there without any kind of a peace plan, we have offered, as you have heard on television 2 weeks ago, a peace plan which offers a cease-fire without any conditions, a peace plan which offers to negotiate a political settlement, a peace plan which offers to have a conference with regard to all of Indochina so that we can withdraw all foreign forces from that area—and further, a peace plan which would do something that ought to have been done long ago. Even though we have far more of their prisoners than they have

of ours, we say let's release the prisoners.

I think that this is the kind of a plan that is fair and it is certainly one that Americans can proudly stand on.

Now, my friends, I can tell you we are on the road to ending this war. We will end it, if necessary, through continuing the process of replacing Americans with South Vietnamese, a longer road; or we will end it, if we can, through negotiation if the North Vietnamese are willing to accept our offer to negotiate.

But the important thing for us to bear in mind is how and why we must bring this war to a conclusion in the right way.

Before we came into this hall tonight, I saw, as you saw—and as a matter of fact they were rather loud, I could hear them on the top floor of the Muehlebach [Hotel]—a few people who were saying, a few hundred, I understood this, who were saying, "End the war." They were saying it in words a little more expressive than that, but they were saying end the war—now. End it now.

Let me ask you something: You all know that the President of the United States as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces could have ended the war the day that I came in. But my friends, ending the war isn't the problem. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. And I say this particularly to these young people sitting down here and who are scattered all through this audience. Even though we have ended three wars in this century, we have yet to have a generation of peace. What we want to do is to end this war in a way that will discourage aggression and reduce the chances of another war. Let's have a full generation of peace for America.

That is what we are doing in Vietnam. That is why we have also worked out a cease-fire in the Mideast. That is why we have kept the strength and are keeping the strength of America up, but are indicating our willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union to limit nuclear arms.

The United States commitment to peace is unquestioned. But let us remember, it is important if we are going to have a peace, not just peace for the next election but peace for the next generation, that the United States be strong and not weak unless we get a mutual reduction on the part of our strength and on the other side as well.

And so, my friends, I say to you on this great issue, the issue of peace, we stand for peace. We are ending the war. We are going to have a just peace. One that will bring peace in the Pacific and will increase the chances for peace in the world. And we need help, support in the United States Senate for that kind of responsible policy. We can get that kind of support from a man like Jack Danforth.

I looked back over my notes in 1968 when I was here in Kansas City. I find I talked about something else, the rise in prices, the cost of living. And you know that it has continued. You remember what had happened. Prices were going up. They have continued to go up until we have finally checked the rate of inflation over the past 3 months.

Now let's come to a key point: Why have they gone up? Very simply: because the previous administration, over a period of years, had spent far more than the tax system would produce with full employment. And when you do that, when you have runaway spending in Washington, you have runaway prices at home. And I say, let's get the big spenders out of Washington and get the savers into Washing-

ton. And Jack Danforth is a saver.

And now, let's turn to that exciting issue of reform. This is enormously interesting, particularly to our young people and it should be, because I suppose for those in our generation, we could make do with the policies of the past. But they aren't good enough for the problems of the future or even of the present, and that's why this administration has offered the most exciting and revolutionary program of reform in this century.

Let me tell you some of the things that it does. Jack Danforth has touched upon them. I will spell them out only briefly.

Revenue sharing. What does that really mean? I will tell you what it means. For 190 years we have seen power in this great country of ours flow from the people and from the cities and from the States to Washington, D.C. And now I say it's time for power to flow back from Washington to the States and to the cities and to the people of this country.

Why is that important? That is important not just simply as an exercise in political science. It is important because I think the people of Missouri and the people of Kansas and the people of Kansas City know better how to plan their lives than some bureaucrat in Washington, D.C. Let's get the decisions made right back out here.

But you see, that is very easy to say. You talk to a Governor or anybody that wants to be Governor. You talk to a mayor or anybody that wants to be mayor and he will say, "We don't have the money." That is why we have proposed a program in which the Federal Government would share some of the tax revenues that we collect with the State governments and with city governments so that this matter could be handled there at the city and the State level.

Isn't it about time that we did this? And if it is about time to do this, give us the men in the Senate and in the House that will vote for that kind of program.

In the field of reform, I want to turn briefly to welfare reform, since Jack Danforth mentioned it in his introduction. First, let us understand what we all feel very deeply in our hearts. Every American wants to be sure that anyone who needs assistance and who cannot care for himself receives assistance. We can be very thankful that this country is rich enough, as we enter the last third of this century, to provide adequately for the needs of all the people in this country, if they are unable to help themselves.

This is a wonderful thing. It has never happened in any country in the history of the world before. It is because we are rich and because we are strong. It is because, for example, our agriculture has produced as much as it has, and our industry has produced as much as it has that America is able now to look at a program in which we can provide for every family that needs it, a floor of dignity on which to stand in terms of its income. That's family assistance.

But there is another side to the coin. If a program has the effect of making it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, if it encourages a man to desert his family rather than to stay with his family—and that is what the present welfare program does—I say it is time to get rid of that program and get another one.

And if a man is able-bodied, if a man is trained for a job, if a man then is offered a job and if he refuses to work, I say the taxpayers should not subsidize him for loafing. That is something that we believe in.

And that will be reform of our present program. Welfare costs go up and up and up. The number of people on the rolls go up and up and up. But let us provide that basis for dignity for every family that needs it, and particularly for the children of that family, but let's quit subsidizing those who are able to work, can have jobs and do have jobs, or could get them, and refuse to take them. This very simply is something that I believe you are for.

Since I am speaking in the city, I should mention, too, the programs that we call—generally are described as the subject of the environment. This covers a lot of things, you know, pure air, clean up the air, clean up the water, open spaces, parks, not just parks far out in the West or in the middle of the country but parks in the cities and the rest, so that the quality of life may be improved.

This administration, as you will note if you have heard my State of the Union Message, has come forth with a program that is more progressive, more far-reaching, more farsighted in this field than has ever been offered before. We still have not had action.

We need men in the Senate, men in the House that will support it.

And may I say in that connection, we are very proud of the fact that in the House of Representatives from the State of Kansas, for example, we have men like Larry Winn, then from the State of Missouri, men like Doc Hall. We need more. Send us some in the House as well as the Senate.

But, my friends, in this field of reform, insofar as our environment is concerned, it is possible now for this great wealthy country to provide the means to clean up our air so that we are not going to find 15 or 20 years from now that we will be the richest country in the world, but choking to death with smog, poisoned by the water, terrorized by crime, and with all the problems that are involved in traffic jams and so forth in our cities.

We are looking ahead. But in order to get these programs through, we need a man in the United States Senate who also is looking to the future and not to the past, and Jack Danforth is that kind of a man, a man of the future rather than a man of the past.

And now one other subject I want to cover, and that is one that is on the minds of every American, Democrats, Republicans, Independents, whatever their party affiliation may be—Jack Danforth referred to it—the problem of crime in this country, of disruption.

I just got a report that in my home State of California, at the University of California campus at Irvine, only 10 miles from where I live, a bomb blew up a scientific laboratory, not one for defense in this case, but one that was used for the purpose of the environment, a senseless act, the kind of terrorism that we see over this country, sometimes in our universities, sometimes in our cities.

We all know what was the situation when we came into office. Crime went up over 150 percent in the 8 years of the two previous administrations. And so we tried to do something about it. I will tell you what we have done.

I submitted 18 months ago—and Doc Hall and Larry Winn, Senator Dole will bear me out—I submitted to the Congress the most comprehensive crime control legislation ever presented before the Congress, legislation that would deal with organized crime, that would deal with

narcotics, that would stop the flow of pornography and filth into the homes, particularly of those of our young people.

And yet, what has happened? Only one of those major proposals has come to my desk for signature, the one on organized crime. The others still wait action.

What we need in the Senate of the United States, what we need in the Congress of the United States—and listen to me very carefully—is not simply men that are against crime. Everybody is against crime. But we need men who are against it, and will work against it and vote against it, and talk against it all year round, and not just at election time. Jack Danforth is that kind of a man.

On this one issue alone, we need him in the United States Senate. He is an expert. He has been the Attorney General of this State. He is for law, he is for order, and he is for justice. And we need all three.

If we are going to have respect for law, we have to have laws that deserve respect. He is that kind of a man. He will render enormous service not only to this State of Missouri but to this whole Nation by being in that Senate and working day after day for the kind of legislation that will stop the rise of crime and deal effectively with this problem all over the United States.

It can be done, because I am convinced that the people of the United States will back up that kind of program if their representatives in the Senate and House will vote for it. And you can be sure I will sign the legislation when it comes to my desk.

I mentioned a moment ago that as we came into the doors tonight, there were a few shouting some slogans. And as I came in, two or three of the ushers expressed concern about it. I want to give you my attitude on that as I have other audiences.

Jack Danforth has referred to the fact that on this campaign trail, Saturday and also today, I had a few rocks in Vermont, a few shouters in New Jersey and North Dakota and Ohio and so forth.

But let's keep it all in context and let's be absolutely fair as to what is involved. You know, night after night, if you look at your television, what do you see? You will see a few demonstrators shouting their smutty four-letter words, shaking their fists. You will hear about a bombing here or an act of violence there.

And you get the impression that that is the majority of American youth. I have news for you, if you didn't have or ever had that opinion.

I was at Kansas State 3 or 4 weeks ago, as you know. And when I was there, I found that the great majority of the students were ones that did not approve of that kind of action. Oh, they didn't approve of everything I said, I am sure.

And to the great credit of the young generation, they don't like things as they are. They want progress, as I do. They want to change the environment, as I do, and Jack Danforth does. They want, of course, programs that will lead to peace and lasting peace and that is certainly something I am working for every waking hour, you can be sure.

But also, let us understand the younger generation has been given a bad name by a few violent demonstrators. They do not speak for youth and they do not speak for America.

Now, my friends, when I mentioned that that happened at Kansas State, I think you should know that Senator Dole

reported to me that some of those in the press in their columns said, "Well, that was Kansas State. That wouldn't happen on the campuses in some of the eastern schools or the other midwestern schools or the western schools."

Let me tell you why. Sure, that was Kansas State. But I was up in Wisconsin the other day, and you know, they had a very terrible bombing, you recall, in which a university professor was killed, one who was doing research.

And a student came up to me, as I was about ready to speak at a testimonial dinner for Bart Starr. He said, "Mr. President, I just want you to know, I go to the university, and the great majority of the students at the University of Wisconsin do not approve of that kind of thing."

They want an education. They may disagree, but they believe, as you believe, that in a system that provides for a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence.

In Ohio State today, I ran into students, scores of them, and that was the same message that came through loud and clear.

And so now, I am talking particularly to all of this great audience here. I want to tell you what your answer should be. How do you answer that—violence, terror, four-letter obscenities? Don't answer in kind. You don't need to, because you have a more powerful answer than that. The most powerful four-letter word is a clean word. It is the most powerful four-letter word in the history of men. It is called vote—v-o-t-e.

And, my friends, I say that the answer to those that engage in disruption, to those that shout their filthy slogans, to those that try to shout down speakers is not to answer in kind, but go to the polls on election day and in the quiet of that ballot box stand up and be counted, the great silent majority of America.

That is your answer. Vote for those men that your conscience tells you will be best for America.

I close simply by saying since I am speaking primarily about this fine young man who is your candidate for the United States Senate—he is a young man; he is a man of the future rather than the past; he is a man who has strong ideas about what is best for America; he is a man that can bridge the generation gap; he is a man that can provide the kind of leadership that we need in the Senate of the United States, particularly on this issue of providing order and progress and justice under law—the great question the voters of this State have to answer this time very simply is this:

You have a choice, a choice between one man who honestly believes that he is right in opposing the programs that I have described, most of them on virtually every occasion, and another man, a man of the future, who says it is time for reform, it is time for programs that will win a just peace, it is time for programs that will protect Americans against the rise in crime and the rise, of course, in disruption and in other areas.

I say to you, my friends, that this is a time when the voters of Missouri have an opportunity. The man of the hour, the man for this year and the man for the years to come is Jack Danforth. Give him your vote.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:53 p.m. in the Kansas City Auditorium.

369 Remarks Following a Visit With Two Policemen Injured in a Bomb Explosion in Kansas City, Missouri. *October* 20, 1970

FIRST, they said they were very happy they went into police work. That is the first question I asked. I said, "In view of the fact this is dangerous, that the pay isn't too good, do you think you should have gone in?" They said, "Yes." They were proud to be in this work.

Secondly, the wife of one of the policemen—and this is very important—said that she was very proud of her husband. I said for her to tell all of the wives, the next time she was at a meeting of the police wives auxiliary organization, that I think it is sometimes harder for the women at home when their husbands are out on the firing line than it is for the men themselves. The men are acting and the women have to stay home and worry.

I was glad to be able to say that and to give them encouragement.

As far as the policemen were concerned, I think the most impressive thing for them were the messages received, not only from all over Kansas City but particularly from the area in which they worked. They pointed out that in this area in which they worked on the Pinpoint [Patrol] program, which, as you know, is a Model Cities program—they didn't put it this way, but I would put it this way—was a program designed to have people obey the law, not because they fear it but because they respect it—that they had messages from so many people in that area, including, as one of them said, a wife of one of the individuals in that area who was considered to be quite an activist or militant, as he used the term, brought a plant up to them and said, "We don't approve of this kind of thing and we are very sorry that it happened," which led me to the statement that in our society today, there are people who have very strong feelings about many causes, that the great majority of people—and this covers everybody, regardless of whether they are black or white or what their national background is, regardless of whether they are young or old—they disapprove of violence.

The last thing I would say is that after meeting these young men—they were relatively young, they were both, shall we say, less than 40—who were serving in the police department, it made me realize that perhaps we in this country can do something for the police.

When I say we can do something, I don't mean just to pass the laws. We are passing laws that will give them tools to do the job.

Also, it is important to have judges in the courts and a court procedure that will have swift justice. The courts move much too slowly in many of these cases due to the fact that they have very, very heavy backlogs. We are working on that.

We need, as the Chief Justice pointed it out in his speech to the American Bar, a reexamination of all of our procedures here so we can speed up justice, because justice in its true sense must be swift. That is fair to the accused as well as, of course, to the people who are in society.

But there is one thing that we all can do. We might be able to pay the police more money, if they deserve it, and I think they do in many cases, and certainly we can give them better laws. But what is

most important is—that this doesn't cost any money and it doesn't require any action as far as laws are concerned—let's give them respect.

Here they are underpaid, a dangerous job, protecting us, and instead of calling them pigs and spitting on them, and shouting profane slogans at them as they go about their job, let's give them respect.

I mentioned that to one of the officers. He was rather moved by it. He said, "Well, it is really true. You know, we are down there at the station house. We like our work. We are proud of what we are doing. Sometimes the hardest thing is not to have it understood that we are really working for the good of all people."

He wasn't any softie, this fellow. He wasn't crying about the fact that some people didn't like him. But he said, "In modern police work, we don't try to create the impression that you have just got to be afraid of the police. We want to have people understand what we are doing. That is what the Pinpoint program is about, going among people, a program of education as to why the police have to carry on their activities, and creating understanding, particularly among our young people."

So I was glad of this visit, apart from the fact of the Federal program, and I want to express my sympathy to two individuals who were injured in the line of duty. I was glad to get firsthand from two men out on the firing line their attitudes toward the work they were in.

And my message to the American people, to the people of Kansas City, to the people of all of our cities is this:

We may not be able to pay our police as much as their hazardous duty requires. But we all can give them respect and the backing that they should have, the backing for justice, for fairness, and for the hard work that all of them are engaging in in our behalf.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 a.m. at Menorah Hospital.

370 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Tennessee. *October* 20, 1970

IN BILL BROCK for the Senate and Winfield Dunn for Governor, Tennessee has produced candidates in the finest tradition of the Volunteer State. I count it a high privilege to be able to give them my strong endorsement.

Bill Brock is a man of Tennessee and a man of the 1970's—and what he stands for is what Tennessee in the 1970's stands for. He stands for law enforcement. He stands for fiscal responsibility. He stands for local control of the schools and better education in the schools. He stands for progress with order, and for peace with honor.

Bill Brock knows that the path of weakness is not the road to peace. In our efforts to achieve a sound and lasting peace not only in Asia but in the world, we need more voices like his in the Senate.

Bill Brock has worked hard and effectively in the battle against crime and drugs, and has given strong support to the anticrime legislation we have been trying to get through Congress.

With a background of service on the

important Banking and Currency Committee in the House of Representatives, Bill Brock understands that we can keep a dollar worth a dollar only if we keep a lid on irresponsible spending. Because of this, he has had the courage to stand up against the "Big Spenders" in Congress—and we need that courage in the Senate.

I know Bill Brock. I trust Bill Brock. The Senate needs Bill Brock. And the people of Tennessee can be proud to be served by Bill Brock.

Winfield Dunn is a dynamic, hard-working leader who will bring integrity, sound judgment, and efficiency to the Governor's office. He will speak for all the people of Tennessee. He will bring fresh new ideas to Nashville, along with the vigor and the competence to translate these into sensible and workable programs.

I often have spoken of the need to get power and responsibility flowing back from Washington to the States and to the people. This requires having men of the character and ability of Winfield Dunn in the Governors' offices—and I look forward to working with Winfield Dunn in making the years ahead better ones for Tennessee and for the Nation.

A vote for Bill Brock and Winfield Dunn will be a vote for a bright new chapter in the proud history of Tennessee.

NOTE: The statement was released at Johnson City, Tenn.

371 Remarks at East Tennessee State University. *October* 20, 1970

Senator Baker, Congressman Brock, Congressman Quillen, Mr. Mayor, President Culp, the next Governor of the State of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, all of the distinguished guests on the platform and this very great audience here on the campus of East Tennessee State University:

I want you to know, first, that I am very privileged to be here on this great university campus. I am privileged to be here, and I want to express my thanks to the university administration for allowing us to use the facilities of this quadrangle for this meeting. I want to express my thanks, too, for the magnificent marching band for their music when they played a moment ago.

And I understand the Buccaneers have been doing pretty well, too, here.

The next thing I want to do is to extend my thanks to all of you. I see this great audience stretching out as far as the eye can see. And I heard what was said a moment ago, something to the effect that this was the best Nixon country in the whole United States. All I can say is if I talk too long, some of you are going to get pneumonia. I don't want that to happen so I won't talk too long.

But I have a message that can be brought to you very briefly and very directly in the language that I know that you in Tennessee, and particularly in east Tennessee, like. You like it straight from the shoulder. You like it in the great tradition of those in the political field in this State, some have been Democrats, some have been Republicans through the years. This State has furnished three Presidents of the United States. It has furnished great Senators and great Congressmen.

And I am very privileged to appear here in this State speaking in this critical year, 1970.

And first, I am proud to endorse the candidacy of Winfield Dunn, who will be the first Republican to be Governor of this State in 50 years.

And he will be Governor not simply because he got Republican votes, but because Democrats and Independents, too, realize that at this time, it is important to have a man in the Governor's chair who knows the responsibility that he has to think before any money is spent, that every dollar he spends comes out of the pocket of the taxpayers. He is not a high flyer. He is not a big spender. He should be the Governor of the State of Tennessee.

I am very privileged here, of course, to speak in the State where Howard Baker has represented it so well in the United States Senate, one of the bright, young, new stars in the American political galaxy, one of my closest advisers.

I am proud to be here with him.

Jimmy Quillen—I saw some billboards for him on the way and I just wondered why he had them—he got 87 percent last time. I think he wants to get all the votes this time. Well, I hope he does. He ought to have them.

And now I come to the Senate race. That is the race, of course, along with the Governor's race, that is being watched all over the country. The Senate race is being watched because—and let me get it very directly, straight from the shoulder just like you like to have it—there is a majority of one at the present time in the United States Senate. I do not refer to party against party. I refer to issues that cross party lines, issues involving war and peace, issues involving the value of your dollar, issues involving whether or not we're going to have laws that will be effective to control crime, issues that involve whether we're going to have judges who will interpret those laws in a way that will be effective in controlling crime.

Those are the great issues that have come before the Senate in these last 2 years. Those are the great issues in which the two candidates for the Senate in this State have a very honest difference of opinion.

I say honest difference of opinion. I do not question the honesty, the integrity of any man who happens to vote against programs that I, as President of the United States, recommend. But it is my duty, having had the votes of the State of Tennessee in '52, in '56, in 1960, and in 1968—every time I have been on the national ticket, I have carried Tennessee; I think that I represent the views of the majority of Tennessee—I think it is my duty to say this: I think that the President that Tennessee voted for should have a man in the United States Senate who votes with him and not against him on the great issues before the American people.

And on the major critical issues, on these great issues that I have described, we have a clearcut choice: One man, Bill Brock, will vote for; the other man will vote against.

Let me describe it, however, in terms that are more direct. I am not suggesting here that you should support Bill Brock because he is my personal friend, which he is; that he is a Republican, which he is. I am not suggesting that you vote for him because he is for me almost all the time, which he is. I respect him when he disagrees, and I do when Howard Baker disagrees. We don't expect 100 percent conformity all the time.

I say, though, that what you ought to do is to think of what is best for America and see whether or not what Bill Brock stands for and what I stand for, is best for

America and best for Tennessee and best for you. If it is, then he deserves your vote.

Let's take the great issues. One of the first—and I heard a few young people in the back and we hear it in every one of the meetings, say something about peace now—one of the first issues, the most important issue, before the American people is peace.

We all want peace. It isn't a question of being for peace. It is a question of getting it. And let's come down to what we have found and what we have done.

When we came into office in 1969, January, there were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring them home. Three hundred were getting killed every week. There was no peace plan on the conference table in Paris. What have we done?

Well, instead of sending more men to Vietnam, as was the case for 5 years before we came there, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and they are going to continue to come home.

Second, instead of casualties going up, they have been coming down. They are the lowest in 4½ years and they are going to continue to go down.

And third, we have put on the peace table in Paris the most comprehensive, the most generous peace proposal that possibly could have been considered: a cease-fire, a conference for all of Indochina on peace, a conference which would settle the political questions, and one—and this is enormously important—even though we have far more prisoners of theirs than they have of ours, we say, "Let's release the prisoners immediately as a humanitarian gesture." These are the things that we have offered.

My friends, we are going to press for that offer. But simply, I want to tell you this: We are working for peace in Vietnam. We are ending this war. We are ending it in a way—and this is the critical difference between Bill Brock and his opponent—we are ending this war in a way that we can win the peace.

Let me describe what that means. I see a lot of young people here in this audience. And I think of you and your future. I see, also, a lot of older people in this audience that will remember back, as I do, to World War I, World War II, Korea. We have never had problems insofar as ending war is concerned when the time came. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea.

But do you realize, and I say this particularly to the younger generation, that in this century, even though we have ended three wars, we have never had a generation of peace. One war has been followed by another one and that is why our program, the program that I support, the program that Bill Brock supports, says, end the war, but end it in a way that will discourage the aggressors rather than encourage them, end it in a way that will win the peace rather than lose the peace.

I had it brought home to me very well the other day in New Jersey. A young man came up to me. He said, "Bring the boys home from Vietnam right away." I said, "Have you been there?" He said, "No." I said, "Those boys are fighting out there so you won't have to go."

And that is really what the problem is right now. We are going to end this war, but we are going to end it in a way that we can win peace, not just for the next election, but for the next generation.

That is what you want and that is what Bill Brock stands for.

I mentioned the issue of spending. And

I know that this is one that when you think of the billions of dollars that we read about in the papers every day, you wonder, well, really, is there anything we can do about it. And I see all the women here that will go shopping later in the day. And I think of what you are going to say when you look at those grocery prices going up, when you look at the housing and everything else that seems to be going up.

Just let me say this: That was the problem that we found when we came in. I want to tell you why it happened.

It happened because we had an administration in Washington, D.C., that spent billions more than the tax system in this country would produce at full employment and that always leads to inflation. We have tried to change that. I say tried. We have changed it to an extent. We have reduced the rate of inflation. We have not licked it yet.

But I saw a figure in the paper this morning. A joint committee, including both Democrats and Republicans of the House and the Senate, just made a report about the present Congress of the United States. You know what it said?

That report said that this Congress already has made appropriations in authorizations almost $6 billion more than the President has asked for. That sounds very good, doesn't it? You think, well, the Congress is appropriating billions of dollars for me, for this program or that one or the other one.

Just let me say this: I favor appropriations, as all of us favor appropriations, for those particular items which will be in the best interests of this State and this Nation, for a great project, for example, like the TVA.

I favor appropriations for human resources and we have turned the budget around. Rather than spending more for military purposes, we are spending more for human resources for the first time in 20 years.

But, my friends, let us remember this: Whenever your Government in Washington, D.C., has runaway spending at Washington, it means you have got runaway prices at home.

What we need are Senators who will have the courage to vote for what is right, but the courage to vote against those spending programs that might benefit this special interest or that, benefit some of the people, but would raise prices and taxes for all the people. Let's start thinking of the taxpayers and start thinking of the people who will have their prices raised.

Then we have the great issue of progress in this country. And here, again, it is a clearcut division. Do we go back to the old policies of the past, just putting more and more billions of dollars in programs of failure? Or do we go to new programs, do we reform American Government? I say let's reform it.

I say we have put too much good money into bad programs and when we do that we are going to end up with bad money and bad programs, so let's change it.

I say to you, my friends, for that reason we are reforming the welfare system. I say to you that when any system makes it more advantageous for a man not to work than to work, when it rewards a man for deserting his family rather than staying with his family, we ought to get rid of that system and get another one in its place.

I say to you that in this great, rich country, we are very fortunate that I could recommend to the Congress a program in which under family assistance we will provide aid for every family in this country that needs assistance and is un-

able to help itself; but, on the other hand, a program which says that if a man is able-bodied, if a man is trained for a job, and then a man is offered a job and he refuses to work, then the taxpayers should not be forced to subsidize him for loafing.

That is the kind of a program we stand for. And so it is in other areas, the issue of the environment. I look at this magnificent countryside, the Great Smokies. I think of the future again. It is going to be great for the next 10 years, the next 15. What about 25 years from now?

Are we going to despoil not only the air and the water in our cities, but are we going to ruin our countryside? Let's pass down to the children of the future the great heritage that we have of a beautiful country. Bill Brock stands firmly in the forefront for progress on our environmental program and that is another reason I am for him for the United States Senate.

Then there is another issue I want to talk about. It was brought home to me this morning. I was in Kansas City. I got up a little earlier than I was planning to, because I had heard that there were two police officers who were in the hospital. The chief of police told me about them.

Three days ago, these police officers who were working in a program that was very important, working with young people to get them to respect the law and the rest—these two police officers were the victims of a bomb plot. They were badly injured. One has lost the use of one finger in his hand. Another has a deep cut here [*indicating*], glass, wood, splinters in them. They are both going to get well.

I thought of those officers. I understand that here on this campus, Dr. Culp, you are building a new science laboratory. In my home State of California, just 10 miles from where I live, yesterday, a bomb blast destroyed an environmental science laboratory.

When we came into office we found that crime had gone up 150 percent in the past 8 years. We found, also, that in the District of Columbia that it had become what was in effect the crime capital of the world, in the opinion of many observers. So we decided to do something about it.

So I asked the Congress for laws 18 months ago. The first action that I took was to ask for legislation in the field of organized crime, in the field of stopping drugs and narcotics, and also to stop the pornography and the filth and the obscenity that is being mailed into the homes of the children of America.

And, my friends, what has happened? For 18 months we had to wait before we began to get any action. The organized crime bill finally came to my desk and I signed it. We hope this next week to sign the narcotics bill. The obscenity bill is still waiting.

But in addition to the laws—and we need more laws and we need Senators who will vote for them—we need judges in every court of the land, on the Supreme Court and in the district court, and up and down the line, who will recognize the importance of interpreting the law in a way that will strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country. That is the kind of judges that we need.

Now we have the issue very clearly. Everybody is against crime. I don't question whether the opponents of our people that are running here, whether they are against it.

The question is when are you against it and what are you going to do about it? What we need in the United States Senate is another Senator like Howard Baker

who votes for the laws and works for the laws that will give the President the power that is needed to stop the rise in crime and make our cities safe again throughout this country.

What we need in the United States Senate is another Senator who will not cancel out his vote on those kinds of laws. And also what we need in the United States Senate is one who will confirm the President of the United States when he sends to the Senate a judge who is dedicated to the proposition of enforcing the laws and a strict interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, and not cancel out his vote. It is a clear issue.

Let me say we need a man that will speak out, not only by his votes and not only by his confirmations of the President's recommendations on judges, but one that will speak out clearly not just in the few weeks before election but in 52 weeks all year round.

If we are going to stop the rise of crime and terrorism in this country, it is a year-round job, and Bill Brock, like Howard Baker and Jimmy Quillen, will work year round on the job and not just in election time.

Now, finally, on this great university campus, I do not want to miss the opportunity to speak briefly on another subject that concerns many Americans. You see it nightly, virtually nightly, on your television screens: the problems of what they call student protest. And usually what you see is violence or students shouting four-letter obscenities or students engaging in illegal protests, shouting down schools and the rest.

And as you see that, you get the impression sometimes from listening to the commentary that these young people are representative of most young people in America today, and that they are the leaders of America tomorrow.

I have news for you. They are not a majority of youth today and they are not going to be the leaders of America tomorrow.

My friends, let us understand the issue clearly. I would not want a younger generation that did not question the decisions made by government officials. I would not want a younger generation that did not want progress and change. That is the greatness of America, that our young people do think progressively, that they want change, and this younger generation—and to its great credit—is interested in peace, is interested in the disadvantaged people. Let's give them credit for that.

But I find on campus after campus, at Kansas State, at Ohio State, in New Jersey, in Vermont, in Wisconsin, every place I go students come up and say, "Look, those people you see on the television screen, they don't represent us. We believe in change, but let it be peaceful change and not violent change."

Now I make the final point. All the voting people here are going to say, Mr. President, what can we do about all this?" And particularly I have been asked the question—when some people had to walk through a group of students at Kansas City last night that were pretty rough and shouting their obscenities and the rest—"What can we do about those people?"

I said, "I will tell you what you can do. You have got to answer them. And the way to answer them is to stand up for America and to speak up for America. And the way to speak up for America is not to answer in kind; don't engage in violence. You don't have to shout any four-letter words and obscenities. But the way to answer them is with the most powerful action that

a free people had ever devised."

On November 3d you are going to walk into that polling booth and you are going to make a decision. You will think that, well, that only involves one person out of millions of people. But it could make the difference about that majority of one in the United States Senate.

And as you make that decision, remember that vote, that vote is the answer to those who resort to the kind of activities that I have referred to.

And so as you vote, I suggest, on November 3d vote for a man who will stand with the President rather than against him where the interest of America, you believe, will be best served, who will stand for a just peace and a lasting peace in Vietnam and the world, who will stand for spending your money in Washington only when he feels that it can better be spent there than be spent by you back here in Tennessee, for a man who will be for reform and progress for this country and for the future of this country, and for a man who will stand foursquare and firm for law and order and justice, not just during the election campaign but 52 weeks of the year.

The man is Bill Brock, and vote for him on November 3d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:18 p.m. at the university campus in Johnson City, Tenn.

Richard F. Machamer was mayor of Johnson City and Delos P. Culp was president of the university.

372 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in North Carolina. *October* 20, 1970

THE REPUBLICAN Party of North Carolina has nominated an outstanding group of congressional candidates in 1970. Four of them are incumbents, six are challengers. I consider all of them to be outstanding members of the Nixon team and I hope the voters of North Carolina will give them strong support on November 3d.

In the last 2 years I have done everything in my power to carry out the campaign promises I made in 1968. Many of those promises have turned into realities but others have been stalled by an uncooperative Congress. If the Nixon program of reform, restoration, and renewal is to move forward in the next 2 years, I will need the support of more Congressmen who are full-time members of the Nixon team.

The Republican candidates for Congress in North Carolina are ready to play that role. They share my views on the great issues of our time—on foreign policy, on spending policies, on the critical issue of law and order. On issues which are of particular importance to North Carolinians, issues such as the busing of schoolchildren and the future of the textile industry, these candidates and the administration in Washington also share common views.

We do not believe the constitutional mandate that schools be desegregated requires compulsory busing for the sole purpose of achieving an arbitrary racial balance. We oppose such compulsory busing, and we favor the neighborhood school concept. As far as textiles are concerned, our policy is designed to bring relief to that industry and its employees in a way that does not damage their liveli-

hood. We want to provide an orderly flow of textile imports into the country without at the same time adversely affecting farm exports.

I hope that on November 3d the voters of North Carolina will see to it that four distinguished public servants who have made fine reputations in Washington will be returned to the Congress: Wilmer D. Mizell, Earl B. Ruth, Charles Raper Jonas, and James T. Broyhill. And I hope they will be joined in the 92d Congress by R. Frank Everett, Herbert Howell, R. Jack Hawke, Clifton B. Barham, Jr., Frederick R. Weber, and Luke Atkinson. The success of the North Carolina GOP in the space of a few years has impressed the entire Nation. I hope and trust that progress will continue.

NOTE: The statement was released at Asheville, N.C.

373 Remarks in Asheville, North Carolina. *October* 20, 1970

THANK YOU very much for the very generous introduction. And I want to express my appreciation to this wonderful crowd here in Asheville and in western North Carolina for your welcome.

You know, a President of the United States, when he travels around the country, whether it is in Vermont or Connecticut or Ohio—I was in, for example, Missouri last night, in Tennessee this morning—you get lots of big crowds. But you know the kind of a crowd that impresses you the most, people that will stand in the rain and wait for hours.

Thank you very much.

And I am most grateful that you have. And I particularly want to speak to you very directly as really one of you, because like most people in political life, I have lived in a number of States. I, of course, was born in California and have spent most of my life there. And I lived in New York as a registered voter there for approximately 4 years. But except for California and Washington, D.C., I have spent more time in North Carolina than any other State in the country.

I know that in this great State in which there is great rivalry between the various fine universities, that—I probably shouldn't mention it but you know I am very proud to have been a Duke graduate. But I like Carolina, and North Carolina State, and Wake Forest and Davidson. And I think that of all the States that I have visited that there probably is not one that has a greater educational tradition than the State of North Carolina.

If I may also come directly to my subject, as you know, I have not been able to spend too much time in this election year making any kind of political appearances. Saturday was the first day and I was out yesterday and I am out today.

I had to limit my appearances pretty much to those States where there were Senate races or gubernatorial races.

The only State in the country where there is not a Senate race or a gubernatorial race that I am visiting is the State of North Carolina. There are reasons for that that are personal: one, because of my very great affection for this State, the fact that I went to school here, and the

fact, also, that in that critical close election in 1968, North Carolina was in our column.

Thank you very much.

The other reason is that when we think of this election, we must think not only, of course, of the candidates for Governor and the United States Senate, but we must think of the candidates for the House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives, a body in which I was privileged to serve when I first came to the Congress 23 years ago, has been a tower of strength in many areas over these past 20 months that I have served in the Presidency. And among those who have been strongest in giving the President the support that is needed, not as an individual, but for those things that we think are best for America, are the men from North Carolina that I am proud to campaign for.

I refer to Charley Jonas. I refer to Jim Broyhill. I refer to Earl Ruth and Vinegar Bend Mizell, and I would like to have more of them, more like them here.

Luke Atkinson, your own candidate here, is one that would be, along with the others, a very fine addition to that team.

And in speaking of them all, however, rather than talking in individual terms, I would like to come directly and very briefly to those great issues that we as Americans, not as Republicans or Democrats but as Americans, are concerned about this year.

I want you to know what we are trying to do and then you will know how to cast your vote. Because, if you believe in what we are trying to do, then remember, a President is very powerful, but he can't do it unless he has got the votes in the House and in the Senate. And we need those votes and that is why we are here.

First, above everything else, we want to bring peace to this world. When I speak of peace to this world, I am not referring simply to that kind of peace which is so easy to get, instant peace, which tomorrow leads to another war. We have had enough of that.

Let's have peace for a generation. That is what we have never had in this century.

In Vietnam, for example, we have been working for that. When I came in, we had 550,000 men in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring any of them home. The casualties were 300 a week. We had no peace plan on the table. And in this past year and 10 months, we have not done as much as I would have liked, but we have moved.

Instead of men going into Vietnam, they have been coming out and they are going to continue to come out, and the South Vietnamese will take their place.

Second, instead of casualties going up, they are going down. They are the lowest in 4½ years. And they are going to continue to go down. Young Americans are not going to be killed in Vietnam in the months ahead.

Third, we have put forward—and some of you may have heard it on television—a peace proposal that is the most far-reaching, the most generous certainly that could possibly be put forward: the offer of a cease-fire without any conditions, the offer of a political settlement, and the offer—even though we have far more prisoners of theirs than they have of ours—let's release all the prisoners as a humanitarian gesture and exchange them today. This, we think, is the kind of proposal that can do something.

My friends, I now come to the critical point. And I realize that there are those who are very troubled and they say, "Well, why does it take so long? Why not just bring them home right now, end the war, get out and then we have got peace?"

Let me tell you something: Look back. Those of you who are older will remember, as I remember. Those of you who are younger have read about it in school. In this century, we have been in four wars in this country. We were in World War I. We ended that. We were in World War II. We ended that war. We were in Korea. We ended that war. And yet, we have not had a full generation of peace.

And I say, let's end this war in a way that we can win the peace. That is what we are trying to do. That is why, if we were to cut and run, if we were to encourage the enemy by the way that we ended the war, it would only mean one thing: It would plant the seeds for another one.

And so I say, if you want real peace, the peace that will last, we need that kind of support, the kind of support we have been getting from your Carolina delegates, Republicans in the House of Representatives.

Now, I want to talk about two or three other issues very briefly. Ones that you are concerned about, and I am going to tick them off. The fact that I can't go into any length is not because they don't deserve more attention, but because I see a lot of people out here who are enthusiastic. I think most of you are going to vote for our candidates. I don't want any of you to get pneumonia. We need every one of those votes that we can get.

One, I am going to talk about your pocketbook for just a moment. When you go out and shop, you are going to find that prices are going up. Right? And second, you are going to be worried about that. Third, you are going to wonder, why did it happen?

I will tell you why it happened. Because before we came to Washington, D.C., the Government was spending billions more than it was taking in in taxes, even though those taxes were at a time when we were at full employment in the economy. And the result is that when the Government in Washington spends billions more than it should, it only has the effect of raising prices and taxes for people at home.

I tried to turn that around. I can't do it alone. I need men in the House. The President needs men in the House and men in the Senate who will vote with him on this principle.

You know, we always want to spend everything that we can for those things that are needed. We want to help the needy. We want to help the elderly. We want to do the right thing by the schools and health and all the rest.

But remember this: When a spending program is one that might benefit one special group or some of the people and yet raise prices and taxes for all the people, then I say that spending program is one that should not be approved by the Congress.

I come to the great issue of reform. I say this particularly because this is a university community. And I see so many young people in this audience.

I want you to know that we are not satisfied in this administration with just putting a lot of good money into old programs. We think it is time for a change. Whether it is the welfare program, whether it is the environmental program, whether it is education or whether it is

health, we need to spend billions of dollars, but my friends, we need to reform the institutions of government and the place to start is right in Washington, D.C.

Let me tell you how. First, we propose to share the revenues of the Federal Government with the States. I want to tell you why. For 190 years—and this was one of the 13 original States—for 190 years, as you know, power has been flowing from the proud, independent States of this Nation to Washington, D.C. Now I say it is time for power to go back to the people, from Washington to the States and to the people. That is why we are sharing the revenues with the States.

That is why in the field of welfare reform, in the environment, and all the others, ours is a program of progress.

When I look at this magnificent country, when I realize that I am standing in a place where on a clear day I understand you can see forever [*laughter*], that on a clear day—and listen to this for a moment—did you know that you in Asheville on a clear day in these beautiful mountains can see more of America than you can see any place else in the United States?

This is a beautiful country, too. It is particularly beautiful here. But there are parts of America that are not beautiful. Our cities are cluttered up with traffic and terrorized by crime and choking with smog and poisoned by water. And we have got to clean up that environment so that our young people will have the heritage of a decent life in the years ahead. It is that kind of progress that we are for.

I say let's reform the institutions of government, of education, in housing, of health, of welfare, of environment so that the young people of this country can move forward rather than simply putting into the programs of the past money which will be wasted.

And now a couple of issues that particularly apply to you in this part of the country. In fact, it applies to all of the country, because these two areas that I mention are not limited to North Carolina. They are not limited to the South and they are not limited in terms of any area of the country.

First, textiles. We think of textiles primarily of being a Southern problem. You know textiles are produced all over the United States of America. If you don't think so, you should see the Senators and Congressmen that came in with Charley Jonas and these other fellows to talk to me about textiles. They are from all over the United States.

We have the problem of imports, imports from abroad. We have been trying to work out a voluntary agreement with the major country responsible for the excess of imports: Japan. We are still working on it.

Since we have failed, we have asked the Congress for legislation which would provide a quota for textile imports in the event that we couldn't get a voluntary agreement. And now we need that kind of legislation.

But the difficulty is, and the reason that it is hung up, is that in the Congress of the United States there are those who are trying to hang a lot of other things on this bill. And this is a technical matter, but all of you will understand it; they are trying to hang a lot of other products on the bill.

They say, "If you are going to protect quotas, we will protect this and that and the other thing." The result is that it

would raise barriers that would reduce our farm markets abroad. That wouldn't be good for North Carolina. It wouldn't be good for our great agriculture in this country.

So what we are fighting for is for the protection of our textiles and our textile markets, but let's do it in a way that we do not destroy our farm exports for abroad. Let's help the farmers as well as those who are in the textile area.

Now, the problem of our schools. When I come to the southern part of the United States, I know that the question is often asked about what we are going to do with regard to the dual school system. That answer has been given by the courts. This administration carries out whatever orders the courts have handed down.

I must say that in the presence of my good friends in North Carolina—and I can say this as I said it in New Orleans and I have said it in other Southern States—it is to the great credit of the Southern States that where they have had this difficult problem, without violence, with cooperation they have worked out a period of transition in district after district after district in a way that is in the great American tradition.

Many did not like the law. Many disagreed with what was handed down. But they realized that where the law of the land is handed down it must be complied with. And I congratulate the South for what it has done in complying with the law in an orderly way.

I should also point out in that respect, however, that as far as the law is concerned, as I have often mentioned, and this was my position when I spoke in North Carolina in 1968, it has been my position ever since—I stated it again in March of this year in a statement that I issued throughout the country, I have stated it in the North as well as in the South, and I state it here again now—I believe, and I look at these small children here and I see them, I believe that a child—and I don't care whether he is a white child or a black child, what his background is—is better off going to that school closest to home, his neighborhood school. I am for the neighborhood school.

And I do not favor for that reason, I do not favor, and the Congress has so stated and I support this proposition, the use of busing solely for the purpose of achieving racial balance because you have two problems here.

You have education on the one side. You have the problem of integrating the school system on the other.

I say the important thing for us to remember is: Let us not destroy the quality education of our children. And if we do not bear in mind the fact that if we have these long transportation situations, it is going to have an effect on those children that isn't going to be good for their education.

That is our position. We will continue to hold to that position until or unless there is any other finding by the courts.

And now I come to one final point. It is one that perhaps doesn't need to be touched upon here in this great western part of North Carolina with its patriotic tradition, this all-American city as it is called, a city with a fine record in law enforcement, a fine record in civic cooperation, a fine record is an example to all the other cities of the country.

But it needs to be spoken about, because

I want to tell you, my friends, when crime strikes at any part of the country, it hurts all parts of the country. We were concerned that crime went up 150 percent in the 8 years before I came to Washington in January. We are concerned by the fact that as I was in Kansas City this morning, I went to the hospital to call on two policemen who had been injured because a bomb had been thrown into the office in which they were working; and they had received wounds: one had lost the use—partial use—of his hand and permanent use of one of his fingers, and the other had other injuries from the glass and from the wood that got into his system.

Others have been killed, 66 in this year alone. Hundreds have been wounded, perhaps thousands.

It goes beyond that. We see a rising problem of drugs, a rising problem of pornography, a rising problem of crime. When I came into office, I pledged to do something about it. And as these Members of Congress will tell you, the first request I sent to the Congress was in the field of crime. I asked for bills on organized crime. I asked for the power to deal with the problem of drugs. I asked for bills that would stop the flow of pornography and obscenity into the homes of our children in this country.

I asked for other bills. It has taken 18 months to get action on the major ones. The organized crime one finally has been signed. A drug bill may be signed this next week. The obscenity bill is still in a committee, and we still have hopes for it.

But my point is this, my friends: I am simply telling you that as far as this administration is concerned, we believe that it is time to stop the attitude of condoning and, by condoning, encouraging the permissive attitude toward crime and criminal elements in this country. It is time to take a strong stand.

And this means not only passing laws, it means giving the support to our law enforcement officers that they deserve. When I think that law enforcement officers are called pigs in many parts of the country, I say let us be thankful that men will go into this profession. It is underpaid. It is dangerous. We can't perhaps pay them enough, and we can't remove the danger, but let's give them our respect when they go into the police forces.

Then, finally, in that same connection, because this is a university community, I want to bring to you a report from across the Nation on a subject that you see perhaps almost nightly on your television screens. You see the problem of what is called student unrest and disruption. And you see in many instances a bombing. Here, for example, there was one in my home State of California, yesterday, in which they destroyed a science laboratory just 10 miles from my home.

You've seen also indications where not only violence and burnings and bombings, but you also have seen those areas where some students will get out and try to shout a speaker down, won't listen to him. They shout out their obscenities. They will not listen to him. They think that's the way to get their message across.

I want to tell you this: If you saw that television screen and you saw some of the people that are shouting the obscenities and engaging in violence, you'd get the impression that these are a majority of our America's youth and that they may be the leaders of the future.

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I want to tell you something. They are not a majority of America's youth, and they are not going to be the leaders of this country in the future. Because I tell you, I have seen our young students.

I have seen them at Kansas State; I have seen them at Ohio State; I have seen them in New Jersey; I have seen them in Missouri; and the great majority of America's young people—oh, yes, they want changes in this country, and we are thankful that they do—they aren't satisfied with things as they are, and all young people should be that way.

They want to build a peaceful world, and we want to build a peaceful world. But also, they disapprove of violence. They disapprove of disorderly conduct, and let's give a hand to the good young people of America that are a majority of the young people of this country.

And I just want to make one pledge to you finally in this State of North Carolina. I remember back. The years were 1934–1937. I drove across the country with four other students. Four of them were divinity students. I was the only law student in the car. I don't know how I ever got across without becoming a preacher. That's probably how I got into politics.

But, nevertheless, we drove across the country and we got to Duke University. I remember the excitement of going to that magnificent campus with its 5,000 acres of North Carolina pines. And I remember the excitement of those 3 years. It was the middle of the depression. It was difficult and hard. But we never thought we were poor. We never considered it that way. We thought it was a great privilege to live in this country and to go to that great school. And I've always looked back upon it with pleasure.

But, I also remember this: I remember how strongly I felt about the need to build a better country, a peaceful country, a better chance for all of our people, so that this country could be an example to all the people of the world. I didn't even dream when I was in school then, 30 years ago, that I'd be standing in Asheville, North Carolina—and I had two people in my class who were from Asheville—talking to this great crowd standing in the rain. I didn't dream then that just 2 weeks ago, I would be traveling all over Europe being welcomed by 350,000 people in Communist Yugoslavia standing in the rain, being welcomed by a million and a half people in Spain, by thousands in Ireland.

Every place around this world, let me tell you, you hear about what is wrong with America. You hear of people abroad that don't like us. Sure, some of the leaders don't like our policies. But to great numbers of people, hundreds and millions of people abroad, America is still the land with the most freedom, which it has, the most opportunity, which it has, and the greatest progress and prosperity in the world.

We are fortunate to live in this country. Let's be proud of it. Let's make it a better country. Let's work for it. And I pledge to you above everything else we are going to have progress, we are going to have prosperity without war, and to this young generation, we are going to have a generation of peace for you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Buncombe County Courthouse.

374 Statement in Support of the Republican Candidate for the United States Senate in Indiana. *October* 20, 1970

THE HOOSIER State has sometimes been called "The Valley of Democracy," for this is the place where the voice of the people has always been heard loud and clear. Indiana spoke loud and clear in 1968 when it gave the Nixon-Agnew ticket the largest margin of victory of any State in the Union. The Nation got the message in 1968, and the Nation will get the message again in 1970 when you follow up on your support for Nixon and Agnew by electing Richard Roudebush to the Senate of the United States.

I was honored to learn that one of the slogans of the Roudebush campaign has been "Give Nixon a Chance." Certainly one key element in my message to the voters of Indiana is this: "Give Roudebush a Chance"—a chance to demonstrate in the Senate of the United States the same strong commitment to the free enterprise system and the American way of life that he has displayed in the House of Representatives.

When Richard Roudebush sits in the United States Senate, Indiana will be represented there by a man who is truly a member of the Nixon team, a man who will work with us and not against us, a man who will help us to break the legislative logjam and move forward with a strong Republican program. The Roudebush position closely parallels the Nixon position on the key issues of our time—issues such as national defense, government spending, and aid to the elderly.

I speak with confidence about Richard Roudebush because he has worked closely with my administration in the past. We have consulted with him on a wide variety of matters. I even remember one time when he came all the way to San Clemente to discuss veterans hospitals. As a past commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, his words on veterans affairs always carry special weight, and I am proud to say that veterans programs are one area to which the Nixon administration has given special attention.

Indiana is a State which has produced many great Republican leaders over the years. I hope it will continue that record by producing a Roudebush victory on November 3d.

NOTE: The statement was released at Fort Wayne, Ind.

375 Remarks in Fort Wayne, Indiana. *October* 20, 1970

Governor Whitcomb, Congressman Roudebush, Congressman Adair, all of my other colleagues in the Congress, the candidates for the Congress:

I say first it is good to be back home in Indiana. All the years that I was growing up in California, my mother used to talk about "Back home in Indiana." And it was many years, as a matter of fact, until I got into politics, before I got a chance to come to this State in the year 1948.

I shall never forget the welcomes that I have had. And I shall always remember how warm they were. But I want to say

tonight that here in Fort Wayne, the second city of Indiana—let the record show, in fact, the way Fort Wayne is going, Indianapolis better watch out—and here in Fort Wayne where I have spoken so often, I wish to express my appreciation to all of those who from this county, from this city, who have come, those who have come from all over the State, for those that have worked in this rally, I understand that for as many as there are in this hall, there are that many who were turned away who couldn't come in. I'm sorry they couldn't come in. They can't stand out because it is raining outside.

But that is an indication that something is happening in this State. That is an indication that our candidates are going to win.

I know that before I came here, too, there had been a very fine musical program. I wish I could have heard it. The Concordia High School group over here, how about a hand for them? And the Indiana and Purdue group. Any city that can bring Indiana and Purdue together has to be quite a city, that is for sure.

And I wish to express my appreciation to all of the many messages that were sent before we arrived, and particularly for that wonderful headline in the Fort Wayne News Sentinel, "Welcome to Nixon Country." Thank you very much.

And now, as you know, I am here for the purpose of talking about the campaign of 1970. I am not a candidate. My name does not appear on the ticket this year. I am very grateful for the fact that every time my name has been on the ticket in Indiana—and that is four times—I have carried this State and that in the year 1968 Indiana gave the Nixon-Agnew ticket the biggest majority of any State in America.

When Indiana did that, Indiana expected something from the Nixon administration. It expected that we act on the problems that this country has. It expected that we act on the programs that I discussed during my campaign trips to Indiana.

We have tried to act on those problems. We have made some progress. But I can tell you—and I want to be very candid and frank in talking to this, what I know would be a highly sophisticated, political audience, because everybody in Indiana just is born on politics and loves it from the moment that he starts to grow up—I can say that a President can make speeches, a President can submit legislation, but in order to get what is needed in terms of his program, he has to have support in the Congress, in the House and in the Senate.

And it happens that in this present Congress, in 1968, we find that both the House and Senate were not under the control of the President's party. I do not complain about that. I respect the right of people to vote, as you do, for the party of their choice or the man of their choice.

But on the other hand, this is the time for the people of Indiana and the people of the Nation to look at the various candidates to determine whether or not they feel those candidates have been carrying out their wishes or whether they have been working in interests that they do not approve of.

And I will simply say this at the beginning. I think that the State in the Union which gave the Nixon-Agnew ticket the biggest majority, deserves at least one Senator who will support the President and not be against him.

I respect the right of people to disagree. I know that there are people who may believe that those who have opposed the

various programs—and I am going to discuss them in one, two, three order tonight—that they were on the right side. But you decide.

I would like for you to forget Republicans or Democrats. Think of yourselves as Americans. Think of what you want for this country, think whether or not you want your Senator to vote that way or this way and then make your decision.

But I can tell you that on the great issues—the great issues involving foreign policy, which I have considered to be absolutely necessary in order to bring peace for a generation, not just for another election—in the next election, on the great issues involving the defense of this country, defense that I believe is vitally important if we are going to have the negotiations to reduce the burden of arms in the world; on the decisions involving the budget, decisions that have involved, in terms of the budget, whether or not we are going to see that runaway spending in Washington is controlled so that we do not have runaway inflation at home; and on the decisions involving some critical appointments to the courts in which judges, who stood firmly for the enforcement of law and order on a strict constructionist basis, were presented to the Senate and turned down—on these decisions both Senators from Indiana had been 100 percent against the President and I think it is time to change that. I think we need one who is for him.

Let's look at these various issues. And let's start with the one that is most important of all, particularly with so many young people here, people who are thinking of their future, young men who are thinking of the possibility that they may be in the service, young women who are thinking of the possibility that their husbands or their brothers may be in the service, may be subjected to the penalties of war.

When we came into office, we confronted a problem. We had had a war that had been going on for 5 years—men had been going out to Vietnam in increasing numbers for 5 years, casualties had been going up. Five hundred and fifty thousand Americans were in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring any of them home. The casualties were 300 a week. There was no peace plan on the table for negotiation in Paris. And then we came into office. We went to work.

First, we adopted a plan, not the cut and run, but a plan in which we were bringing Americans home from Vietnam. And for the past 20 months, instead of sending more Americans to Vietnam, they have been coming home by the tens of thousands, and they will continue to come home under this administration.

We have made some hard decisions. We made the hard decision, for example, with regard to destroying the sanctuaries that the enemy had in Cambodia. As a result of that, the casualties that were 300 a month had been cut down so that it is the lowest in 4½ years. And they will continue to go down because of the decisions that we have made.

Third, we have presented a peace proposal—a peace proposal that has received universal approval among most observers here in the United States and a great deal of approval abroad, except from those that you might expect to oppose it—a peace proposal that is one of the most generous, one of the most farsighted certainly, ever offered in such a situation: a cease-fire without conditions, a conference for all of Indochina, a political settlement that would be fair to both sides and allow

both sides to be represented in the political process, and this—even though we have far more of their prisoners than they have of ours—an offer to exchange prisoners now as a humanitarian act. This is what our proposal included.

Where do we stand?

Where we stand at the present time is that we are pressing our proposal. We will continue to press it. We are continuing our program of training South Vietnamese and bringing Americans home. If they do not accept our proposal we will end the American involvement in that way and that will work.

What I am saying to you, we have a plan which is ending the war, which is reducing our casualties, which is bringing the boys home, but we need Senators and Congressmen who understand the plan and who will support it.

Let me come to a very precise point. Why not now? Oh, I have heard all over this country, and I well understand it, particularly some young people say "peace now." Or why at least don't you go along with what the Senate wanted to go along with—at least it seemed they wanted to go along with it, and we had a very small majority to defeat the Hatfield-McGovern resolution, which, of course, was supported by both of the Senators from Indiana—I, of course, was opposed to it—why not go along with a proposal which will say we will get out in a very brief period of time, regardless of what happens to South Vietnam?

Let me tell you this: What all of those proposals finally come down to is end the war, end it now, or end it in 6 months from now, but end it and have peace.

Think for a moment. When I was elected President of the United States, I was Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces automatically. I could have brought all the men home right away. I would have ended the war.

Why didn't I? I will tell you why. I look back over the history of this country in this century. We have been in four wars. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war.

And, yet, we have yet to have in this century a full generation of peace. You see, the problem is not to end the war. The problem is to end the war in a way that you will discourage those who might start another war. And I say let's end this war in a way that we win the peace and have a full generation of peace for the young Americans.

That is what I stand for. That is what Dick Roudebush stands for. That is what Ross Adair stands for. He is a tower of strength on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I need him there. We want him back.

And it is that proposition that the two Senators from Indiana, those presently holding those positions, have opposed when key votes have come up.

Let's understand I do not question their honesty in reaching the other conclusion. But I say to you, Americans have had enough of fighting wars and losing the peace. This war we are going to win the peace, and we are going to end it in a way that we can have a generation of peace.

Let's look beyond the problem of Vietnam. As you know, we have a cease-fire in the Mideast. It is a tenuous situation. But at least there is no shooting going on there. That is an accomplishment, and we hope to have it extended.

We also are beginning to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union on the limi-

tation of nuclear arms. What a great thing that will be if we can get some kind of an agreement. It will be difficult, because their interests are different from ours.

But on the other hand, if we are going to get an agreement, it is essential that the United States maintain its strength so that we have some cards to play when we go to the conference table.

And that is why I have asked both the House and the Senate to provide the necessary strength for the United States, including the ABM system, which would be essential in the event that the Soviet Union were to negotiate, because if prior to negotiation we were to give up or reduce our own preparedness, it would mean they would have no reason to reduce their own arms strength.

So, here again, it is a very difficult proposition to understand, because I am sure to the average person, they say, "Why doesn't the United States, if it wants peace, just disarm? Why do we build any new arms system?"

Let me say nobody wants peace any more than I do. And I know that nobody wants peace any more than young Americans do. I know how you feel. I remember how I felt before World War II.

But I can tell you this: We have in the world today an opportunity, better than we have had at any time since World War II, where the United States, because it is the most powerful nation in the free world, if it has the courage, the stamina, the judgment, and the wisdom, can lead the way to a generation of peace. But in order to have that generation of peace, we need to have backing for the President of the United States, and we need it in the Senate; we need it in the House.

And that is the reason why Dick Roudebush is so essential. He will back me. He will not be against me on these critical issues of providing for a generation of peace.

Let's come to the other issues. I will discuss them more briefly, because I used the first one to prove a point, the point that we do not question the right of men honestly to disagree as to what is the best road to peace. But on the other hand, when you have an administration with the President, with the responsibility, then the question is: Is he going to have the backing that is necessary for him to conduct the foreign policy of this country? I ask for that backing. I ask for it from Indiana.

Let's come to the problems at home. I know that all of you are concerned, as I was in 1968, about the rise in the cost of living. I am concerned about it today. I am not satisfied with the way that that problem is being handled, because I would like to see the rise in the cost of living checked more quickly than it has been checked.

But let me go to the cause again. The reason that we have seen prices go up at home is that there has been too much spending in Washington, D.C., and one thing that I have got to tell you is that on that score we again have a clear difference of opinion.

Everybody wants to certainly appropriate those funds that are necessary for the programs that are in the best interests of this country. But, on the other hand, we must recognize that when Government in Washington, as was the case in the previous administration, year after year spends more than the tax system at full employment will produce, it means that prices are going to skyrocket at home. We have changed that. We have tried to change it. But we have not had the co-

operation of the Congress that we should have.

Oh, the cooperation of your Congressmen, House Representatives from Indiana, yes. They have been sturdy, strong men, and you can be proud of them and every one of them ought to be reelected, and more, too. We need them there in the House of Representatives.

Here again in the United States Senate, if you picked up your morning paper you will find that a bipartisan committee, a joint committee of the House and Senate found, that in this Congress, already the Congress has appropriated in terms of authorizations almost $6 billion more than what the President has asked for.

And so the question again comes, do you want to stop the rise in the cost of living? If you do, then we have to have backing, backing again for making the right decisions, the right decisions on this key point.

What we need are Congressmen and Senators down in Washington, D.C., who will have the courage to vote against that spending program that might benefit some special interest group, that might benefit some people, but would raise prices and taxes for all people.

Let's start thinking of the prices and taxes of all people and get that Government spending down in Washington, D.C. That is what we want and that is what Dick Roudebush stands for.

Then we come to the area of reform. The great problem today is whether or not we continue to spend billions of dollars on the programs of the past. Some of them are good. Some of them should continue to be funded. Others need to be reformed. We have reformed the postal system, as you know. And that will pay dividends in the years ahead.

And I have offered reforms in the field of the environment. We have offered an historic program that Ed Whitcomb as a Governor and all of his fellow Governors are interested in, in which the Federal Government will begin to share revenues with the States.

We have not got it passed yet, because we don't have the votes in the House and the Senate to get it. You can help us get the votes.

What does that mean to you? It simply means this: It means that after 190 years of government and power in government flowing from the people and the States to Washington, D.C., it finally begins to flow back from Washington to the States and to the people where it belongs. And I think we want that in Indiana and in America.

But it isn't enough to do that, because what we have to recognize, too, if that power is to come back, the funds to handle the programs must come back. That is why revenue sharing is so important.

So it is in the welfare field. Here again, rather than to continue a program that has had faults that we are all aware of, what we need to do is to reform it, reform it in a way that every family that needs assistance receives assistance. But, on the other hand, reform it in a way in which any individual who is able to work and is trained for a job and then refuses to take a job should not be subsidized by a taxpayer of the United States of America.

I could go on. In the environment, that is an area where we are thinking again of our young people. We want you to have clean air and clean water and cities that are safe to live in without the enormous problems that they have at the present time.

We want the open spaces of America

not to be despoiled. We must decide now about that or we are going to find 20 years from now that it will be too late.

Here again, we need support, and we are going to get it, from the men that I support here on this platform tonight.

And now I come to another point of very great interest, I know, to every audience that I have spoken to, all over the United States.

When I campaigned in Indiana in 1968, I referred to the fact that crime had been going up in the previous 8 years of the two previous administrations at an alarming rate. It went up by 150 percent.

I also referred to the fact that it was necessary to have two things: one, some new laws, give the law enforcement officials some new tools; and two, some new judges, some judges that would enforce the law with a strict construction with regard to those who were engaged in criminal activities.

As I put it, it is time—I believe it was time then, I believe it is time now—that we have judges that recognize the necessity of strengthening the peace forces as against the criminal forces in their decisions in the United States of America.

Being against crime is like being against sin. Everybody is against it. What has happened, though? The first proposals that I sent to the Congress of the United States 18 months ago were in this field: for organized crime, a proposal calling for action in the field of narcotics and dangerous drugs, a proposal calling for action to stop the flow of pornographic literature and obscenity into the homes of our children, a proposal dealing with D.C. crime.

Eighteen months later, for the first time, the first bill reached my desk, the organized crime one. We expect to have one on narcotics next week. The obscenity bill, we don't know what the fate of that is going to be.

As far as the judges are concerned, we have found that on two nominations that were sent to the Congress, to the Senate of the United States, the Senate, which it had every right to do insofar as its constitutional power, rejected them. But now, let's come to the critical point.

I say that we need in the House and in the Senate, we need Congressmen and Senators who will recognize that it is necessary to vote laws that are necessary to fight crime, to talk against it, to act against it, to support judges who are against it, not just in election time but all year round. And Dick Roudebush is that kind of a man.

That brings me to another point. I suppose you wonder in a State like this, "Well now, Indiana is a big State, an important State. It only has two Senators out of 50. What difference does one vote make?"

Do you realize that the present Senate is divided on the major issues that I have already discussed in instance after instance by one vote or two votes, usually? A shift of two Senators could have made the difference.

In the field of foreign policy, in the field of defense policy, in the field of the approval of judges, in these areas, a shift of one or two could have made the difference.

And that is why it is so critically important to have from this State that man who might make the majority of one, that would determine whether or not the President, not as an individual, because that isn't what matters, but the President, who did receive a vote from the people of Indiana, gets the power to do what he promised to do.

That is all I ask, nothing more. And I

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think that is what Indiana wants us to have.

In this great audience in Fort Wayne, Indiana, I cannot miss the opportunity, because there is such a large number of young people here, not only from the colleges and the universities but from the high schools, to talk about a subject that has been certainly discussed on radio and television and in the newspapers as much as any subject that I have mentioned up to this point and perhaps even more.

It is the subject of student protest and student unrest. Turn on your television tonight, almost any night. You know what you see. You see a picture of young America, usually violence, bombing, burning, shouting obscenities, shouting speakers down. And you get the impression that maybe that is what young America is.

I want to tell you I have been around this country a bit over the past few weeks. I was at Kansas State. I was in Vermont. I was in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Ohio and I went there to Ohio State. I was in Tennessee today and North Carolina. And in many places we had a little problem.

Vermont, they threw a few rocks. Several other places, they tried to shout me down. In other places, they shouted the usual four-letter words. And so on down the line.

But let me tell you: I think it is time to state what the facts are. If you were to simply read the newspapers and look at the television, the amount of space that those who engage in that kind of protest are concerned, as distinguished from peaceful protest, the amount of space they get gives you the impression that that kind of young American is either a majority of young Americans or will be the leaders of the future.

Well, I have got news for you. They aren't the majority of young Americans today and they aren't going to be the leaders of America tomorrow.

I know young America. Yes, let's get it very clear. Oh, they don't agree with all of the policies of the Federal administration. They want peace, as I want peace. They want, certainly, action on many problems, and they want it faster perhaps than we can get it. And they criticize this and they want change and I always hope they will, because that is the way a country grows, a great free country. We always want our young people to raise questions—and to raise them, but also to have in mind this great fact: that our system for 190 years has produced the greatest progress that civilization has ever known in any country and the reason is that it provides a means for peaceful change.

America is a very different country today from what it was 190 years ago. It has changed over and over again. But it has been changed by peaceful means. And my friends, in a country that provides the method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence or lawlessness. That is what the young people of America believe in.

And now, I come to what you can do about all this. In Kansas City the other night, last night, as a matter of fact, some of the people who had to walk through a few demonstrators to get into the auditorium came to me afterwards. "What do we do about those people?" They were, you know, the usual lot, shouting a few four-letter words and all that sort of thing.

And I gave them this answer, and I am going to give it to you: You don't answer

in kind. The answer to violence is not to resort to violence. The answer to smutty four-letter words is not to use them in return. I will tell you what the answer is.

The answer to this small, vicious minority is for Americans to stand up and be counted and stand up and be counted for America.

The answer, my friends, the answer is for the great silent majority of Americans—and I believe there is a majority—the great silent majority of Americans to speak out, and you can speak out in a very quiet, but with a very powerful voice, the most powerful voice in the history of mankind.

On November 3d, you walk into that polling booth and you pull that shutter behind you and you vote. And when you vote, that vote is the most powerful voice in the whole world. That is where the silent majority can make itself heard. That is where the silent majority is going to make itself heard this November. And that is where you will have an opportunity to determine, here in the State of Indiana, whether the State that did give—and I am very grateful for this—the President the biggest majority that he had in 1968, is going to provide for him a strong voice in that United States Senate, as well as people in the House including your own Ross Adair, but a voice in that Senate particularly who, on the critical issue of foreign policy, on the critical issue of strong national defense, on the critical issue of reform, on the critical issue of providing, for example, progress, aid to our elderly citizens through an automatic escalation of their social security—as is the program we have advocated and as he has supported—on the critical issue of standing firm against crime and violence and supporting the President when he appoints judges who are also going to stand firm against those activities. There is your chance.

My friends, I think the case for the voters of Indiana is clear. I do not know a State in which a Senate campaign is more clearcut than this. It has nothing to do with personalities. It goes far beyond party lines. One man honestly believes that the best interests of the country will be served by opposing the President on all of the major issues that I have mentioned tonight.

The other man believes that the best interests of the country will be served by supporting the President.

And I say to you, I ask not support for me as an individual. I say I ask support for Dick Roudebush, because I think it is best for America, best for Indiana, and best for you.

I understand that there are 5,000 people downstairs in the overflow auditorium. And if they are still listening and if they are still there, I am going to go down and say hello to them. Is that all right with you?

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. in the Fort Wayne Coliseum.

376 Remarks to Overflow Crowd in Fort Wayne Coliseum. *October* 20, 1970

I WANTED to say to all of you that I just couldn't miss the opportunity to come down here and to thank you so much for staying here in this room and giving me the chance to greet you and to present our fine candidates and also the Governor and the others.

When I think of the fact that you

couldn't even get in the room upstairs, you weren't able to see the musical organizations and all the rest and that you have stood here all this time, that is certainly a very heartwarming thing.

I thought you might be interested. I will tell you a couple of things I didn't tell them upstairs. Okay?

We found—one thing that we have been very impressed with as we have traveled around the country this year, these last 2 or 3 days, is the way people come out in the rain.

Today, down in Johnson City, Tennessee—that is out in east Tennessee—we had rain. There was an enormous crowd. They just were out there. They stood along the roads all the way. I got over to Asheville, an hour later. The rain was pouring down. The people were still out.

And it has always been my view, and I will relate this to you, it is when people come out in good weather that, of course is impressive. When people come up and sit up in the hall, that is impressive. When people will stand down in a hall like this where they can't even see the speaker or the entertainment, that is very impressive. But boy, when they will stand up in the rain, that means we are going to win.

I want to tell you something else—another thing that was interesting, speaking of rain. I just returned, as you may know, from a trip to Europe. And on that occasion, I visited countries that were very different in political philosophies. I see a lot of you young people here. You probably have social studies tomorrow and the college students in political science. This is something you can report on.

I visited Yugoslavia which is a Communist country, somewhat independent in its foreign policy with regard to the Soviet Union but, nevertheless, a Communist country.

I visited Spain, where you know is the government of General Franco.

I visited Italy and England, a brief stop in England, and also Ireland.

In Yugoslavia—and this was extremely, it seemed to me, significant—this is a Communist country, you understand, their policies, their system differs from ours. They have been quite critical of us on many, many issues. But in Zagreb, Yugoslavia—that is in Croatia, the capital is Belgrade, as you know, and then Zagreb is in Croatia—350,000 people stood in the rain and welcomed us as we came into that city.

What did that mean? Well, it didn't mean that they were there to welcome me as a person because basically I, to them, was simply a name. But they were trying to say something about the United States.

What they were really trying to say in my view is very simply this: To millions of people in the world, in Europe, in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia, in Communist countries, as well as non-Communist countries—because I had the same thing happen in Communist Romania, I had the same thing happen 10 years ago in Poland, I have had the same thing happen in Novosibirsk in the middle of the Soviet Union in 1959—for hundreds of millions of people, the United States, our country, is still as it was in the beginning—it is the symbol of hope, of freedom. It is the symbol of opportunity.

Oh, they know we are rich, and very rich. We are the richest country in the world. They know we are very strong, and we are the strongest country in the world.

But it isn't just that, because there are other countries that are rather rich and rather strong by comparative terms.

But the important thing is we stand for something else. They were there because America to them was not a country that threatened their independence, that threatened their freedom. It was a country to which hundreds of thousands, yes, millions of Europeans have come, Asians, others from other countries, and have found opportunity here such as you can't find anyplace else.

I just want to say to the young people here that there are lots of things wrong with this country. We ought to do a better job on a lot of things. We would like to get peace sooner than we have had it. We would like to have peace at home. We would like to have better opportunities for all of our people of various racial groups in this country.

We are moving along. But the important thing to remember is this: When you think of what is wrong about America, don't overlook what is right.

This is a good country. I have been to 70 countries. I have been now to almost 70 countries. And I have enjoyed every visit and I have liked the people of every one of those countries. I liked the Russian people, and I liked the Romanian people, and I liked the Hungarian people, and I liked the Polish people, and the French and the Indians and the Indonesians and all the rest.

Never forget that when you do travel to all these continents you will have the same feeling, because once you get to know people, you will inevitably like them.

But when you go to these countries, you see what they have, you see their systems and you see what we have. The significant thing to notice is this: that as far as people who have a chance to choose, the traffic is all one way. They are coming this way. They like to come to the United States.

And so, I say while we are not perfect, the glory of America is that we have a system that provides the means that we can change what is wrong. And while we are not perfect, the glory of America is that we are so rich that we can use that wealth to raise the standard of people in this country to heights—all people—that have never been realized in the history of the world.

And beyond that, because America is the country it is, we can have in this country a quality of life, something that money can't buy, something more important than a new automobile or the television set, or something that you are trying to get for your house or this. It is something that we call freedom, we call opportunity, a spirit that we have had from the beginning.

And believe me, we have still got it in America. Don't you ever forget it. You have got it here in Indiana.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. in the Coliseum's Exhibition Hall, Fort Wayne, Ind.

377 Address to the 25th Anniversary Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. *October* 23, 1970

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished Chiefs of State and Heads of Government, Your Excellencies the Foreign Ministers, and Delegates here assembled:

I am honored to greet the members of the United Nations on behalf of the United States as we celebrate this organization's 25th anniversary. On this historic occasion I wish to pay a special tribute to the founders of the United Nations—to Secretary General U Thant and to all others who have played indispensable roles in its success.

In considering an anniversary and in celebrating one, there is a temptation to recount the accomplishments of the past, to gloss over the difficulties of the present, and to speak in optimistic or even extravagant terms about our hopes for the future.

This is too important a time and too important an occasion for such an approach. The fate of more than 3½ billion people today rests on the realism and candor with which we approach the great issues of war and peace, of security and progress, in this world that together we call home.

So I would like to speak with you today not ritualistically but realistically; not of impossible dreams but of possible deeds.

The United Nations was born amid a great upwelling of hope that at last the better nature of man would triumph. There was hope that Woodrow Wilson's dream of half a century ago—that the world's governments would join "in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice"—would at last be realized.

Some of those early hopes have been realized. Some have not.

The U.N. has achieved many successes in settling or averting conflicts.

The U.N. has achieved many successes in promoting economic development and in fostering other areas of international cooperation, thanks to the work of dedicated men and women all over the world.

These are matters that all the members of the United Nations can point to with very great pride.

But we also know that the world today is not what the founders of the U.N. hoped it would be 25 years ago. Cooperation among nations leaves much to be desired. The goal of the peaceful settlement of disputes is too often breached. The great central issue of our time—the question of whether the world as a whole is to live at peace—has not been resolved.

This central issue turns in large part on the relations among the great nuclear powers. Their strength imposes on them special responsibilities of restraint and wisdom. The issue of war and peace cannot be solved unless we in the United States and the Soviet Union demonstrate both the will and the capacity to put our relationship on a basis consistent with the aspirations of mankind.

Commenting here today on U.S.-Soviet relationships, I see no point in responding in kind to traditional cold war rhetoric. The facts of the recent past speak for

themselves. An effort to score debating points is not the way to advance the cause of peace.

In fact, one of the paramount problems of our time is that we must transcend the old patterns of power politics in which nations sought to exploit every volatile situation for their own advantage, or to squeeze the maximum advantage for themselves out of every negotiation.

In today's world, and especially where the nuclear powers are involved, such policies invite the risk of confrontations and could spell disaster for all. The changes in the world since World War II have made more compelling than ever the central idea behind the United Nations: that individual nations must be ready at last to take a farsighted and a generous view. The profoundest national interest of our time—for every nation—is not immediate gain but the preservation of peace.

One of the reasons the world had such high hopes for the United Nations at the time of its founding was that the United States and the Soviet Union had fought together as allies in World War II. We cooperated in bringing the U.N. into being. There were hopes that this cooperation would continue.

It did not continue, and much of the world's—and the U.N.'s—most grievous troubles since have stemmed from that fact of history.

It is not my intention to point fingers of blame, but simply to discuss the facts of international life as they are.

We all must recognize that the United States and the Soviet Union have very profound and fundamental differences.

It would not be realistic, therefore, to suggest that our differences can be eliminated merely by better personal relationships between the heads of our governments. Such a view would slight the seriousness of our disagreements.

Genuine progress in our relations calls for specifics, not merely atmospherics. A true détente is built by a series of actions, not by a superficial shift in the apparent mood.

It would not be realistic to suggest that all we need to improve our relations is "better mutual understanding."

Understanding is necessary. But we do understand one another well enough to know that our differences are real, and that in many respects we will continue to be competitors. Our task is to keep that competition peaceful, to make it creative.

Neither would it be realistic to deny that power has a role in our relations. Power is a fact of international life. Our mutual obligation is to discipline that power, to seek together with other nations to ensure that it is used to maintain peace, not to threaten the peace.

I state these obstacles to peace because they are the challenge that must be overcome.

Despite the deep differences between ourselves and the Soviet Union, there are four great factors that provide a basis for a common interest in working together to contain and to reduce those differences.

The first of these factors is at once the most important and the most obvious. Neither of us wants a nuclear exchange that would cost the lives of tens of millions of people. Thus, we have a powerful common interest in avoiding a nuclear confrontation.

The second of these factors is the enormous cost of arms. Certainly we both should welcome the opportunity to reduce the burden, to use our resources for build-

ing rather than destroying.

The third factor is that we both are major industrial powers, which at present have very little trade or commercial contact with one another. It would clearly be in the economic self-interest of each of us if world conditions would permit us to increase trade and contact between us.

The fourth factor is the global challenge of economic and social development. The pressing economic and social needs around the world can give our competition a creative direction.

Thus, in these four matters, we have substantial mutual incentives to find ways of working together despite our continuing difference of views on other matters.

It was in this spirit that I announced, on taking office, that the policy of the United States would be to move from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation.

This is a spirit that we hope will dominate the talks between our two countries on the limitation of strategic arms.

There is no greater contribution which the United States and the Soviet Union together could make than to limit the world's capacity for self-destruction.

This would reduce the danger of war. And it would enable us to devote more of our resources—abroad as well as at home—to assisting in the constructive works of economic development and in peaceful progress: in Africa, for example, where so many nations have gained independence and dignity during the life of the United Nations; in Asia, with its rich diversity of cultures and peoples; and in Latin America, where the United States has special bonds of friendship and cooperation.

Despite our many differences, the United States and the Soviet Union have managed ever since World War II to avoid direct conflicts. But history shows—as the tragic experience of World War I indicates—that great powers can be drawn into conflict without their intending it by wars between smaller nations.

The Middle East is a place today where local rivalries are intense, where the vital interests of the United States and the Soviet Union are both involved. Quite obviously, the primary responsibility for achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East rests on the nations there themselves. But in this region in particular, it is imperative that the two major powers conduct themselves so as to strengthen the forces of peace rather than to strengthen the forces of war.

It is essential that we and the Soviet Union join in efforts toward avoiding war in the Middle East, and also toward developing a climate in which the nations of the Middle East will learn to live and let live. It is essential not only in the interest of the people of the Middle East themselves, but also because the alternative could be a confrontation with disastrous consequences for the Middle East, for our nations, and for the whole world.

Therefore, we urge the continuation of the cease-fire and the creation of confidence in which peace efforts can go forward.

In the world today we are at a crossroads. We can follow the old way, playing the traditional game of international relations, but at ever-increasing risk. Everyone will lose. No one will gain. Or we can take a new road.

I invite the leaders of the Soviet Union to join us in taking that new road—to join in a peaceful competition, not in the accumulation of arms but in the dissemi-

nation of progress; not in the building of missiles but in waging a winning war against hunger and disease and human misery in our own countries and around the globe.

Let us compete in elevating the human spirit, in fostering respect for law among nations, in promoting the works of peace. In this kind of competition, no one loses and everyone gains.

Here at the United Nations, there are many matters of major and immediate global concern on which nations even when they are competitors have a mutual interest in working together as part of the community of nations.

In approaching these matters each of us represented here, in our national interest as leaders and in our self-interest as human beings, must take into consideration a broader element: "The World Interest."

It is in the world interest to avoid drifting into a widening division between have and have-not nations.

Last month I proposed a major transformation of the American foreign aid program. A major thrust of my proposals is to place larger shares of American assistance under international agencies, in particular the World Bank, the U.N. Development Program, the Regional Development Banks. We seek to promote greater multilateral cooperation and the pooling of contributions through impartial international bodies. We are also encouraging developing countries to participate more fully in the determination of their needs. Within the inter-American system, for example, new mechanisms have been established for a continuing and frank dialogue.

In the spirit of the U.N.'s second development decade, we shall strive to do our full and fair share in helping others to help themselves—through government assistance, through encouraging efforts by private industry, through fostering a spirit of international volunteer service.

It is in the world interest for the United States and the United Nations, all nations, not to be paralyzed in its most important function, that of keeping the peace.

Disagreements between the major powers in the past have contributed to this paralysis. The United States will do everything it can to help develop and strengthen the practical means that will enable the United Nations to move decisively to keep the peace. This means strengthening both its capacity for peacemaking, settling disputes before they lead to armed conflict, and its capacity for peacekeeping, containing and ending conflicts that have broken out.

It is in the world interest that we cooperate, all of us, in preserving and restoring our natural environment.

Pollution knows no national or ideological boundaries. For example, it has made Lake Erie barely able to support life, it is despoiling Lake Baikal, and it puts Lake Tanganyika in future jeopardy. The U.N. is uniquely equipped to play a central role in an international effort to curtail its ravages.

It is in the world interest for the resources of the sea to be used for the benefit of all—and not to become a source of international conflict, pollution, and unbridled commercial rivalry.

Technology is ready to tap the vast, largely virgin resources of the oceans. At this moment, we have the opportunity to set up rules and institutions to ensure that these resources are developed for the

benefit of all mankind and that the resources derived from them are shared equitably. But this moment is fleeting. If we fail to seize it, storm and strife could become the future of the oceans.

This summer the United States submitted a draft United Nations convention on this matter which I hope will receive early and favorable attention.

It is in the world interest to ensure that the quantity of life does not impair the quality of life.

As the U.N. enters its second development decade, it has both the responsibility and the means to help nations control the population explosion which so impedes meaningful economic growth. The United States will continue to support the rapid development of U.N. services to assist the population and family planning programs of member nations.

It is in the world interest that the narcotics traffic be curbed.

Drugs pollute the minds and bodies of our young people, bringing misery, violence, and human and economic waste. This scourge of drugs can be eliminated through international cooperation. I urge all governments to support the recent recommendations of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, to take the first step toward giving them substance by establishing a United Nations Fund for Drug Control. And I urge all governments to support a strengthened narcotics treaty that would govern all production by restricting it solely to medical and scientific purposes. The United States has already circulated such a proposal for consideration at the next session of the U.N. Narcotics Commission.

It is in the world interest to put a decisive end to sky piracy and the kidnaping and murder of diplomats.

In this assembly last year, I called for international action to put an end to air piracy. This problem has grown even more acute. Recent events have dramatically underscored its gravity and also underscored the fact that no nation is immune from it. The United States has taken a number of steps on its own initiative. But this issue requires effective international actions, including measures to permit the suspension of airline services to countries where such piracy is condoned.

The increase of kidnapings of accredited diplomats is a closely related matter that should urgently concern every member of this Assembly.

Finally, it is in the world interest to ensure that the human rights of prisoners of war are not violated.

In an address earlier this month proposing a cease-fire in Indochina, I called for the immediate and unconditional release by both sides of prisoners of war and innocent victims of the conflict. This is not a political or a military issue. It is a humanitarian issue. The United Nations should register its concern about the treatment of prisoners of war and press all adversaries in this conflict, indeed in every conflict, to honor the Geneva Convention.

I have mentioned some of the problems on which the United Nations can—if its members have the will—make substantial progress. There are many others. I urge this body, and the U.N. system, to move ahead rapidly with effective action. And as we move ahead, the United States will do its full share.

The United States came to its present position of world power without either seeking the power or wanting the responsibility. We shall meet that responsibility as well as we can.

We shall not be so pious or so hypo-

critical as to pretend that we have not made mistakes, or that we have no national interests of our own which we intend to protect.

But we can with complete honesty say that we maintain our strength to keep the peace, not to threaten the peace. The power of the United States will be used to defend freedom, never to destroy freedom.

What we seek is not a Pax Americana, not an American Century, but rather a structure of stability and progress that will enable each nation, large and small, to chart its own course, to make its own way without outside interference, without intimidation, without domination by ourselves or any other nation. The United States fully understands and respects the policy of nonalignment, and we welcome joint efforts, such as the recent meeting in Lusaka, to further international cooperation.

We seek good relations with all the people of the world. We respect the right of each people to choose its own way.

We do hold certain principles to be universal:

—that each nation has a sovereign right to its own independence and to recognition of its own dignity.

—that each individual has a human right to that same recognition of his dignity.

—that we all share a common obligation to demonstrate the mutual respect for the rights and feelings of one another that is the mark of a civil society and also of a true community of nations.

As the United Nations begins its next quarter century, it does so richer in experience, sobered in its understanding of what it can do and what it cannot, what should be expected and what should not.

In the spirit of this 25th anniversary, the United States will go the extra mile in doing our part toward making the U.N. succeed. We look forward to working together—working together with all nations represented here in going beyond the mere containment of crises to building a structure of peace that promotes justice as well as assuring stability that will last because all have a stake in its lasting.

I remember very vividly today my visit to India in 1953 when I met for the first time one of the world's greatest statesmen, Prime Minister Nehru. I asked him, as he considered that great country, with its enormous problems, what was its greatest need? He replied: The greatest need for India, and for any newly independent country, is for 25 years of peace—a generation of peace.

In Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe—in all the 74 nations I have now visited, one thing I have found is that whatever their differences in race or religion or political systems, whatever their customs, whatever their condition, the people of the world want peace.

So let the guns fall silent and stay silent.

In Southeast Asia, let us agree to a cease-fire and negotiate a peace.

In the Middle East, let us hold to the cease-fire and build a peace.

Through arms control agreements, let us invest our resources in the development that nourishes peace.

Across this planet let us attack the ills that threaten peace.

In the untapped oceans of water and space, let us harvest in peace.

In our personal relations and in our international relations, let us display the mutual respect that fosters peace.

Above all, let us, as leaders of the world, reflect in our actions what our own people feel. Let us do what our own people need. Let us consider the world interest—the people's interest—in all that we do.

Since the birth of the United Nations, for the first time in this century the world's people have lived through 25 years without a world war.

Let us resolve together that the second quarter century of the United Nations shall offer the world what its people yearn for, and what they deserve: a world without any war, a full generation of peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:55 p.m. in United Nations headquarters in New York. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

Dr. Edvard Hambro of Norway was president of the 25th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

An advance text of the President's address was released on the same day.

378 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Maryland. *October* 24, 1970

I HAVE COME to Maryland to express my strong support for the election of J. Glenn Beall to the Senate and C. Stanley Blair to the governorship.

Like his father before him, J. Glenn Beall, Jr., is a man who knows how to get people of different parties and different backgrounds working together. I know I can count on his support to help bring a generation of peace abroad and to help build an economy that will provide full employment without inflation at home. In short, J. Glenn Beall, Jr., will provide the kind of leadership we need in Washington to lay a firm foundation for peace and progress for our Nation.

In Stanley Blair, Maryland has an outstanding candidate for Governor. In the 1970's, our States will need Governors who can stand up against crime and disruption and who can successfully handle the new power, money, and responsibility this administration is determined to return to the States. In his work as secretary of state of Maryland and as chief of staff for Vice President Agnew, Stanley Blair has shown that he is the kind of man who has the experience and drive Maryland needs. He's a man of the future, and he has my wholehearted endorsement.

NOTE: The statement was released at Dundalk, Md.

379 Remarks in Dundalk, Maryland. *October* 24, 1970

Congressman Beall, Senator Mathias, Congressman Morton, Congressman Hogan, all of the distinguished candidates here on the platform, and all of this distinguished audience here:

I want to say, first, I am very proud and honored to be in Dundalk.

And I am also honored to be in the State of Maryland and in Baltimore and in Baltimore County.

I think this year, 1970, is the year that Baltimore will be called the "City of Champions." The Baltimore Orioles, thanks to Pete Richert and his colleagues, are the champions of the world in baseball. The way the Baltimore Colts are

going, they may be the champions of the world in football.

And Baltimore's Ted Agnew is the champion campaigner of 1970.

And Maryland's Rogers Morton is the champion National Chairman[1] of this whole country.

I am also proud to be on this platform with all of these fine candidates. I can only mention each of them briefly.

I refer first to a man with whom I worked in the White House for 18 months, a man who gave devoted service to Ted Agnew and devoted service to this administration. He has competence; he has integrity; he has ability; he is a man superbly qualified to be the next Governor of the State of Maryland, Stan Blair.

And in speaking of him, I am very happy to have met and had the opportunity to give my complete endorsement to the fine State team here in the city of Baltimore. Will you all stand up so that we can all see you—the ones on the State ticket.

And also, having mentioned Congressman Morton, I want to mention Larry Hogan and to tell you that in the State of Maryland—I have got to remember which State I am in—in the State of Maryland you have a fine group of men who, like your own Congressman, Glenn Beall, have given great support to this administration. I am proud to endorse them all. I only say we need more like them. I would like for all the congressional candidates to stand up. And give them the welcome that they deserve.

I would like to spend a little more time on the next man to whom I will refer. And I will do so because what is involved in his campaign is one that is bigger than this State—it affects many States in this Nation, it affects the future of America and the future of the world—the question is the next United States Senator from the State of Maryland.

In talking about that question, I have noted, since I read the Washington papers and the Baltimore Sun, that there have been some indications that I am an intruder in this State.

Just let me say this: I don't think the President of the United States is an intruder in any State of this Nation.

As your President, I have the responsibility to carry out the mandate that I was given in 1968. I am going to talk about that mandate. In order to carry out that mandate, I need support, I need support in the Senate, I need support in the House.

The President can speak, the President can ask for the passage of laws, the President can nominate judges, but unless he has support in the Senate and in the House, he can't do what you elect him to do. That is why I am here.

Let me say I am not here to talk against Glenn Beall's opponent. I am here proudly to talk for Glenn Beall, for America, and for you.

Now for just a moment, forget whether you are Democrats or Republicans or Independents, whether you are union members or members of management, workers or employers, just think of yourselves, if you will, as Americans concerned about this country, concerned about yourselves, but also concerned about your children. And think of what we want for America and see whether or not you believe that the President of the United States, who

[1] Representative Rogers C. B. Morton was Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

has the responsibility for the foreign policy of this country and for its domestic policy, should have men who work with him or men who work against him.

I am not referring to being a rubber stamp. I don't want that in the United States Senate or the House of Representatives. I want men that will speak out when they feel that we are wrong.

But I do say this: There are four great issues in this campaign. They were the four great issues of 1968. I made some pledges to the people of America. I tried to keep those pledges. But I need some help, not for me, but for America and for you.

And the first one was this—Glenn Beall referred to it: Above everything else, the people of America want peace. We are a peaceful people.

We can say with great pride that the United States, in all the wars that we have had in this century, has never started one. We have never tried to destroy freedom. We have always tried to defend it.

We can say with great pride that our foreign policy, at the present time, is designed not to gain any domination over anybody else, but it is designed to build a better world in which, not only Americans but all people can have peace and freedom, a chance to choose.

That is what I talked about in 1968. And here is what we found when we came in. We found a war with 550,000 Americans in Vietnam and 300 being killed every week and there was no plan to end it. There was no peace plan at the conference table.

I said that I would bring this war to an end. I said that we would bring peace and that we would bring peace in a way that would discourage and perhaps prevent another war.

Now this is what we have done: Instead of sending more men to Vietnam, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and more will be coming home.

Instead of our casualties being at 300 a week and going up, they are going down, and they are going to continue to go down.

Instead of not having a peace plan, we have submitted a peace plan: you know, a cease-fire and an agreement to exchange prisoners and an agreement also to have a negotiated settlement on political issues.

Let me tell you where we stand at the present time. We have a plan that is working. It is ending the war. Americans will be out of Vietnam. We also have a plan at the peace table which, if the enemy agrees to negotiate, will end it sooner.

The important point of difference, however, is this: The great problem, you see, is not ending the war; the great problem is winning a peace. Think back over this century, not just those as old as I that can remember all four wars, but some of you young ones, who study it here in history or social studies or whatever your course may be.

In World War I, we ended the war, and we thought it was the war to end wars. Before a generation was over, we were in another.

World War II, we ended the war. And the United Nations came into being. And we thought that was the beginning of the end of war. And within a few years, we were in another one.

Came Korea. We ended that war, and then in a few years we're in another one.

We have ended three wars. We have yet to have a generation of peace.

And I say, my friends, we are going to end this war in a way that will discourage the warmakers and build the

peacemakers in the world.

I need your help. I need the help of men in the Senate and men in the House, who will support that kind of a policy, who won't say, "Stop now," and lead to an American defeat which would bring on another war.

My friends, let's stand firmly behind not just the President but behind the United States of America, as it tries to build what we have not had in a generation: a generation of peace—we haven't had it in a century—a generation of peace for all Americans. That is what we stand for.

And so it is also, my friends, I spoke yesterday, as you may remember, to the United Nations in New York. I spoke there of the world problems. It happens that the President of the United States, from time to time, must negotiate with world powers. He must particularly negotiate with the Soviet Union. The success of those negotiations will determine whether we avoid a world war and even may determine whether we avoid small wars in the years ahead.

And I say to you, we are prepared to negotiate. We are going forward with negotiations. But don't undercut the President of the United States. Let's be sure that the President of the United States negotiates from strength and not from weakness at the conference table, wherever the case may be.

Glenn Beall stands firmly with the President on this foreign policy. He has voted for it. He has spoken for it. He will vote for it and speak for it in the United States Senate. We need him there. And I urge you to support him on that ground.

And in the second ground—let's come to something much closer at home. I see a lot of ladies here in the room. Incidentally, I am very honored to be in this Steelworkers Union Hall. I think you should know, however, that I am going to talk to the ladies particularly, because a moment ago, when Glenn and I were sent to, in effect, the "holding room," before we were to come on stage, we sat there for a moment, a very nice room. As I went out, I saw it was the ladies room. So, I should talk to the ladies.

You are going to be shopping later today, and I am going to tell you what you are going to find. You are going to find prices higher than you like—the prices of groceries. You are going to find the prices of clothing, you are going to find the prices of everything that you find going up.

Let me tell you what I pledged in 1968. We found then that the United States had been on a course that was raising prices for all Americans and raising taxes for all America. I pledged that we'd do something about it.

And this is what you have to do about it, if you are going to bring prices down: You have got to start with spending in Washington, D.C. Let me tell you why.

When the Government in Washington spends more than the tax system at full employment will produce, it means that the taxpayers pay the bill, either in higher prices or higher taxes. And I say, give us a Senator who will support the President in trying to cut the Federal budget so you can balance the family budget. That is what we have in Glenn Beall.

And to pinpoint this issue, I should leave before this audience what the facts are of the last Congress. A joint committee of the Congress of both Houses made up of Democrats and Republicans reported just a few days ago that this Congress already has appropriated funds exceeding

the budget requests of the President by $6 billion.

Now if we continue to have that runaway spending in the next Congress, your prices are going to continue to go up. So, I say we can win the battle against high prices. I will fight that battle, but I need some soldiers to fight with me. Give me some. Give me Glenn Beall in the United States Senate.

Now, I want to talk about reform. I said in the campaign that instead of putting good money into bad programs, we were going to reform the institutions of government, reform our educational system and our health system, reform our welfare system.

I could talk about the many reforms that we have submitted, the environment and all the other areas. But time will not permit it. Let me take one, the welfare program.

I want to talk to you very directly about it. I want to tell you what we have found and what we have proposed and why we need this man in the United States Senate.

First, we have found that welfare in the previous administration was going up and up and up. The number of people on the rolls went up by the hundreds of thousands in every State and by the millions in some, and the payments went up.

And we found that at the same time that welfare was going up, the want ads, people asking people to come to work, were still filled in paper after paper in the major cities. Now there is something wrong about that.

I say to you, my friends, and I said it in the campaign and I say it again now, that when a system has the effect of rewarding a man for not working rather than working, when it rewards him and encourages him to desert his family rather than to stay with his family, it is time to get rid of that system and to get another system in its place.

You know, we are fortunate we are a very rich country. We are rich enough that we can provide, as I have recommended, a floor under the income of every family in America without the degrading of the dignity of the present welfare system of that effect.

But, my friends, we also provide this: We say that at the same time that we provide welfare and help for all those who need it, let's be sure that those who do not need it have a work incentive and a work requirement.

I will put it to you quite bluntly. I say to you here today that if a man is able to work, and if he is trained for a job and if he is offered a job and he refuses to work, he shouldn't be paid for loafing by hard-working taxpayers in the State of Maryland.

For 14 months, that proposal has been lying before the Congress of the United States. We need action. But we need new men in order to get that action. We need Glenn Beall in the United States Senate, because he is for that program.

Then there was the fourth program that I talked about in the campaign. I noted in 1968 that in the previous 8 years, crime had gone up 158 percent. I noted that on the streets of our cities, women, even men, children certainly, could not be safe at night or even in the broad daylight. And I said we are going to do something about that.

Let me tell you. We can have the best social security. We can have the best health program. We can have the best education in the world and it isn't going to make any difference if our children and our wives are not safe on the streets

of our cities, whether it is here or any place else in this country.

So, the first proposal I sent to the Congress over 18 months ago, was a comprehensive proposal to modify the laws; an organized crime proposal; a proposal to deal with the mailing of obscene literature into the homes of our children, to stop that; a proposal to deal with drugs and narcotics, to stop that kind of traffic. These proposals have been before the Congress of the United States. It took 18 months for the first one to get to my desk—18 months of waiting, of delaying.

My friends, we need better than that, because I am going to tell you this: We are going to enforce these laws. If we need more laws, we are going to have them. But I need a Congress that will act and act swiftly to protect the American people from the criminal elements in this country.

And we need judges who will interpret and enforce the law as well.

And let me just simply say on that score, the President of the United States has the responsibility for nominating Justices to the Supreme Court and to the various district courts and the circuit courts. I am meeting that responsibility. The Senate of the United States has a responsibility to look over those nominations. I respect that right. But I want to say this one thing and then I want to tell you where I stand, where Glenn Beall stands.

I can tell you that as long as I am in the Presidency of the United States, I will not nominate a man for any judge in this country unless his record clearly demonstrates that he will interpret and enforce the laws in a way that will strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in the United States of America.

But again, I can make nominations and then the Senate can sit on them. They can delay them as have been some of the circuit court nominations. And I can only say on that score, in Glenn Beall you have a man who will consider the nominations, he will give his best judgment, but he stands firmly for the proposition that the wave of crime is not going to be the wave of the future and that we are going to strengthen our laws, we are going to have strong judges, we are going to stop this increase of crime in America. There is something you can do, too.

A few days ago in Kansas City I went to a hospital. I saw two policemen. They were not particularly well-educated men by the standards of some of our media. Both of them were high school graduates. Both of them were war veterans. Both of them had served in the police force for a number of years.

They had done splendid work, working in a difficult part of the city. A bomb had been thrown. They had been injured and injured badly. So I called on them to express my sympathy.

I simply want to say this: We hear a lot about what is wrong with our police forces. And it is a difficult task, and when they are wrong, of course, they should be disciplined. But I also think it is important for us to bear in mind that those men who are the police forces of this country, they're there to protect us. Let us try to do everything we can to give them the laws that they need.

We may not be able to pay them as much as we ought to pay them, because of the danger of the jobs they have. Sixty-six were killed already in this year, and hundreds were injured in accidents like the one I have just described. But while we may not be able to pay them as much as we should, there is something that we

can give them that money cannot buy.

Let's give respect to the men who enforce the laws of this country.

And now a final word to the young Americans that are here, and to your parents and to all who may be listening on television and radio.

As I have traveled around the country, we have had from time to time a few who have indicated not only their political opposition, but opposition that went a little further, a few rocks in Vermont, and a few obscene slogans in Kansas City and other places, an attempt to shout me down and so forth and so on.

And so I want to talk about that subject, and I want to put it in perspective because I went on the campus at Ohio State, and I talked to students from the University of Wisconsin when I was there and from various universities in the other States that I have visited.

Night after night on your television screen you see the pictures, sometimes of young people who are bombing or burning or shouting obscenities, shouting down speakers, engaging in violence. And you get the impression that those young people are a majority of young people and that they are going to be the future leaders of America.

Well, I have news for you. I have seen this country and I have talked to young people. And that kind of young people—they are not a majority of young people today, and they are not going to be the leaders of America tomorrow.

Oh, I do not suggest that I want our young people to approve everything that we stand for. Oh, I want them to disagree, I want them to speak up, because that's the way that we have progress. Each young generation has got to talk to its time. And it has got to keep the older generation from getting in a rut.

But, my friends, let us remember in a system that provides a means for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies lawlessness or resort to violence in the United States.

So to the young people, and if there are parents here, go home and tell your young people this: Sometimes in school, sometimes as they look at television, listen to the radio, read the newspapers, they may get the impression that America is a sick country, that everything is wrong with America, that this is a country of riots and violence and drugs and decadence with a foreign policy that attempts to dominate other countries.

I have traveled to more countries than any President of the United States who has ever held this office—74.

I have met many wonderful people. I have respect for all the people in all the countries that I have met.

But, my friends, I want to tell you this: When you go abroad and when you return home, you realize we are mighty lucky, young and old, to be born or to live in the United States of America.

And so I say to you, criticize what is wrong in America, but also speak up about what is right. There is more freedom here. There is more opportunity here. There is a better standard of living here. And no country in the world has a foreign policy which in my view is more generous and more correct than that of the United States of America, insofar as we aid other countries and we maintain our strength not for the purpose of conquering anybody else but for the purpose that every nation in the world will have what we have: the right to choose, the right to

freedom, the right to opportunity, the right to progress.

My friends, I say that in order that this minority that day after day tries to get on that television tube and to give that impression of America to Americans and the world, in order that they do not seem to be, it is time for the great silent majority to stand up and be counted for America and to speak for America.

There is a way you can be counted. You don't have to engage in violence. You don't have to shout four-letter obscenities.

November 3, you go into a little polling booth and for that moment you make a decision. I respect those who may make a decision different from what I recommend. That is our system. It is the greatness of it.

But I also say that at this time I want you to consider what I have said. The President of the United States over the next 2 years at least is going to have the responsibility to bring peace to the world and to keep it, the responsibility to bring peace at home and to keep it, the responsibility to reform this government, the responsibility also to have the progress that we want, to stop the rise in prices, to have jobs and prosperity without war.

I will meet that responsibility. But I need help. We need it in the House; we need it in the Senate. And so I say on November the 3d, if you want those things, if you want to stand up for those great principles that will make a better America, a better country, not only for you, but for your children, then I say vote for Glenn Beall, for Stanley Blair, for these fine candidates for the Congress and for all the candidates on the State ticket here in the State of Maryland.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:04 p.m. in the Union Hall, United Steelworkers of America, Local 2610.

380 Statement Announcing the Recess Appointment of Three Judges to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. *October* 24, 1970

WHEN the Congress recessed on October 14, the Senate District of Columbia Committee left unfinished a matter of extreme urgency. The committee failed to recommend confirmation of my nominations of three new judges to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

Since the fair administration of justice in our Nation's Capital urgently requires better handling of the enormous workload confronting the courts, I am today announcing the recess appointments of those three judges.

They are: Hubert Pair, a distinguished attorney, Walter Yeagley, an Assistant U.S. Attorney General who has served in that capacity under four Presidents, and Gerard Reilly, a distinguished attorney and former member of the National Labor Relations Board.

These three outstanding nominees have received the approval of the American Bar Association, the District of Columbia Bar Association, and the Federal Bar Association.

It is not clear just why the District of Columbia Committee under the chairmanship of Senator Tydings failed to act

on these nominations. I understand that there has been some objection on political grounds, but I believe that the unquestioned qualifications of these men should override consideration of politics. I have also heard that the chairman of the District of Columbia Committee objects to these nominees because they are more than 60 years old. Certainly the great contributions of American jurists after the age of 60 is sufficient evidence to counter that criticism. More than ever today we need mature and experienced judgment in our courts.

As I make these recess appointments, I am confident that the United States Senate, when it reconvenes next month, will vote to confirm these distinguished judges.

NOTE: The statement was released at Dundalk, Md.

A White House announcement, released September 22, 1970, on the President's intention to nominate the three attorneys to be judges on the new District of Columbia Court of Appeals is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1256).

381 Statement About the Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. *October* 24, 1970

SEVERAL weeks ago, the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography—appointed in a previous administration—presented its findings.

I have evaluated that report and categorically reject its morally bankrupt conclusions and major recommendations.

So long as I am in the White House, there will be no relaxation of the national effort to control and eliminate smut from our national life.

The Commission contends that the proliferation of filthy books and plays has no lasting harmful effect on a man's character. If that were true, it must also be true that great books, great paintings, and great plays have no ennobling effect on a man's conduct. Centuries of civilization and 10 minutes of common sense tell us otherwise.

The Commission calls for the repeal of laws controlling smut for adults, while recommending continued restrictions on smut for children. In an open society, this proposal is untenable. If the level of filth rises in the adult community, the young people in our society cannot help but also be inundated by the flood.

Pornography can corrupt a society and a civilization. The people's elected representatives have the right and obligation to prevent that corruption.

The warped and brutal portrayal of sex in books, plays, magazines, and movies, if not halted and reversed, could poison the wellsprings of American and Western culture and civilization.

The pollution of our culture, the pollution of our civilization with smut and filth is as serious a situation for the American people as the pollution of our once-pure air and water.

Smut should not be simply contained at its present level; it should be outlawed in every State in the Union. And the legislatures and courts at every level of American government should act in unison to achieve that goal.

I am well aware of the importance of protecting freedom of expression. But pornography is to freedom of expression what anarchy is to liberty; as free men

willingly restrain a measure of their freedom to prevent anarchy, so must we draw the line against pornography to protect freedom of expression.

The Supreme Court has long held, and recently reaffirmed, that obscenity is not within the area of protected speech or press. Those who attempt to break down the barriers against obscenity and pornography deal a severe blow to the very freedom of expression they profess to espouse.

Moreover, if an attitude of permissiveness were to be adopted regarding pornography, this would contribute to an atmosphere condoning anarchy in every field—and would increase the threat to our social order as well as to our moral principles.

Alexis de Tocqueville, observing America more than a century ago, wrote, America is great because she is good—and if America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great.

We all hold the responsibility for keeping America a great country—by keeping America a good country.

American morality is not to be trifled with. The Commission on Pornography and Obscenity has performed a disservice, and I totally reject its report.

NOTE: The report is entitled "The Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography—September 1970" (Government Printing Office, 646 pp.).

On October 2, 1970, the White House released a statement on the Commission's report by Counsellor to the President Robert H. Finch.

382 Toast at a Dinner Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations. *October* 24, 1970

Your Excellencies, the heads of state, the heads of government, the other distinguished guests who are present on this occasion:

In the 170-year history of this house, never have so many heads of state and heads of government been in this room together. And it is my great honor to welcome you all here as a group, and also individually, and to tell you that I only regret that each of you could not, on this occasion, receive the very individual honor to which your station would entitle you.

I know that during the past week, you have been exposed to a great number of speeches, as well as a great number of dinners.

I will not impose another speech on you tonight and, also, I know you will be glad to hear, I shall not ask any of you to make a speech.

But on such an occasion, I must speak what all of us feel in our hearts on this 25th anniversary of the United Nations. And that is, that over and over again in the speeches at the U.N. Assembly in New York ran the theme that the overwhelming majority of the 3½ billion people on this earth wanted peace and that the responsibility of the leaders of those people was to develop policies which would bring peace and keep the peace.

In this room are heads of government and heads of state who have great responsibilities to their own people and an even greater responsibility to the people of the world to work for the cause of peace and justice among all nations.

And for that reason, on this occasion, we are particularly honored that you

would take time in your busy schedules to come from New York to Washington to see us here so that we could express on behalf of the people of the United States, first, our deep friendship for all the peoples of your countries, and second, our complete devotion to the cause that the United Nations stands for of just and lasting peace among nations.

And thinking of appropriate words for this occasion, I think we could all perhaps best turn to the past. This room has seen many historic functions. Twenty of those who are in this room have been honored at dinners here. And over the years the great leaders of the world, emperors, kings, presidents, prime ministers, have been honored here.

There is one portrait in the room, that of Abraham Lincoln, who is, perhaps more than any other American President, honored all over the world.

When people think of Lincoln, most agree that his most eloquent address was the Gettysburg Address. But Lincoln did not agree with that. He rated his second inaugural, and particularly its conclusion, as being the best of all of his public statements.

And I think as we look at the next 25 years of the United Nations that perhaps the words with which he concluded that second inaugural, at the end of a very difficult and terrible war between the States of this country over 100 years ago, that those words would give us the inspiration for the future.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in . . . (to) achieve and (to) cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

And in that spirit, let us raise our glasses to the United Nations.

To the United Nations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:43 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

A list of dignitaries attending the dinner is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1456).

383 Remarks of Welcome to President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania. *October* 26, 1970

Mr. President, Mrs. Ceausescu, our very distinguished guests from Romania, and ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, just a year ago you welcomed me to Bucharest as the first American President ever to visit Romania. And today I am very honored to welcome you to Washington, D.C., as the first President of Romania ever to visit the United States of America.

We shall always remember the very warm reception we received from the Romanian people, and we know that in your travels in the United States you have also sensed the warm feeling of friendship and affection that the people of the United States have for the people of Romania.

Despite our different systems of government, we have friendship and affection for the Romanian people, we have respect for the independence of your government, and we wish to work with you in the cause of peace for the world and progress for our peoples and all peoples.

I believe that our talks a year ago con-

tributed to that great purpose of peace and progress for all peoples in the world and better understanding between our two nations. And I know that the talks we will have on this occasion will make a further contribution to that great goal.

We give you a very warm welcome from all the American people to you, to the members of your party, and to the Romanian people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:39 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Ceausescu was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 388.

President Ceausescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks, as translated by an interpreter, follow:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I should like to take this evident opportunity to address you all my most cordial greetings on behalf of the Romanian people—and to the people of the United States.

I remember with pleasure your visit to Romania last year, Mr. President, and the conversations we had on that occasion.

I should like to thank you for the kind invitation extended to me to take the opportunity of my presence at the United Nations General Assembly session in order to meet you and to visit a few centers in the United States.

It is true that between Romania and the United States of America there are differences as to the social order and there are also differences in some of the existing problems, but notwithstanding such differences we believe that it is necessary to cooperate together in the economic, scientific, cultural, and other fields in order to contribute to the settlement of the problems which are of concern to the modern world and in a spirit of friendship and cooperation among nations.

It is in this spirit that I would express my hope that this visit in my capacity as President of the Council of State of Romania—which, as you mention it, sir, is the first visit of the kind to the United States, as was also your visit to Romania the first visit of a United States President to Romania—will contribute to the development of cooperation and friendship between our two nations and will serve the cause of cooperation and peace in the world.

384 Statement About the Use of Low-Lead Gasoline in Federal Vehicles. *October* 26, 1970

AT MY request, the Administrator of General Services today issued the attached regulation which requires that federally-owned vehicles use low-lead or unleaded gasoline whenever this is practical and feasible. The purposes of this regulation are twofold: to reduce air pollution and to increase the market for low-lead and unleaded gasoline, in order to make such fuels more generally available.

I have also today written to the Governors of our 50 States suggesting that they take similar steps in their administrations. If all government agencies—Federal, State, and local—were to adopt this policy, we could not only reduce pollution, but we could also provide a sizable incentive for production and distribution of low or unleaded fuels and thus make them more readily available.

NOTE: The regulation, made available with the statement, is published in the Federal Register of October 28, 1970 (35 F.R. 16713).

On October 26, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's statement and letter to the Governors by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and Robert L. Kunzig, Administrator of General Services.

385 Letter to the Governors of the 50 States About the Use of Low-Lead Gasoline in State Vehicles. *October* 26, 1970

Dear Governor:

At my request, the Administrator of General Services today issued the attached regulation which requires that federally-owned vehicles use low-lead or unleaded gasoline whenever this is practical and feasible. The purposes of this regulation are two-fold: to reduce air pollution and to increase the market for low-lead and unleaded gasoline, in order to make such fuels more generally available.

If your State would undertake a similar program, our joint action would offer the gasoline refinery and marketing industries a sizeable incentive to produce and distribute low-lead and lead-free gasoline. As the production and distribution of such fuels become widespread, the motorist will be able to buy them and thus make a major contribution to the cleaning up of our air. I hope you can join in this effort.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

386 Memorandum Announcing a New Program: "ZERO IN on Federal Safety." *October* 26, 1970

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

It is most important that the men and women who serve our Nation in the Federal service be fully safeguarded from injury in the performance of their tasks. They must suffer no avoidable risk.

At the end of this year, we shall complete Mission SAFETY–70 which has averted over 22 thousand disabling injuries since 1964. Nonetheless the 43,000 such injuries sustained last year are of deep continuing concern. They show the need for renewed effort.

Mission SAFETY–70 provided a broad, overall approach to Federal work safety. Now we need a specific approach. Accordingly, I am today announcing a new safety program for all Federal personnel.

"ZERO IN on Federal Safety" will start January 1st and continue for two years.

Under this program, each Federal agency must find ways to locate the specific work hazards which injure its employees—and remove them. For example, handling materials causes over one-quarter of our job injuries, slips and falls over one-fifth.

Whether the agency's chief problems stem from these or other causes, it is evident that job injuries can be prevented only where they occur—by the *agency* at the place of work. Tested techniques exist to prevent them.

At my request, Secretary of Labor Hodgson has today written all agency heads detailing the new program.

I have proposed many programs to im-

prove the quality of life in America. That quality in the workplaces of the Federal service must be the best—both for the protection of our employees and as an example to the Nation.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was dated October 23, 1970, and released October 26, 1970.

387 Statement on Signing an Executive Order Creating a Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center. *October* 26, 1970

ONE YEAR ago, I sent to the Congress a group of proposals of great interest to every housewife in the Nation.

I proposed a "Buyer's Bill of Rights"—laws that would help the consumer get more information about products, that would enable consumers to get their complaints heard, that would better protect the consumer's health and safety.

Congress has not acted to help the consumer as I proposed. This needed legislation has been blocked by those who say my recommendations go too far and others who say they do not go far enough. Unfortunately for the consumer, there are those in Congress who would rather have a political issue to talk about than have real progress toward a Buyer's Bill of Rights. By demanding all or nothing, they have achieved nothing for the consumer.

However, there is some action I now can take to benefit the consumer that does not depend on a drifting Congress.

By Executive order [11566], I am taking action to make more information about products available to the consumer, so that he or she can make a more informed choice.

We all know how difficult it is to make an informed judgment on many complex products in today's marketplace. The Federal Government is a consumer, too, and to buy intelligently, the Government often sets standards for the products it needs. In the course of establishing these standards, much useful information about product characteristics is developed.

It is time for the Government to share with the American consumer much of this information it gathers about the products the Government buys. We cannot do this in a way that divulges trade secrets or discourages bidding on contracts or puts the Government into the "seal of approval" business—that would not be in the taxpayers' interest—but we can make available much more information than we presently do. And we can make it available in plain English, cutting through the technical jargon.

To do this, I am creating a Consumer Product Information Coordinating Center in the Government agency that handles much of our purchasing, the General Services Administration.

This consumer center will make public much of what the Government learns during the procurement process, in a form that will be useful to the consumer and fair to the manufacturer. In addition, the Department of Defense is undertaking a pilot program to translate technical procurement information into a form useful to consumers. My consumer adviser, Virginia Knauer, will report to me on the progress of both of these projects.

56-087—71——63

388 Toasts of the President and President Ceausescu of Romania. *October* 26, 1970

President Ceausescu, Mrs. Ceausescu, our very distinguished guests from Romania, and all of our guests from the United States:

We are very honored this evening to receive the President of Romania because he is the first President of Romania ever to be received as a state guest of the United States. And we are also honored to receive him for another reason: He is the first President or chief of state of a Socialist country to be received as an honored guest during this administration.

As we speak of the relations between Romania and the United States, we often refer to the differences that we have in our social and economic systems which are well known.

But on an occasion like this, I think that all of us are reminded of those things which draw us together rather than those that drive us apart, and first is the desire on the part of the people of both countries to know each other.

I have had the privilege of visiting Romania. And I know the warmhearted people who live in that country. And I want the people of America to know the people of Romania and the people of Romania to know the people of America, because they will like each other as they know each other, and they should not miss the opportunity to know each other in the years ahead.

I know, too, that having visited Romania that we have a common interest in seeing that there is progress in both countries. And there are many areas where we can work together for progress in the economic field. And the President and I in our talks have been exploring areas where there can be increased cooperation.

We have made a great deal of progress in this field over the past year. We will make more as a result of the talks we have had on this occasion.

And a third interest we share in common is one to which Romania is deeply dedicated and to which we are deeply dedicated, and that is the right of each nation to be independent, to have its own policy without foreign domination. We want that for ourselves. We respect that in any other country, and we want it and we respect it for our friends from Romania.

And, finally, there is the overriding concern that we share with our friends from Romania and with other countries in the world to strengthen the structure of peace in the world. And we believe that the opportunities that we have had on two occasions to meet at the highest level with the President of Romania have helped to strengthen that structure of peace.

It happens that in the world today because of the divisions, there are times when the leader of one nation does not have adequate communication with the leader of another. But as I was saying to the President earlier today, he is in a rather unique position. He heads a government which is one of the few in the world which has good relations with the United States, good relations with the Soviet Union, and good relations with the People's Republic of China.

Under those circumstances it is ex-

tremely valuable for the President of the United States to have the opportunity to speak to the President of Romania to discuss the problems, not only that we have between ourselves, but also these broader world problems in which Romania, because of its special position, can make a very constructive contribution to the eventual peaceful world we all want to share together.

And so for these reasons which are basically official, but also for a very personal reason, the fact that I have known and respected our distinguished guests, the President, his wife, and the members of his party because of our visit a year ago, I know all of you in this room will want to join me in raising our glasses to the President of Romania and to the Romanian people.

To the President of Romania.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:48 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 383.

President Ceausescu spoke in Romanian. His remarks, as translated by an interpreter, follow:

Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

First and foremost, I should like to extend my thanks to President Nixon for the opportunity offered to us to visit the United States and for the kind invitation to meet together during these days.

It appears that sometimes visits which are not visits of state, rather unofficial on the opportunity of the United Nations session, may be even more fruitful.

I had the opportunity to visit a few centers in the United States and to have discussions with representatives of political and economic life in the United States. And today, I had the special pleasure to meet your President and to have with him a very interesting and fruitful discussion.

I was able to note with pleasure from the discussions I had with the representatives of political and economic life here in America that there are good prospects for the good development of relations between our two countries.

During the talks we had today, Mr. President, as you have mentioned before, we have tackled quite a number of problems of particular importance for the relations between our two countries. I am hopeful that in the near future new possibilities may be open for the many-sided and wide-scale progress of our relations.

Although our countries may have different social systems, I think that provided we act in a desire to develop our cooperation on the basis of fully equal rights, mutual respect of each country's independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs, and mutual advantage, we shall be able to develop very good relations between us.

In any case, I can guarantee here and now that Romania is never going to threaten in any way the United States.

Of course, during our meeting and the talks today, some of the international problems could not have failed to be tackled because—and this is most important—no matter where, in what part of the world a conflict may arise, it will influence more or less the fate of all nations.

Of course our utmost desire is to bring about the speediest possible settlement of the existing conflicts and to bring about a lasting peace such as to insure to every nation the possibility for her economic and social development, such as to insure each nation the possibility to live in peace without fearing any kind of aggression from outside.

We would wish that the cooperation between Romania and the United States should contribute towards settling the existing problems and to be inspired by the principles which are now becoming more and more the basic trends in the international affairs of today.

I think it would not be too fastidious of me to presume that at our future next meeting, the troops, both of Romania and of the United States, would be at home in their own land and that we may contribute really to such a cooperation which should better serve the cause of peace in the world.

With the hope and the desire that the devel-

opment of our relations and our cooperation with the United States of America should extend in all fields, with the desire that these relations should serve the cause of cooperation among nations and peace in the world, I propose you, ladies and gentlemen, to drink this toast to the President of the United States of America.

389 Remarks on Signing the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. *October* 27, 1970

Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Ingersoll, ladies and gentlemen:

I will in a very few moments be signing this piece of legislation which deals with the problem that the Attorney General has described.

Fifteen months ago I sent an urgent request to the Congress for legislation in this field. I requested it because our survey of the problem of drugs indicated that it was a major cause of street crime in the United States.

Those who have a drug habit find it necessary to steal, to commit crimes, in order to feed their habit. We found also, and all Americans are aware of this, that drugs are alarmingly on the increase in use among our young people. They are destroying the lives of hundreds of thousands of young people all over America, not just of college age or young people in their twenties, but the great tragedy: The uses start even in junior high school, or even in the late grades.

Under these circumstances, this is a national problem. It requires an urgent action on the part of the Federal Government and that action now has been taken by the Congress and, after 15 months, finally the bill will be signed.

I should, however, indicate to you the limitations that this bill has. It does some things which Mr. Ingersoll will approve of and which the Attorney General has asked for. It provides over 300 new agents. New agents who will be able to do this kind of work that Mr. Ingersoll has just described.

It provides for jurisdiction that we have not previously had. The jurisdiction of the Attorney General will go far beyond, for example, heroin. It will cover the new types of drugs, the barbiturates and the amphetamines that have become so common and that are even more dangerous because of their use. And also it provides a very forward-looking program in the field of drug addiction.

This is enormously important. That is one of the reasons that the Department of HEW is represented here, as well as other departments in this field, because once the individual who gets hooked on drugs is in that condition, he is one that we must have sympathy for. We must do everything that we can to cure his habit if it is possible to cure it. Some new cures are being developed, and this will mean that we will have a nationwide program and an effective one in this field where we have not had one before. But this is what the law can do.

We can provide, as we do, more men. We can provide greater jurisdiction. We can deal with the problem of addiction. But there needs to be public support. And I urge all who may be listening to this signing ceremony to remember that in

every home in America, in every school in America, in every church in America, over the television and radio media of this country, in our newspapers, the message needs to get through, that this Nation faces a major crisis in terms of the increasing use of drugs, particularly among our young people.

We can deal with it. We have the laws now. We are going to go out and enforce those laws. But in order for those laws to mean anything they must have public support.

There must be knowledge, knowledge among the parents, knowledge among the children, which can only come from wide public information programs.

And therefore, I hope that at the time the Federal Government is moving, as we are moving very strongly in this field, that the whole Nation will join with us in a program to stop the rise in the use of drugs and thereby help to stop the rise in crime; and also save the lives of hundreds of thousands of our young people who otherwise would become hooked on drugs and be physically, mentally, and morally destroyed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in the offices of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. John E. Ingersoll was Director, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Department of Justice.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 18583) is Public Law 91-513 (84 Stat. 1236).

A summary of the provisions of the act was released by the White House on the same day.

390 Statement Announcing Appointments to the National Council on the Arts. *October* 27, 1970

IN ANNOUNCING the appointment of Maurice Abravanel, Kenneth Dayton, Charles Eames, Virginia Gerity, James Earl Jones, Charles McWhorter, Beverly Sills Greenough, E. Leland Webber, and Robert E. Wise to the National Council on the Arts, I wish to reemphasize the importance I place on the work of the Council.

The arts are playing an increasingly significant part in American life, not just in a few great centers but throughout the Nation. When I asked Congress last year to extend the life and substantially increase the funding of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, I noted that: "The arts have attained a prominence in our life as a nation and in our consciousness as individuals, that renders their health and growth vital to our national well-being."

The National Council on the Arts will have a key role in determining how Federal funds are to be used in order to bring more artistic enrichment into the lives of more people in more places. In a broader sense, the Council will be addressing itself continually to the question of how the Federal Government can best assist the arts and encourage the vital sources of private support.

With the current upsurge of interest in what has come to be called "the quality of life," we all should give special recognition to the role the arts play in enhanceing that quality. They are vehicles of understanding, and of appreciation; they bring into our lives the priceless leaven of

beauty, of harmony, and of spiritual fulfillment. Life without art would be drab indeed. By giving encouragement to the arts we can contribute substantially to the enrichment of our lives as a people and as a nation.

NOTE: An announcement of the appointments with biographical information on the Council members was released by the White House on the same day and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1464).

391 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Florida. *October* 27, 1970

THERE IS one question which all the voters of Florida should ask as they vote for Senator on November 3d: "Who will be the most effective Senator for Florida during the next 6 years?"

I believe that the clear answer to that question is "Bill Cramer."

When Bill Cramer went to Washington in 1955, he was the first Republican that Florida had elected to the Congress since 1875. He quickly proved that he knew how to get things done in Washington, and he has become an important member of the Republican leadership team in the House of Representatives. As a member of that team, he has been meeting with me on a regular basis ever since I took office. I am confident he will also be a highly effective leader in the United States Senate.

One of the areas in which Bill Cramer's leadership has been most notable is the fight against crime and disorder. The author of significant legislation designed to stop bombing and riots, he deserves the support of every voter who looks upon law and order as a critical issue of our time. He has been a strong force in the fight to give a better break to our senior citizens. He has been a strong force in the effort to save the environment. And he also shares the administration's position opposing the compulsory busing of schoolchildren for the sole purpose of achieving a federally-imposed racial balance in our classrooms.

I also take this opportunity to express my support for Governor Claude Kirk—the first Republican Governor of Florida since Reconstruction—as he bids for reelection. As one who has long been a frequent visitor to this State, I know that I can depend on the Republican candidates here to support the Nixon administration on the great issues of our time. I urge the voters of Florida to support the administration by casting their ballots for Bill Cramer and Claude Kirk and the entire Republican ticket.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

392 Remarks in West Palm Beach, Florida. *October* 27, 1970

Governor Kirk, Senator Gurney, Congressman Cramer, Congressman Frey, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and this great audience here in West Palm Beach:

As all of you are aware, I, from time to

time, like to come to Florida, and since the election of 1968, this is the first time I have been in Florida to make a political speech. I am glad it is here in West Palm Beach before this great audience.

I am glad because, first, it is a great audience and a wonderful auditorium, one I have not visited before. I am very happy, too, because of the program that I understand has preceded me as I was flying down here from Washington. When I think of Perry Como [1] being the master of ceremonies, we can't afford him, but, boy, is he good.

I heard that he had something to say about the Vice President's golf. I don't know about the Vice President's golf. I have never played with him. But I do know this: He is a great campaigner, and we can be very proud of what he has done in this campaign.

Perry, I look forward to playing golf with you, but you are going to be my partner; I know how good you are. You get more practice than I do.

But in any event, I, too, want to express my appreciation to all of those that have participated in the program. I understand that the Naples High School Band is here. Right?

I am in the wrong place. It says the Miami Convention Center.

Let's pay our tribute to the Lake Worth High School Band. How about that?

And the New Dawn Sing Out,[2] are they here, too? They better be. And to all of the others that have participated in the program. To you, Dr. Moody,[3] for your invocation, my deep appreciation.

[1] Popular singer and television performer.

[2] Youth choir from the First United Methodist Church of West Palm Beach.

[3] Dr. Jess Moody, minister of the First Baptist Church of West Palm Beach.

I am going to have something to say about students a little later, so I am glad to have some right up here.

And now, I want to talk to you very directly about my views on this 1970 campaign here in the State of Florida, particularly, and in the Nation generally.

First, I want to speak about the State campaign, the campaign for Governor—the campaign for Governor and for the State legislature and for the State ticket, generally.

As you know, I am a taxpayer in the State of Florida. I also am a resident of the State of California, where I have my voting residence. And then I live in a public housing project in Washington, D.C. As one who lives in three different places, I can say that next to Washington, D.C., I spend more time in Florida than any place in this country.

And as a taxpayer in this State, one who has a great liking for this State, who knows its possibilities for the future, for progress, who knows that as we look ahead for the next 25 years, Florida will probably be the fastest growing State of all the major States in this country—looking to this State and looking to the leadership that it needs, let me say that I enthusiastically endorse Governor Claude Kirk, because he is a man of vision, he is a man with the courage of his convictions, who will get up and fight for what he believes is right.

He doesn't look to the past; he looks to the future. He is a man who is going to build a greater Florida for the future. I think we need him as Governor and I enthusiastically support him. I just hope he doesn't raise my taxes.

And I endorse, too, the whole State ticket, of course, at the same time.

Now, I want to speak about the national

ticket. And speaking of the national ticket, of course, is my primary responsibility because, as one who has the responsibility of serving as President of all the American people, I also have the responsibility to speak to the people about the needs that I find in the Congress, if I am going to keep the pledges that I made to the American people.

It is rather traditional in the last week of a campaign, particularly, to get pretty partisan, to come before an audience like this which is primarily Republican and say, "Vote Republican," or if it is a Democratic audience to say "Vote Democrat," if you happen to be on the other side.

I am not going to say that tonight. And in all the speeches that I make this week, I am not going to say, "Vote Republican" just because you happen to be a Republican.

I am going to say to you here in Florida what I am going to say in California and other States that I am going to visit in these next 3 days: that the future of America is too important and the issues before America are too important to think in terms of the party label a man wears.

What really counts is what is best for America. And it is because I believe that what Bill Cramer stands for and has stood for in the House and what he will vote for in the Senate and stand for, along with Ed Gurney, that is what America needs. That is why I am for him, because he stands for what is best for America.

Let's forget for just a moment what our party affiliation is, Republican or Democrat. Let's think of these great national issues. Let's think of the responsibility of the President of the United States, sitting there in that Oval Office, his responsibilities to the people of America and particularly to the young people and their future, and, also, as Bill Cramer suggested, to the people of the world, because America as the leader of the free world holds the key to peace in the world.

As we look at those responsibilities, I can assure you that number one all across the country is that of bringing peace to the world and keeping peace. You will recall that in my acceptance speech just a little over 2 years ago in Miami, that was the major theme. I pledged then that I would work to end the war in Vietnam in a way that we could build a lasting peace in the Pacific and in the world.

We have made some progress. Instead of having men go out to Vietnam, as was the case for the last 5 years, they are coming home, tens of thousands of them, and more will be coming home.

Instead of casualties going up, and they were at 300 a week when we came in, they are going down, and they are the lowest in 4½ years, and they are going to continue to go down as a result of the strong action that we have taken to reduce those casualties.

And instead of being in a position where the United States did not have a peace plan on the table, we have one on the table, a generous one, one that we are pressing the enemy to accept or at least to negotiate.

Now, here is the situation in a nutshell with regard to the United States Senate, which has an enormous effect on the foreign policy of this country, as well as the House, but more so in the Senate, because it approves, of course, any treaties that may be agreed upon by the President.

In this particular area, we need men in the Senate who understand foreign policy, who understand the necessity for the United States to be strong if we are to lead the forces of peace in the world ade-

quately, who understand that the real question in Vietnam is not simply ending a war—that is easy.

The real question is ending a war in a way that we will discourage those who might make war in the future, and have a real peace and not a temporary peace. That is what America wants.

We have ended lots of wars. We ended World War I; we ended World War II; we ended the Korean war. And yet, do you know in this century, we have never yet had a generation of peace, one full generation. I think it is time that we did better.

And that is why I stand firmly for that kind of a program that will end this war and that will win a peace, that will give these young people a chance to have what no one in this century has had in America, a full generation of peace.

That is what we are working for and that is the support that we want in the United States Senate. If we are going to have that generation of peace, we not only have to end this war, it is necessary for the President and his associates to negotiate, to negotiate particularly with the major powers and particularly the Soviet Union.

And if we are to negotiate, we must negotiate from strength. It is necessary that we understand that. It is necessary that we have Senators—just as Ed Gurney has stood firmly and strongly in the Senate on vote after vote on this particular matter, so Bill Cramer will stand in the Senate with Ed Gurney. It will be a great team in the field of foreign policy and national defense. We need them. I need them. You need them. America needs them there in the United States Senate.

Now, let's come to some issues at home. The issue of peace abroad, as I am sure all of you will agree, doesn't divide us in terms of whether we are Democrats or Republicans. As Americans, we want peace. We want lasting peace. We want a strong America. That is why I say on this particular issue, vote for what is best for America.

And so it is with regard to the problems that we see at home, many of them. I see many people in this audience who are undoubtedly concerned, as are others across the country, about the rise in the cost of living. I have read some of the polls indicating that that is a major concern.

It should be. I talked about it in 1968. I noted then that because our Government over the previous 8 years had spent $50 billion more than it took in in taxes, we had inflationary pressures that were driving prices up and up and up. And I said it had to stop.

I have been trying to stop it. I haven't had the help that I needed. I haven't had it in the Congress of the United States, enough help. Oh, we have had some that have stood firm. Men like Bill Cramer, men who have stood firm on these particular votes that involve this particular point.

You know, when you have a spending program in the Congress of the United States, it is very tempting to vote for all of them, because, after all, most people are for spending money which they think might benefit them.

But what we need in the Congress of the United States, in the House and in the Senate, are men who have the courage to look at these programs and to vote against a program that might benefit some people, a special group, but will raise prices for all people. That is what we need to do.

In other words, what we need is to recognize that unless we can cut the Federal budget, we are going to raise the

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family budgets for millions of Americans.

So, I say we need in the House and we need in the Senate men who will stand with the President in this very difficult task. Unless we deal with the problem of spending in Washington, D.C., cutting that spending where it can be cut, cutting it wherever we think excessive spending might drive up prices, it means we are going to have runaway inflation.

If you want to stop runaway inflation, then let's not have a runaway Congress. Give us men that will stand firm, stand fast. Bill Cramer is such a man. He will stand with us rather than against us on such issues.

And now there is a third issue that I believe is completely beyond partisan politics. It is the problem that can best be described as peace at home. We all know that over the past few years there has been an alarming rise of crime in this country. As a matter of fact, in the sixties, crime went up 158 percent in America.

And I pledged, during the campaign, that we would have a program, a program starting with a new, strong Attorney General. Incidentally, we have one in John Mitchell, one of the best men that has ever served in that post.

We would start with a program of strengthening the law enforcement officials, of appointing judges to the court who would strictly construe the Constitution, and particularly whose record was strong whenever the question came up of coming down hard on the side of the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country. And particularly, also, laws, new laws, laws to deal with the problem of rising crime in this country.

Let me tell you what has happened. Eighteen months ago I submitted programs, programs to deal with organized crime, programs to deal with drugs, and dangerous drugs, and areas like that, programs to deal with obscenity and pornography.

What has happened? For 18 months the Congress waited and waited and waited, and only in the last few weeks have some of those measures reached my desk for signature. I am glad they came. I signed them, and now we are going to enforce them.

But I simply want to say this: I have determined that as far as the President of the United States is concerned, he has a special responsibility, not only to adopt those policies that will bring peace abroad but to adopt those policies that will restore peace at home.

I will do it, but I need help. I need help in the House; I need help in the Senate. And here again, I know where Bill Cramer stands. I know where he stands because he is a man who hasn't just talked about this issue in election time. In his 15 years in the House he has become an expert in this field. Whether it is an antibombing amendment, whether it is an amendment dealing with an antiriot situation, of which he was the author, or in many other areas, he is one of the major experts.

I remember meeting after meeting of our congressional leaders where we meet every week down at the White House. Bill Cramer, we turned to him over and over again because he knew what the law was, he knew what could be done, he made recommendations that we were able to adopt.

What I am simply saying is this: If you are concerned about the rise in crime, if you are concerned about the drug traffic in this country, if you are concerned about the flow of pornography and obscenity in the homes of this country, if you want to

see that the wave of crime does not become the wave of the future, give us another man in the United States Senate who, with Ed Gurney, will stand firm.

Bill Cramer is that man. He knows what to do. He will stand firmly with us on that issue.

And now here in this great State of Florida, there is one other issue that I would like to touch upon that is completely beyond whether we are Republicans or Democrats, and that is the future of what we have been calling our environment.

It is an issue that has stirred a great number of people, and particularly our younger people, and it should, because they are going to have to live in whatever environment is created by what we do.

We need to clean up the air. We need to clean up the water. We need to stop those practices that are polluting this country, that are destroying the beauty of this country.

We must leave for these young people the heritage that we received. This is a beautiful country. Make no mistake about it. Let's see to it that we adopt the programs now that will keep it beautiful so that the young people in the future will have the kind of America that we have loved and we have enjoyed.

In this field, as you know, the administration has advocated a program that is very far-reaching. It is one that is needed. It is one which was sent to the Congress many, many months ago, on which there has been very, very little action.

We need men in the Senate, we need them in the House, who will stand firmly with us on this. Bill Cramer understands it. He has fought for it. He has spoken for it. Here is another area where that strong voice in the United States Senate, added to the voice you already have in Ed Gurney, will give us that team that we need, strong for Florida, strong for America.

And now, finally, let me say something, if I may, particularly to the young people that are here. I appreciate your coming. I know that as you sit in a political rally you probably wonder about the future of this country. And I know that some of your parents perhaps have wondered about the future of this country as they have seen what pretend to be, or some at least have suggested are, the young people of America parading across the television screens from time to time over the past few months.

You have seen them, the bombings, the burnings, shouting obscenities, shouting speakers down. I have seen a few on this campaign. It doesn't bother me particularly. I have a pretty big voice. But I can only say this: You get the impression, sometimes, because it is news when young people engage in activities that are violent, that are illegal, that that is news. And what is not news is the fact that there are in this country a far greater number of young people who obey the law, who are decent, who are trying to build a better America.

Just let me say this: For those who have the idea that the violent few that are on the television screen night after night, that they are either a majority of our young people or that they are going to be the leaders of the future, they are not a majority of the young people, and they are not going to be the leaders of the future of this country.

I will tell you, I have seen young Americans on the campus of Ohio State,

I have seen them at airport stops, I hear them here in this audience here tonight.

Young Americans want change, and I hope they always will. Young Americans aren't satisfied with the way things are, and they should never be.

But the great majority of the young Americans know that in this country, in a system that provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies violence. That is what they know, and that is what they stand for.

So my message to the young people of America is this: You can be proud of your country. You can be proud that your country's foreign policy is one that doesn't threaten any other country. We are a strong nation, the strongest in the world. But when I meet, as I did yesterday, with the leader of a relatively small country, Romania, I could say to him, and he could believe, that he had nothing to fear from the United States of America. Be proud of it, be proud of your country.

Let me tell you, when I travel over this country and when I travel over the world—I have been in the world's capitals, and I have seen hundreds of thousands of people come out—I can say that I am proud that I represent the United States of America, a country that believes in peace and stands for peace at its very best.

And here at home where we do have problems, just remember, the greatness of America is that we are the only country in the world, really the only one, that is rich enough that we have the means, the means to solve our problems. All we need is the will, the imagination, the leadership. What a great country to live in!

That is what we ought to be saying to our young people, and I am glad that most of them really feel that way, too, when we put it to them, as we are doing here tonight.

And now, my friends here in West Palm Beach, as you know, we go from here to Miami for another rally. I simply want to conclude my remarks here with this final thought: This is an election campaign in which the result will be determined in this State and in perhaps a dozen States in this country in these next few days. There are great numbers of undecided voters. What you do, what you say, not only how you vote but how you work in these next few days, may determine who is going to be the next Senator from this State, who is going to be the next Congressman from this district, who is going to be the next Governor of this State.

I have spoken to you quite directly about what I believe. I am for Claude Kirk as Governor; I am for Bill Cramer. I am for Bill Cramer for United States Senator. I am for our splendid candidates for the House and our splendid candidates in the State government.

But what I urge you to do is to remember the way elections are won is not only by your votes but by your work. And in this area, an area in which both of these candidates should do well, particularly in this election, because of the makeup of the area, we need to roll up a majority.

And I say to you, let's go out from this hall and between now and next week let's get the votes, the votes that will reelect Claude Kirk, elect Bill Cramer to the United States Senate, and do it for the good of Florida and for America and for yourselves.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:56 p.m. in the West Palm Beach Auditorium.

393 Remarks in Miami Beach, Florida. *October* 27, 1970

Governor Kirk, Senator Gurney, Congressman Cramer, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, all of the members of this great audience:

I am very honored and proud to be back in the auditorium which nominated me for President of the United States in 1968. And I am proud that every time I have been on the ticket in Florida, in 1952, 1956, 1960, 1968, we carried Florida. Thank you very much.

And today, I am here not as a candidate, but I am here in behalf of others. I am here as one who speaks as one of you. As you know, my voting residence is California. I also own property in Florida. And I live in very good public housing in Washington, D.C. But as far as where I spend my time next to Washington, D.C., I am very happy that I have been able to spend more time in Florida than in any other State.

And so I speak as a taxpayer in this State, as one who loves this State, who sees its great future, and as that kind of an individual, I think I have a right and a responsibility to tell you what I think about the leadership in this State.

I believe that the reelection of Claude Kirk as Governor is in the best interest of the people of Florida, and I am for him all the way. He has the vision, he has the courage, to provide the leadership that this State needs. I say the vision and the courage because Florida is a State that has a great future.

I would estimate that in the next 25 years, it will probably grow more than any State in this Union. And now is the time to plan for that growth. Now is the time to see to it that that growth does not destroy the beauty of this State. Claude Kirk sees that problem. He gives great leadership for this State. I support him and the whole ticket in the State of Florida with you.

I am also proud to be here in behalf of our national candidates, in behalf of those who are the candidates for the Congress of the United States. I cannot mention them all. I know they have been introduced before.

But I want you to know that those who are running for the House in this State of Florida are among the best group of candidates I have seen in the whole Nation. They are a great team. Let's support them and elect them to the Congress of the United States.

Now I come to the contest in which there is an interest not only in the State of Florida but in the whole Nation, because what is involved here I would put in terms of a majority of one. I am referring not simply to who controls the next Senate. I am referring to the fact that in vote after vote in the past 2 years a change of one vote might have made the difference as to whether America was going to be strong or weak at the bargaining table, as to whether America was going to have a policy that would win the peace or lose the peace, as to whether America was going to have programs which deal effectively with the problem of crime in this country or ineffectively.

And it is because that one vote is so important that I am campaigning in Florida and in other States for men who, on their record, will stand with the Presi-

dent rather than against him on the great issues confronting the American people today.

Let me ask you to think of those issues for just a moment, not in terms of whether you are Democrats or Republicans, but in terms of being Americans and what is best for America.

I know that I would never have carried this State had it not been for Democrats as well as Republicans. I speak to the whole State and, through you, to the whole Nation.

I remember over 2 years ago when I spoke in this convention hall I made some promises to the American people, some promises I have tried to keep. Those promises didn't involve simply Republican policies. They involved what was best for America.

I promised that I would embark on a program which would bring peace in Vietnam and lasting peace in the world.

I promised that I would enact a program and stand for the enactment of a program that would bring peace at home and stop the rise in crime in this country. And I promised that I would stand for a program that would bring what all of us want, prosperity, progress, but prosperity without war.

That is what we want, and that is what we can have.

My friends, in the past 2 years, I have worked as President of the United States to carry out those promises I made to you and to the people of America right in this hall. We have made some progress. And when you think of the Presidency of the United States, that awesome position with all of its power, the most powerful man in the world, you think that he should be able to do anything.

But I can tell you that while the President has great power, he cannot do what needs to be done unless he has help. And I have come here to ask for help. I need more men in the House, more men in the Senate, who will support the President in the great issues which you have elected me to carry out in the campaign of 1968.

And here they are. When I came into office, here is what I found: 550,000 men in Vietnam with no plans to bring them home; casualties at 300 a week; no peace plan on the conference table; and we went to work. Instead of sending more men to Vietnam, we are bringing them home by the tens of thousands, and they are going to continue to come home. Instead of casualties going up, they are going down, and they will continue to go down under our leadership.

We have a peace plan on the conference table in Paris. Let me put it quite directly.

My friends, we are ending this war, and we are ending it in a way that will discourage those that would start another war. The problem is not in ending a war; the problem is in ending a war where we can win the peace.

Look back over the history of this country. I see some here old enough to remember World War I, World War II, Korea. We ended all those wars. But do you realize that in America, in this century, we have yet to enjoy a full generation of peace?

Well, I think it is time to change that. That is why I have stood for policies, and I am working for policies, that will end this war in a way that we can have a generation of peace for the last generation of this century.

And to do that, I need men in the Senate like Ed Gurney, who has given us

such strong support, and another man in the Senate like Bill Cramer, who will give that same kind of support.

In order to do that, we also need the support for those programs that will keep America strong, so that when the American President negotiates for the limitation of arms, or in any other field, let's be sure that our President negotiates from strength and never from weakness. That is what Bill Cramer stands for and these candidates here on this platform.

I turn now to another problem that I discussed 2 years ago right in this hall. I pledged to the American people that the wave of crime in this country was not going to be the wave of the future, and it will not be the wave of the future with your help and with the support of men like Bill Cramer.

But listen to what happened. Eighteen months ago, a year and a half ago, I submitted to the Congress of the United States a comprehensive program to deal with organized crime, to deal with drugs, to deal with narcotics, to deal with pornography, to deal with obscenity.

And what happened? Nothing happened month after month after month, until just a few weeks ago, during the election campaign, bills finally reached my desk. I say that record isn't good enough.

We need a man like Bill Cramer in the United States Senate who would join with Ed Gurney in getting action in dealing with the problem of stopping crime in this country.

Let us well understand what the issue is. I realize that in an election campaign everybody is against crime. Everybody, of course, is for peace. But let me say that the real problem is not simply being for the laws and the judges who will stop the rise in crime in an election campaign, but who will be for those laws and will stand for those judges and approve those judges all year round, and Bill Cramer will do that in the United States Senate.

And we need also, my friends, men in that Senate who understand the future of America, who recognize that in this great State of Florida, with all the beauty of its oceans and its inland waterways, that we must pass this heritage on to our children. We must stop the pollution of the air and the pollution of the water, and the destruction of our places of beauty.

Let's see that our young people have what we have. My friends, this is a beautiful country. Let's pass it on more beautiful than we received it to the young people of America.

Bill Cramer, in those weekly meetings of the legislative leaders, has stood firmly for the programs in the field of the environment, to clean up our air, to stop the pollution of our waters. And, my friends, we need that kind of strong support in the Congress of the United States and in the Senate of the United States. And he will provide it.

Now, my friends, let me come to a very specific point. That is, why should a man who has the experience that Bill Cramer has, why does he have an advantage over another man who may be well-intentioned but who does not have the experience?

I will tell you why: Because I have noted in those legislative leaders' meetings that when Bill Cramer has a problem, with that fine legal mind of his, he advocates action to deal with it. He is the author, for example, for the antibombing bills, for the antiriot bills. I say that that kind of experience, which he's developed

over 16 years of service in the House of Representatives, will mean that he who is a big man in the House will begin as a big man in the United States Senate. And that is what Florida deserves in the United States Senate.

There is another subject on which he has spoken out, and on which he has acted and not just talked. I know that all of you are aware of my position on the very difficult problem of our schools here and in other States in this country. I believe that the first requirement that all of us want, whatever our background, what all of us want for our children, is quality education. And I believe that the best education comes when we send our children to that school that is closest to home, the neighborhood school.

That is why a man who stands firmly for that proposition, who stands firmly against that kind of busing which is used only for the purpose of racial balance, in my opinion, represents what is best for all of the people of this State and of this Nation, the right kind of education, education which is in the best interest of equal opportunity for all and fairness to all.

Now, finally, I would not want this occasion to pass without speaking, if I could, to this television audience and also to this audience here in this hall with regard to the young people of America.

I want to speak to you about them, because night after night on that television screen, you will see violence. A bomb destroyed, for example, a bank 10 miles from my home in California yesterday near the campus of one of our State universities.

And we saw violence in the University of Wisconsin. Night after night you see on the television young people shouting out obscene slogans, trying to shout down speakers, even trying to shout down the President of the United States.

Well, they are not going to be able to do it.

I know the impression that many Americans have, and I read some of the columnists and others who say those who try to shout down speakers, those who engage in this kind of protest, that they are the majority of young Americans or at least will be the leaders of the future.

I have news for you: They are not a majority of young Americans, and they will not be the leaders of the future of America.

My friends, the leaders of the future of America are the millions of young Americans who go to school to study, the millions of young Americans who want change, and I hope they always do, who are dissatisfied with things as they are, and I hope they always are—people who, however, recognize that the greatness of America is that this country provides a method for peaceful change, and who also recognize that in a system that provides a method for peaceful change there is no cause that justifies violence or resort to violence or lawlessness.

To those who are young, and to your parents and to your teachers, could I tell you something about America, perhaps, that needs to be said more often.

We hear what is wrong about this country. We hear that our foreign policy should be criticized. I have traveled to most of the countries of the world, and I have traveled recently as the President of the United States to countries, to Communist countries, to non-Communist

countries. And hundreds of thousands of people have come out to cheer the President of the United States.

I will tell you why: because they know that the United States is the strongest nation in the world, but that the United States will never use its strength to destroy freedom; only to defend it. We will never use our strength to destroy the peace.

I am proud of the fact that the United States of America, as the strongest nation of the world, stands for peace in the world. Let's be proud of our country and stand up for America.

And again I say, there are problems here at home. Too many of our people are poor. Too many of our people do not have the chance they should have. There are things that should be done in many, many areas.

But, my friends, again, look at America. We are fortunate in that we are the only country in the world that is rich enough that we have the means to provide a decent income for every person in America. That is the greatness of America. Let' s be proud of it and be thankful of it.

Now I have a final message for you, and for all of you who are listening on television tonight. On November 3d you will be making a very great decision. It will involve your future. It will involve the future of Florida. It will involve the future of America.

I ask you to think not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans what is best for America. I ask for the support that I need to bring peace abroad, real peace, to restore peace at home, and to have the prosperity that we all want—prosperity without war and without inflation.

My friends, I have another message for you. Oftentimes, as I travel through the country, and as we find, as we have here tonight, a few who indicate opposition, there are those who say, "How do we answer those who engage in violence? How do we answer those who try to shout down a speaker?"

And my answer is, "Don't answer in kind. It is time for the great silent majority just to stand up and be counted."

The way you answer is by the most powerful action, more powerful than any four-letter epithet that you can imagine, and that is by your votes. Go to the polls on election day. And I urge you to vote. I respect you if you vote differently from what I urge you to do. Let it be a majority decision.

But, my friends, I say go to the polls and, as you vote, remember 2 years ago the people of Florida elected as President of the United States a man who had made certain promises.

I am trying to keep those promises. I will keep those promises. I need help to keep them. I need Bill Cramer in the United States Senate. Give him that opportunity.

So, my friends, there is your answer. With your votes on November 3d, you can tell America what the real majority thinks in this country.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:36 p.m. in the Miami Beach Convention Hall.

394 Remarks in St. Petersburg, Florida. *October* 28, 1970

Governor Kirk, Senator Gurney, Congressman Cramer, all of the other distinguished platform guests, and to all of you who have given me such a very warm welcome here in St. Petersburg and to this county:

It has been mentioned, and I take notice of this fact, that I can proudly say today that I am the first President ever to visit this city of St. Petersburg.

After a reception like this, I can assure you I will not be the last President to visit St. Petersburg.

I am very happy to be in the Sunshine City of the Sunshine State. I am happy to be here because of my very good memories of the years that I have been here before, the many meetings I have attended, the friends that we have in this area. And I particularly want to thank you for coming out in the middle of the day in such great numbers. I want to thank all of those who took time from their jobs to be here, people who also took time from school.

In the very few days that I have been traveling around the country, I have seen a few bands, but never so many as I see here at St. Petersburg. Now, let's hear them all. The Largo High School Band of Gold, the Dunedin High School Band, the Meadowlawn High School Band, the Dixie Hollins High School Band, and the Gibbs High School Band. And also my deep appreciation to the First United Methodist Chancel Choir for the music that they presented before the meeting.

I do not think that it is any secret as to why I am here in Florida. I am here because of my very great interest in the future of this State, in the future of this Nation, and in your future. I am here because I believe that future is going to depend in great measure on what happens on November 3d in the elections in Florida and across this Nation.

First, let me speak about the State contests. Generally speaking, I do not cover State contests because my problems, my responsibility, are on the national scene. But in Florida I have a special interest. After all, as you know, I have a legal residence in California and a home there. I also have property and a home in Florida. I live in the best public housing in the United States in Washington, D.C. And I can say that as I have noted over the last 2 years that except for Washington, D.C., I spent more time in Florida than any other State in the country.

So you see, I like this State as you like this State, and I know that most Floridians, like most Californians, are people that came here because you wanted to come here. And I want to say that as a taxpayer in this State, as one who has invested in property in this State, as one who intends to keep that property because I consider it is a good investment, I am interested in the future of this State.

And when I speak of the future of this State, I want you to know that I believe that it is vitally important to have leadership in Tallahassee that will not go back to policies of the past, but leadership that has courage, leadership that has vision, leadership that believes in progress, and the man who stands for those things is Governor Claude Kirk. That is why I am for him for Governor of the State of Florida.

So, I commend him and the entire State ticket to you today.

Also, on the national level, before I arrived on this platform, I am very happy that the candidates for the House of Representatives have been introduced. I endorse them all. I, particularly, of course, in his home district, endorse your next Congressman, Bill Young, who will make a fine Congressman in the United States Congress.

Now, I come to the Senate race. There is an enormous interest in this Senate race in Florida because Florida is one of those States that is going to determine what I have described across this country as the majority of one in the United States Senate.

By a majority of one, I am not referring simply to party control. This is far more important than whether the Democrats or the Republicans vote one way or another in the Senate or in the House, or in the Nation. But the majority of one will determine whether or not we are going to have an adequate defense for the United States; whether we are going to have a program and backing for the President on a program that will bring lasting peace; whether we are going to have backing for the President on a program which will stop the rise in prices in this country; whether we are going to have backing for a program, with knowledge, on a program that will stop the rise in crime in this country; and a program of progress for all Americans.

Now, listen to the words that I have used: peace abroad, peace at home, progress, stopping inflation, employment, jobs—all of these things we all believe in.

The question is, how are we going to get them? These are not partisan matters. And I ask you for a few moments to think not just of your Republican background, and most of you, of course, here are Republicans, but to think of yourselves as Americans, what is best for America.

Think of the fact, for example, that 2 years ago in the State of Florida, this State gave to the present President of the United States one of his biggest majorities.

Think of the fact that I was elected for the purpose of carrying out certain promises I made to the American people. I promised to work for a just and lasting peace, to work to stop the rise in crime, to work to stop also the rise of prices in this country, and for a program of progress—progress for all Americans, which is what we want, particularly for ourselves and even more so for our young people.

My friends, I have been working for those goals. And when you think of the President of the United States, and all of you, particularly you young people, you study about the Presidency, and you think of the man sitting in that great Oval Office in Washington, D.C. You think of all of the world leaders coming to that office.

You recognize that whoever is President of the United States is probably, in terms of power—because he represents a powerful country—the most powerful man in the world.

And yet let me tell you, a President can be for peace, a President can be for progress, a President can be for stopping crime at home, a President can be for stopping inflation, but he can't do it alone. He isn't that strong. He needs help. I need more help in the House; we need it in the Senate. And you can help by giving us the men that we need.

So it really gets down to that. It doesn't get down to personalities. I am not here to campaign against anybody. I am here for the men that I believe in. That is what you want. And I am for these men because I know they are going to be for those programs that are best for Florida, best for America, and best for you.

Let me tick them off. First, I noted here, as I have in other cities that I have visited, numbers of people, particularly young people, who held up their signs, "Peace now." I am for peace. All of us are for peace.

But let me describe it. Let me tell you what we have done about it. We haven't just talked. We have done something. When we came into office, there were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. Our casualties were at 300 a week and going up. There was no peace plan on the conference table. We came in. I went to work. We are bringing men home by the tens of thousands rather than sending them to Vietnam. We are bringing the war to an end. Because I took and made the difficult decision which I made for the purpose of destroying the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia, we have cut American casualties. They are the lowest in 4½ years; they are going to continue to go down in Vietnam.

Now we have a peace proposal on the conference table in Paris, a reasonable proposal, dealing with the cease-fire, a negotiated settlement, and exchange of prisoners of war, and a willingness to negotiate without conditions on those matters.

Let me tell you where we are in a nutshell. We are on the road to a just and lasting peace in Vietnam, but we need support. We need support for that kind of responsible policy.

Now let me tell you what the other policy is. There are men who disagree. It is very close in the United States Senate in this respect. Sometimes it is a majority of one. There are men who say, "Peace now" or, at a time certain, a few months from now.

There are people that say that it doesn't make any difference about how we get out, just get out. Let me tell you this: When I came into office, I could have ended the war immediately, but what I want is not just to end this war; I want to end this war in a way that the younger brothers and the sons of those that are fighting in Vietnam aren't going to have to fight in some future war sometime in the future.

And so to you young people, I say to you, I know this is a difficult period. I remember before World War II how I felt. I know how you feel as you look at this very difficult war, far away. I can simply say this: We have ended World War I, we have ended World War II, we ended Korea in this century.

Do you realize if you study your history that there has not been one full generation of peace in this whole century?

The question is not ending a war. The question is ending a war in a way that we can win the peace. And we are going to win the peace this time. We are going to win it for America and the world.

In order to win it we also are going to have to be strong. It is necessary for the President of the United States to negotiate with other nations, and particularly with other major nuclear powers, including the Soviet Union.

We are going to negotiate, if we can, a limitation on nuclear arms so that we can reduce not only the burden of arms but the danger of war. But if you are going to

send your President into negotiation, I say let's be sure the President of the United States negotiates from strength and not from weakness in any negotiation that takes place.

Why is that important? Because a strong United States will be respected in the world, and a strong United States will use its strength never to destroy freedom but to defend it; never to break the peace but to defend the peace.

This is why, standing for a strong United States means that you are standing for peace, not just peace for the next election—that is easy—but peace for the next generation. That is what we want and that is what we are going to have with the support that you can give us.

I turn to a similar problem at home. If the United States is going to be able to lead the forces that will bring law and order and respect for it abroad, we have to establish respect for law, respect for order, here at home in the United States of America.

I spoke to that subject, you remember, in 1968. I pledged to the American people that the wave of crime would not be the wave of the future.

I pointed out that over the past 8 years, crime went up 158 percent. I said that one of the reasons for that was that we did not have strong enough law enforcement officials, that we needed stronger judges who would recognize that it was necessary in their decisions, following the Constitution, to strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country.

My friends, I pledged to do something about it. I have tried to do something about it. I have appointed judges. I have appointed a strong Attorney General, John Mitchell, who is doing the job that needed to be done, and that was not done by the previous Attorney General. We have also taken action to ask for legislation.

Now listen to this: Eighteen months ago, a year and a half ago, I presented proposals to the Congress to deal with organized crime, to stop the traffic in narcotics and drugs to the extent that we can under the law, to stop the flow of obscenity and pornography into the homes in this country, and to deal with these problems in a way that would be effective, that would strengthen the peace forces in this country.

Eighteen months have gone by and only a few weeks ago, as we get into election, did these laws finally, some of them, come to my desk for signature. That isn't good enough.

I say that we need men in the House and men in the Senate that will not just talk about the necessity to stop the rise in crime and the enforcement of the law during an election, but who will talk and work and fight for it all year round. And Bill Cramer is that kind of a man.

He is a man, as you know, a skilled lawyer and an able one, a man who is one of the top leaders in the House of Representatives, and has met with me week after week in the Cabinet Room determining the future policies of this country, and one who, in this field, knows what needs to be done.

He comes to the Congress, and particularly will come to the Senate, with 16 years of experience, experience in this field, experience in the field of the environment, experience, for example, in another field that is of enormous interest to the people of this State, one of the coauthors of the historic highway program.

Here is a man, in other words, who can do for Florida what needs to be done, who

not only will be for what Floridians want, but will be able to do for them because he knows how to do it. He is a man with the experience that a man ought to have when he goes to the United States Senate. He and Ed Gurney will make a great team. Now send him down there. Let's have him there.

And now we come to another issue of enormous importance to this State, to this Nation. Everybody is aware of the fact that here in Florida, as in California, there are great numbers of retired people. I think of your problems. I remember my own mother and father, how they worked hard, saved a little money, and I remember how the life insurance which they thought would mean so much in later years didn't mean a lot because of what inflation had done to it.

I think the cruelest tax of all is to raise the prices of people. I say that we have got to stop this situation in which, in Washington, D.C., we have runaway spending and have runaway prices at home as a result of it. We can stop it. What we need, though, are Members of the House and Members of the Senate who will have the courage to vote against those spending programs that may have the effect of benefiting some people, but have also the effect of raising prices for all the people.

Let me tell you what has happened. Why do you have inflation today?

In the 8 years before we came into office, this Government spent $50 billion more than it took in in taxes. This year, over the past 2 years, in this Congress, this Congress already has authorized more than $6 billion more than I recommended.

Let me say, all of us want to have those programs that will bring progress for America. But it is the responsibility of the President of the United States to do everything that he can to wage a winning fight against inflation and against the rising cost of living. I need your help. I need Bill Cramer's help. He will help in this. We need him in the United States Senate.

And we need it also, and now particularly to the younger people, we need it because this is a great country with a great future. You recall the programs that I have introduced, that I have asked the Congress to follow, which would bring progress for America—a program for the environment which goes far beyond anything that had ever been proposed before. It is needed.

We have got to see to it that our younger people have the heritage that we received from our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers—a beautiful country. That is why I have made decisions that any program by the Federal Government, any program that is adopted, before it goes into place, whether it's a barge canal or anything else, will not go into place unless we are given assurance that it is not going to affect the environment of our country in the wrong way.

So, in this field, you have a man again in Bill Cramer who knows the subject, who supports us, who has worked for us.

In the field of progress also, I think of those—and in this State we have great numbers—who are retired, who are on social security. I think of the fact that you have always been behind; the Congress sometimes brings you—catches up with the rise in the cost of living. That is why in the campaign of 1968 I recommended that we adopt a new approach in which there would be an automatic increase in social security benefits to compensate for any increase in the cost of

living. That is only right. That is only fair.

It hasn't been passed by the Congress yet. It ought to be passed. You get a man like Bill Cramer down there, he is going to work to pass it because he has been for it all the years. But we need him. We need that kind of support for that kind of program.

Now, finally, my friends, I never want an opportunity to pass, before an audience like this, such a cross-section of America, a cross-section geographically. I can imagine that many of you came from the Midwest. My mother was from Indiana, my father from Ohio. Many of you came from other parts of the country.

But, above all, you are thinking of America and its future and the future of this State. And also at this time, you must have concern about the future of America because of what you may recently have seen over recent months on your television screens. I think it is a distorted picture of America you've seen.

I am not blaming those who put it on television. I am simply suggesting that because it is more news and bigger news when something is wrong, that usually gets on, and we don't hear enough about what is right about the United States of America.

Some of you may have heard the program from Miami last night where there were a rather considerable number of people trying to shout down the President of the United States.

The television showed the very good judgment, incidentally, to blip out some of the four-letter words, and I hope they will continue to.

But just let me say this: The impression that those who try to shout down speakers, the impression that those who engage in violence, the impression that those who engage in lawlessness, that attempt to close down schools, the impression that those that bombed a bank near the University of California campus at Irvine just 2 days ago, 10 miles from my home, the impression that those young people are a majority of Americans, or that they are the future leaders of America, is wrong. They are not a majority, and they are not going to be the future leaders of America.

I will tell you who the future leaders of America are. They are young people—young people who are not satisfied with the way things are. Young people should never be satisfied. They should always want progress and change—young people who want the world to be better, young people who are concerned about war and concerned about inequities, young people who are concerned about inequality, young people who want a better chance for everybody.

For example, I noted that a little Korean girl, a young Korean girl, sang "The Impossible Dream." I think of the fact that I grew up in a little town in California, and I consider the fact, as I was working in a grocery store, what an impossible dream it was that I would ever be standing here today in the position that I hold.

And Bill Cramer, I am sure, thinks in those lines. He worked far apart and a few years different, here in this area, in a grocery store, as a poor boy. And here he is, running for the United States Senate.

But let me say this: What is an impossible dream in most countries is possible in America.

Let me say this: Never forget the fact that if we are to realize the American dream, we have got to make it possible for every individual to have a chance to real-

ize his own dream. That is what our young people want. That is what I want. That is what we stand for.

But let us never forget, you hear about what is wrong about America, you see our policies criticized at home and abroad. Let us be proud of the fact that when the President of the United States goes abroad people come out, whether in a Communist country or a non-Communist country, they cheer.

Why? Because they know that the United States of America, even though it is the strongest nation in the world, stands for peace. They know there is more freedom, more opportunity, more progress in America than in any country in the world.

Let me say, did you know that the program that I have offered to the American people, which would provide for every family in America that needs it, a decent income, a minimum income, that the floor for that income that we would provide in America, which we consider a floor of poverty, would be a ceiling that three-fourths of the people in this world never will have a chance to reach.

Let's be proud of being American. Let's be proud of what we have accomplished.

In your time, because of what happens in America, we are going to have, in my opinion, peace in the United States, and we hope peace for a generation for the whole world. Because of what happens in America, we shall raise the standards of our people in a way that most people never dreamed was possible even 25 years ago.

Because of what we have in America, we must recognize that our young people not only will have a chance to have a better life materially, but because the burden of toil will be lifted from their backs, they will have a chance to develop the quality of life such as it has never been developed before.

As we think of what is wrong with America, I repeat: It is time now to recognize what is right. As we think of what is right, one of the things that is most right is that on election day you can answer all of those, that minority, the radical minority, that strike out against things that they think are wrong about America—you can answer in the polling booth. That is the time for the great silent majority to stand up and be counted. Vote on election day and vote for Bill Cramer, our candidate for the United States Senate.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the Bayfront Center Arena.

395 Remarks at Tallahassee, Florida. *October* 28, 1970

Governor Kirk, Senator Gurney, Congressman Cramer, Judge Carswell, and all of our friends here in Tallahassee, the capital of Florida:

I want you to know first what a very great privilege it is for me to speak for the first time in the capital of Florida.

As I speak here, I particularly want to express my appreciation to all of you who came from miles around to this airport rally. I saw the cars parked as Air Force One began to land. I realize how far some of you had to walk. I know some of you have been standing here over an hour. Thank you very much.

I want to thank the musical organiza-

tions that have been here. I understand we have the Leon High School Band and the Godby High School Band. At least we brought those two rival bands together.

I am also very happy to be in Seminole country. As some of you may have noted, I am somewhat of a football fan, probably because I sat on the bench for 4 years and learned so much from the coach.

But in any event, I do know the great rivalry here between Florida State and the University of Florida. And I do know, too, that this year, the Seminoles, who have had some really fantastic years in the last 2 or 3, have not been as good as perhaps some had expected, but they won last week so watch out for the rest of the year.

But whatever the situation with regard to that Seminole football team, I found something else: that the Seminole Band is number one. Let's give them a hand.

And also, before I respond to that very generous introduction by the Governor of this State, I want to say something about a man for whom I have very great admiration, he is one of your fellow citizens in this county and in this city.

I thought that Judge Carswell was a big man when President Eisenhower nominated him to the Federal bench. I thought that Judge Carswell was a big man when I nominated him to be on the Supreme Court. But when Judge Carswell was rejected by the Senate by a very small vote, and when Judge Carswell lost that nomination to Bill Cramer and then came back to be a real man and support the winner, he is a great man. Let's give him a hand for what he is.

Because we have to learn that in this life we aren't going to win all the time. We aren't right all the time. And we aren't going to have our way all the time.

The real test of a man is not when he wins but when he loses and when he comes back and says, "I am for the team," and Judge Carswell is that kind of a man. And we thank him for it.

And now, since I am speaking in what at least on the map is a Southern State, and since Claude Kirk is one of the first Governors of this State who bears the Republican label, and because there has been a great deal of discussion with regard to a Southern strategy on the part of the national administration, I think it might be well before this audience—this audience made up of Republicans, Democrats, Floridians, Southerners, yes, Americans—I think it might be well to discuss the Southern strategy, what it is, and why I believe that it is something that all Americans, not just Southerners, should welcome.

First, I will tell you what I believe about it. I happen to believe there are no second class citizens in America. I happen to believe that there are no second class States in America. And I happen to believe there are no second class regions in America.

I went to school in the South. I know the problems of the South, as well as the West and the North and the East. I can say this: I think the time has come for the South not to be taken for granted by the other party, and the time has come to quit kicking the South around. The time has come to recognize this is one country with one standard for the East and the West and the Midwest and the South. That is my attitude about the Southern strategy.

We have, as you know, a very difficult problem with regard to our school system. We believe, all of us, as law-abiding Americans, that we should carry out the law. And this administration is committed

to carrying out that law, and we are doing it.

But we are also committed to this proposition: that the law should be carried out not with the idea of penalizing one section of the country, but that the same standard that applies in Florida should apply in North Carolina or should apply in Michigan or New York or any other State.

Let's just stop this hypocrisy that the problem in our schools is only in the South. It is all over the country. Now, men of good will, women of good will, children of good will, teachers, students—we can solve this problem and we can meet it. I want to tell you what I believe.

I have stated it in the North, in the East, in the West, in the South, and in a major statement that all of you have had the opportunity to read in March of this year. I think it is a sound proposition. I see these young people, these children here, I think of their future. I think of their future, whether they are white children or black children. I want them all to have that chance to fulfill their dreams, just as all of us have had a chance, we think, to fulfill our dreams.

Just remember, we cannot fulfill the American dream unless each American has a chance to fulfill his own dream. That is what we believe in. That is why we want quality education, quality education for every child in this country.

I happen to believe that if we are to have quality education, the best kind of education, particularly for our young children, is in the school that is closest to home rather than the school that's clear across the town.

I believe in that, because if you put children on a bus for an hour, they are going to be fighting. I don't care whether they are black or white. Just you put them on that bus. And it is better, in my opinion, to recognize, of course, there must be some transportation, but that busing for the purpose, sole purpose, of achieving racial balance is not required by the law and, in my view, does not serve the interest of quality education.

So we stand for the neighborhood school in Florida, in California, all over this country. Why? Because we want equality of opportunity for education, and we want better education for all of our children, and that's the way to get it. That is what we are for.

That brings me to your Governor, Claude Kirk. Claude Kirk is a man who stands for these propositions that I have just described. He is a man who has fought hard for these principles. He is a man, some say, who is controversial.

Let me say this: Any man who does anything is going to be controversial. Show me a man that doesn't stand up and fight for what he believes is right, and I will show you a man who isn't getting anything done.

I happen to be a part-time resident of Florida. I am a taxpayer in this State. I have invested in property in this State. I intend to keep that property because I believe in the future of Florida.

But I believe that future will best be served by having in the Governor's office a man with the vision and the courage and the strength of Claude Kirk as the Governor of this State.

It is very easy, my friends, to go back to the old ways. It is very easy to go back to the ways that this State was in before, the ways where the new ideas were simply brushed under the rug, the new ideas that are absolutely essential for this State that is probably going to grow more—do

you realize this?—than any State in this Union in the next 25 years.

It is very easy, when you consider a State like this, simply to settle for leadership of the past. But here we have a man who is thinking of the future, who is planning for the future, who is building for the future. And it is for that reason I am investing in Florida.

I am staying in Florida because this man, I think, can give the leadership that Florida wants, he and his whole State ticket.

Now I turn to those who are on the national ticket. I turn to them because that is my primary responsibility as the President of the United States.

I was elected by the people of this country based on certain pledges that I had made. You remember what they were. You remember 2 years ago that we had 550,000 men in Vietnam with no plans to bring them home, that our casualties were at 300 a week, and they were going up. You remember we had no peace plan. There seemed to be no hope to bring the war to an end.

You remember that crime had gone up 158 percent over the last 8 years, and was still going up.

You remember that we had a weak Attorney General. You remember that as far as the decisions that were being made in this Government at that time, that there did not seem to be the urgency to deal with the forces of crime that were destroying our country.

You remember, too, that the inflation in this country was moving up at a rapid pace because our Government had spent $50 billion more in the previous 8 years than it had taken in in taxes. And when your Government in Washington spends more than it takes in in taxes, year after year after year, the inevitable effect is to raise the prices for all the people. That is wrong. It is wrong for people in Washington to spend your money in a way that raises your taxes or your prices, when it isn't necessary to do so. We are going to stop that, but I need some help.

My friends, I have pledged to bring into being in the United States a policy that will not only end the war but bring a peace that will last.

I have pledged to bring peace at home, to stop the rise in crime. I have pledged to adopt those policies that will bring us progress and prosperity without war, which we have not had, and progress and prosperity without inflation, which we have not had. We have made some progress. We are moving along. But we need help.

The President is a very powerful man. It is the most powerful office in the world because this is the strongest nation in the world.

But, you know, the President cannot do what he wants to do for the country, what you want him to do for the country, what you elected him to do, unless he has got help from that Congress.

I need the kind of help that Ed Gurney, your Senator, has been giving us in the United States Senate. I need the kind of help that we have been getting by the Members of the House delegation who are here, and those candidates who are running for the House.

Let me put it quite directly. What is involved in this election campaign on the national level, and I will put it in terms of the Senate race, very simply is your one vote, and your one vote may determine a majority of one in the United States Senate.

Did you realize, looking over the last

Congress, that a change of one vote meant the difference as to whether we would have had a missile defense and the President of the United States would negotiate from weakness or strength?

One vote could have made the difference with regard to the approval of a Supreme Court nominee, with regard to whether or not we had fast action on the bills that we had submitted for stopping crime in this country.

One vote could have made the difference as to whether or not we were going to stop the rise in inflation.

Over and over again in this closely divided United States Senate, one vote—sometimes two, sometimes three. But we find over and over again the same pattern. If one vote were to shift, it makes the difference as to whether or not the President of the United States is going to have a Congress that is going to work with him or work against him; whether or not we are going to have the support that we need or whether we are not going to have the support that you want us to have.

Let me get very precise in these terms on the issue in which you are vitally interested. I am concerned, and very deeply concerned, about those problems that all of us are mentioning as we think about the decision we make on November 3d, but particularly about the future of our young people. I want these young people to have what I did not have.

I was born in 1913. I see some others here that have lived that long. Did you know that anybody who was born in 1913 or before has never seen America have a generation of peace?

We were in World War I and ended it. Remember?

We were in World War II and ended it. We were in Korea, and we ended it.

But, before the generation lived its life out there came another war each time. My friends, the problem with regard to ending a war in Vietnam is not a difficult one. I could end it like that. But the problem is, let's end this war in a way that we will discourage those who would start another war. Let's end this war so that we can win the peace, a generation of peace for Americans in the years ahead.

My friends, that is why a great number of young Americans in a very difficult war, far away from home, have gone to Vietnam. They have fought bravely. Sometimes they have wondered about the backing they had back here at home.

But those men out there are fighting, and some of them are dying, so that these men won't have to go to war, not now or any time in the future.

I see a sign here. It says "Listen to America's Youth." I hear America's youth. I hear them here. I see them as you see them night after night on television. You see them, and you get a distorted opinion of America's youth.

Let me say in that connection I think it is very unfortunate, and I have talked to some older people who express great despair about our young generation. They are wrong, because what they see on television is this: Oh, they see the bombing of a building, the burning of the bank in California a couple of days ago. They see a few trying to shout down the President of the United States, and they think that those are a majority of America's youth and the leaders of the future.

Let me tell you: They are not a majority of America's youth, and they will not be the leaders of the future.

I am proud of young Americans. I want to tell you why: Because they care. They care about peace. They care about

the people that don't have the same chance that they have. They want a better America. They are not satisfied with the way things are. That is why I am proud of them.

I am proud of them because they want change, and I am also proud of them because the great majority of them realize that in this country, which provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies violence or resort to violence. I am proud of America's young people.

And to our young people, sometimes, as you study about our problems in school, sometimes when you hear on television or read editorials and columns about everything that is wrong about America, could I remind you and your parents about some of those things that might be right.

I have had a very great privilege since I have been President to travel to many countries. And as I traveled to those countries, Communist countries, Romania, Yugoslavia, non-Communist countries, it has been the same kind of a reception every place: hundreds of thousands of people cheering.

What were they cheering? They were cheering not because America is strong, because leaders of other strong countries have come there and not had that kind of reception. And not because America is rich, because leaders of other countries that are rich have come there without that kind of reception. But because they know that the United States, the strongest nation in the world, does not threaten the peace or the freedom of any country in the world.

In other words, America's strength is for peace and for freedom.

There is another reason: They cheer the President of the United States because they know that of all the nations in the world, there is more freedom in America, there is more opportunity in America, there is more progress in America than there has ever been in any country in the history of the world. And they respect us for that. And we should be proud of it and not be ashamed of it, and stand up and speak up for America.

To all of you across this great country of ours, there are many problems that we want to act on. We want to clean up the air and the water so that our children can have the heritage of a beautiful country that we received. We want to move forward with progress in education, in health—a better program for our older people. We want to move forward with programs in the welfare system—a program which will enable people to have a floor of dignity on which to stand.

But, my friends, let us recognize that only in America, because we are a rich country, can we do all those things.

Do you realize you can travel to nation after nation, and all of them would want these things. But because we are fortunate enough to live in America, the President of the United States can, as I have over the past 2 years, advocate the most comprehensive, bold program in terms of the environment, in terms of programs in education, in health, and welfare, in the history of mankind.

That is why I say, as we look at America's faults, let's also consider its virtue. Let us remember this very simple thing.

I have had the great good fortune of visiting every State in this Union, and I can tell you this is a great country. I can tell you we are part of a great people, and together we share a great future.

Now, I want to tell you the answer to those who may not, as you have—most of

you—shown the respect to any speaker, whether you agree or disagree with him, by listening.

The answer is not to try to shout them down. The answer is not to answer in kind with violence, if it is violence. But what to do is for the great silent majority of this country to answer in the way that is the most effective over 190 years of our Nation's history. You have a powerful weapon. It is a weapon of peace. It is a weapon of a majority.

On November 3d you can vote, and as you vote, remember—remember that, as you vote, you are going to determine the future of Florida. I hope you vote for Claude Kirk, because I think he is best for the future of Florida. You are going to determine the future of America. I hope you vote for Bill Cramer and our candidates for the House, because I believe they are best for the future of America.

Because, remember, a majority of one may determine whether the President of the United States, in these next 2 years, has the backing that he needs to do what you elected him to do, a majority of one. Bill Cramer is the one who might be that majority. Elect him.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:03 p.m. at the Tallahassee Municipal Airport.

396 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Texas. *October* 28, 1970

TEXAS, a State which has produced many strong leaders over the years, has an opportunity this year to elect two leaders of outstanding strength to important leadership positions.

Both George Bush and Paul Eggers are men of great character and great ability. They are independent men—men with the courage to put their convictions into action. As Senator and as Governor, they will provide leadership of which all Texans can be proud.

I am proud to say that I have worked closely with both these candidates. Paul Eggers held a key post in the Treasury Department during the first year of my administration. George Bush is an important leader in the House of Representatives. I know from close experience that both of them are doers and not mere talkers. They have earned solid reputations as effective problem-solvers.

With George Bush in the Senate, we can increase the momentum of progress toward meeting our greatest challenges. The chances for a full generation of peace are brighter than they have been in a long time. Crime rates have stopped climbing and have begun to go down again. After a difficult battle against big spending, we see signs on every hand that our economic strategy is working. Inflation has been checked and will slow still further. Interest rates are definitely on the way down, and housing starts are up.

George Bush can be depended upon to help me press ahead on the great issues of reform, restoration, and renewal.

Both George Bush and Paul Eggers gave up important positions in order to seek higher offices where they can do more for Texas and more for America. I urge the voters of Texas to give them that opportunity.

NOTE: The statement was released at Longview, Tex.

397 Remarks at Longview, Texas. *October* 28, 1970

Senator Tower, Congressman Bush, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of this very great audience here in Longview:

I want to say first that, as I read on the plane coming from Florida about this stop, I found that I could proudly say today that I was the first President of the United States, while in office, to visit Longview. And I am glad to be here.

After this kind of a welcome, I can assure you I think other Presidents are going to come here, too. And I hope to be back.

I have noted, of course, that, as we get in the final days of the campaign, there have been a few comments to the effect that outsiders are coming into Texas. I just want to reply in this way: I don't think the President of the United States is an outsider any place in this country.

I feel that way particularly because of the editorial that I saw in the Longview Daily News, and also in the morning Journal.

I have appreciated very much the welcome that you have given and the wonderful welcome that we have here. And may I say, too, that I am so delighted to come back to this part of Texas which I visited first in 1952 and to see some of the groups that I saw then still here. The Kilgore College Band—they are out there. I understand they had a picture of the Rangerettes with me when I was a candidate for Vice President in 1952. As I saw them coming in, I can tell you that not a one of them looks a bit older than when I saw them in 1952. And it is one of the really exciting and fine groups.

But let me also pay my tribute and also my thanks to the Tyler College Band. Are they here?

To the Gladewater High School Band. It is here. To the Jarvis Christian College Band.

Now, my friends, I know that you have been standing here for a long time. I realize that to come to an airport is a great chore. I could see, as the plane circled to come down, that some of you must have walked for miles, literally, to get here.

So, consequently, I want to bring my message to you as well as I can, as briefly as I can, as directly as I can, in the tradition of this State, because I know that you like plain talk. You like it straight from the shoulder. I like to talk that way.

I want to speak to you about your State, your representation in Washington, your representation also in Austin, and, also, if I could, at the conclusion, something about the future of America as I see it, completely beyond any partisan terms, and particularly in view of the fact that we have so many young people here who are the future of America—and it is a good future, believe me.

First, I am proud to be on this platform with some very fine candidates. I am proud to endorse, as I have endorsed previously, and I endorse it here, in the heart of east Texas; I endorse Paul Eggers for Governor of this State.

I do so because I happen to know him personally and like him. You know that. I appointed him as the General Counsel for the Treasury Department. He rendered distinguished service. And there he learned what it means to handle the great problems involving the finance of the United States of America. He is a man

who, in State government, will know how important it is to keep down that spending so that you can keep down your taxes.

That is the kind of a man you want in the Governor's office in Austin. He is a man who understands the other problems of government, one who will take a firm stand for the enforcement of the law in a fair way; one who will be firm for equality of opportunity for all people, and, above everything else, who will be for progress for this great, progressive State.

I endorse him enthusiastically. I am glad to be here with him on this platform today.

And now I would like to turn to the race for the United States Senate. It probably is not news to you Texans, because you follow politics pretty closely out here, that this is a race that is being watched all over the country. It is being watched because this is a race that could go either way. It will be determined, as will so many other races in this year, probably by what happens in the last week before November 3d.

So, what I say to you, what I say to you who may be listening on television or radio: Will you listen? Will you listen not in terms of saying, "Well I am a Republican" or "I am a Democrat, and so I am going to listen to see whether or not I should vote Republican or Democrat."

The issues before America these days are too important to think in terms simply of a party label. We have to think in terms of what is best for America. And it is because I believe that George Bush will do better for Texas and better for America that I am for George Bush for the United States Senate.

I want my position to be absolutely clear. I could endorse him solely because he is a member of my party, as he is. I could endorse him solely because I like him personally, as I do.

But I say to you that in this particular instance I have examined his qualifications. I have looked at them carefully. I would like for you to do likewise.

And these are some things that I would have in mind if I were a Texan thinking about the man who was going to go to Washington to represent me in the United States Senate.

First, he is a young man, a young man in terms of whoever would be in the United States Senate, but a man who has great experience in the House of Representatives. In the period of just 4 years George Bush has a voice that has been heard in the House of Representatives. His voice will be heard in the Senate, and it will be heard in the White House. You can be sure of that.

And with another young man, a young man with very great experience, one of the strongest men, one of the best supporters this administration has, with John Tower and George Bush, you will have one of the greatest teams that ever came out of Texas, and that is saying a lot.

I have got to be careful what I say about these Texas teams. The last time I named Texas number one I couldn't go back to Pennsylvania.

But now for a moment may I ask you to consider not simply these qualifications that I have mentioned, the fact that George Bush is experienced, the fact that he will work hard, the fact that he will get things done for Texas—all of these things are important.

Let us consider the responsibility, if you will, for a moment, that the President of the United States has. I would like for you to think of what I promised I would

try to do for the American people when I was elected 2 years ago, and what I need and what I am trying to do, where George Bush stands on those issues, and why I believe that his election would be helpful—not to me as an individual but to those principles that America, I believe, wants implemented by the President of the United States.

Let me begin. What do Americans want above everything else? You know what it is. We think of our young people and, of course, we want a good life. We want good education and good health and good security as they get older. But, above everything else, we want them to live in a world of peace. And so, from the moment that I became President of the United States, I have been working for that cause.

Let me make one thing very clear in that respect, incidentally. I appear here in Texas, in the home State of the man who preceded me in this office. He, too, was devoted to peace. He worked for peace. And I am very proud to say that we in the Republican Party are showing a former President the respect that he deserves, far more than those of his own party are showing, and we should show that.

The question that we have, then, and you should know, is, what are we trying to do to bring peace? I will tell you very briefly.

One, we are bringing men home from Vietnam, and they will continue to go home.

Two, by moving on the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia, we were able to destroy the supplies and, therefore, reduce our casualties to the lowest in 4½ years.

Third, we have a peace plan on the conference table in Paris. And I can simply sum it up by saying that a plan which will end the war and win a just peace has been put in motion. We are going to have peace.

But the important thing is this, and I make this distinction so that all of you will understand why we are doing what we are doing and why we need the kind of support that George Bush and John Tower will give us in the United States Senate.

Sometimes I see young people, and some older ones, carry signs saying "Peace now. End the war now." Why not? I'll tell you why. Any President who has the responsibility for the lives of our young men doesn't want any war, not one casualty. He would want to end it immediately.

But would you look back over the history of this country? I was born in the year 1913. I can see a few others here who were born then or a little sooner. And in my lifetime, in this century, did you know that America has never had a generation of peace?

We have ended wars all right. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. But then it seems that we get in another war before that generation ends its life.

I say let's end the war in Vietnam in a way that will discourage those who would make another war. Let's have a generation of peace for Americans. We are doing it. George Bush, John Tower support that policy.

And then further, beyond this war, it is essential that the United States, and particularly its President, be able to negotiate with any major power—and I speak particularly of the Soviet Union—to negotiate for the reduction of the great burden of arms in the world, thereby reducing the danger of nuclear war in the world.

But I would only suggest that if we are

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to negotiate any kind of a settlement that will last, it is vital that the United States President negotiate from a position of strength and not from weakness. Let's have a strong United States of America.

I know that George Bush, just like John Tower, will stand for that kind of strength that a President needs if he is going to be able to work for the kind of peace that we all want—peace that will last for a generation, not just for a next election.

And then I come to a related issue at home. When we came into office, we found that crime had been going up in this country at an alarming rate. It went up 158 percent during the sixties. So we decided to do something about it. I asked for the enactment of stronger laws.

I appointed stronger judges. I named a strong Attorney General of the United States of America. And, as a result of this, we have begun to make progress in the fight against crime.

But I can tell you that we are not finished. There has been too much delay in getting some of these bills on the President's desk—18 months to get a bill to deal with organized crime, 14 months to get a bill dealing with narcotics.

And what we need in the Senate, in the House of Representatives are men who will strongly support the laws and the judges that are necessary to stop the rise of crime and to see that the wave of crime is not the wave of the future in America.

It can be done, and we need your help in order to do that.

And then third, there is another problem that comes very close to home. I see a number of ladies here, and I imagine a lot of you have been shopping today, or maybe you're going to go a little later in the day. You are going to be worried about prices because they have been going up.

As you worry about those prices, you wonder about what the Government can do.

I will tell you what we have done, what we can do, what we will do with your help.

We found that inflation was going up and up at a time we came into office. One of the reasons for its going up was that Government had spent $50 billion more than it took in in taxes in the years prior to the time that we got there. So we have tried to turn that around. That is why we have been cutting areas of the Federal budget, cutting areas of the Federal budget because we realize that unless we stop that kind of spending it will mean that prices will continue to go up.

Let me put it more directly. In the first 5 years of the sixties, we had unemployment that was too high. In the next 5 years of the sixties, we had inflation that was too high, and we had it also with war. What this country should have, what it deserves, what we are working for, and we are making progress toward that end, is prosperity and progress without war and without inflation.

That is what we can have and that is the kind of a policy that we have adopted.

I don't know of any man in either House or Senate who better understands that issue than George Bush—his service on the Ways and Means Committee, his understanding of Government finance, his recognition of the necessity for doing what is important, for spending when it is important for the future of the country.

But when it comes to a basic decision of whether he votes for something that is going to maybe benefit a few people, but raise prices for all the people, he has the courage to say, "I am going to think of all the people," and that is the kind of men

we need in the United States Senate and in the Congress.

And now to the future. I speak of not just ending a war and bringing peace abroad and at home, not just about stopping the rise in prices. But I think of those things that we need to do to build a better America.

Every few years in the history of this country we have to have a period of reform. And we have tried to make this a period of reform. We have made some progress, but we need to make more.

Rather than pouring billions of dollars into old programs, programs that have failed, we say the time has come to look at our education program, to look at our health program, to look at our welfare program, and to reform those programs so that the money that we spend will do the job rather than just putting good money into bad programs, because when you do that, you end up with bad money and bad programs.

And so what we are doing in this field—it involves many areas—the area of the environment, with which so many of you are familiar. But let me take one that I understand has become an issue here in this Texas campaign.

I want to talk about the welfare program. I want to talk about it very directly and I want to talk about it with the concern that I know that every good Texan has for anybody who needs help.

First, we in this country, because it is a rich country, do want to provide assistance for any family that needs assistance. But when we look at the present welfare program, do you know what has happened?

We have found that millions more have been added to the welfare rolls at a cost of billions of dollars with no end in sight. I will tell you why it is wrong.

When a program makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when it encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, it is time to get rid of that program and get another one in its place.

So, this administration stands for a new program, one that will provide a floor of dignity without the degrading aspects of welfare for those families that need it.

But, one that will also have a work requirement and a work incentive. I will put it very bluntly: If a man is able to work, if a man is trained for a job, and then if he refuses to work, that man should not be paid to loaf by a hardworking taxpayer in the United States of America.

That is the program we stand for. It is the program that George Bush and John Tower stand for. We need that kind of reform. It is something that all of us want.

And then one other issue that I know that everybody is interested in: I am so glad to see so many young people. I understand school was let out—probably a good reason for coming to a rally. Was it? Well, let it out tomorrow.

In any event, education, let's talk about it very directly. Nothing is more important to the future of America than good education, and particularly education for our younger people so that they can all have an equal chance to go up. Let me say in that respect, I share something in common with the former President of the United States, Mr. Johnson. We both came from poor families. And we both saw in our own lives the realization of the American dream at the very highest level.

We all want to fulfill the American dream. But, you know, we can't fulfill the American dream unless every American has a chance to fulfill his own dream.

That is why I want equal opportunity for education, for jobs, for all areas, for every American, and you want it, too.

In this field of education, let us recognize that there are some problems. There is the problem of our schools and the law, the legal requirements that have been handed down by the courts. We have the responsibility for following the law. We will follow the law. But I also think it is important to make this point: It is certainly for all of us to consider absolutely essential, that we think, above everything else, of quality education for all of our children—for white children, for black children, for children whatever their background—quality education.

That is my first objective in any education program. And in my view, if you are going to have quality education for a child, and particularly for a young child, you will have it best by having that child go to school closest to home in his own neighborhood and not some place else.

That is why George Bush, John Tower, and I, Paul Eggers, all stand firmly for the neighborhood school and against busing, which the law does not require solely for the purpose of racial balance. Because that is quality education and it is what Americans want and what they deserve.

And now one final point. I mentioned during my talk here today the fact that I was so delighted to see so many young people.

Since I am speaking for the first time in Texas, I would like to tell you a little about where I have been and what we have seen. I have been to a lot of States, and we have had some exciting meetings. I don't think I have ever seen one quite as widespread as this inside this hangar. They said we would have it all in the hangar and look at all those people way out there. I don't even think they can hear.

But I can say this: One point that I have noted in several meetings, and perhaps, as you look at television you have seen it, sometimes we have young people who are there.

Sometimes, as in Connecticut, they carry the Vietcong flag. Other times they try to shout down the speaker, the President of the United States. Other times they shout out four-letter obscenities in the presence of the crowd.

And sometimes you must get the impression out here in this State, as you look at television of those rallies, and as you look at what has happened in recent months—a bombing here, a burning there, a violent protest there, trying to shout down speakers—that this radical few among our young people, that they are a majority of the young people of America or that they are the future leaders of America.

Well, I have news for you. I have seen this country. I have been in the North, in the East, in the West, and the South, and the radical few among our young, they are not a majority of the young, and they are not going to be the leaders of the future in the United States of America.

I will tell you, don't lose faith in the young people of America. They do not want to see things as they are, and they shouldn't. The great, it seems to me, asset that this younger generation has is that it cares—it cares about peace in the world; it cares about the underprivileged.

The young people want change, but they want peaceful change, not violent change. And the young people of America deserve credit for that. As we look at the radical few, let's not blame the millions of good young Americans that go

to school and believe in what is right in America.

And to those young people, may I bring you a message: Sometimes you must wonder about America. You must hear on television sometimes, or you read in a column in the newspaper, that America is a sick society, that our foreign policy has brought us disrespect abroad, that people fear America abroad and at home. Well, let's just understand what the truth is.

There are some things wrong with this country. We have made some mistakes and we will make some more. But as you look at what is wrong with America, don't overlook what is right. I have had the privilege, as your President, to travel to a number of countries over these past 2 years, and hundreds of thousands of people have come out.

In Communist Yugoslavia, 350,000 stood in the rain for 2 hours just to see a motorcade go by at 40 miles an hour. Huge crowds in Spain and in Italy and in India, all over the world—why?

Not simply because I as an individual was there, but because I represented to them America. And you can be proud of your country's foreign policy. Yes, we have made mistakes, but did you realize that while America is the strongest nation in the world, there is no nation in the world that fears that we would use our strength to destroy freedom or to break the peace. We can be proud of that, and we should stand up for that principle.

And the millions of people in this world, they look at America and they realize that in this country there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more chance for progress than in any country in the world.

So, as we look at America today, let us remember, only in America could a President of the United States make recommendations to a Congress, recommendations in education, in health, to take care of our aged and those who cannot care for themselves, that, in effect, would provide for them a floor which is higher than the ceiling would be for three-fourths of the people in the world.

My friends, and particularly my young friends, remember—America is a great country. We are a great people, and we share a great future. And you have an opportunity, all of you, to participate in that future. It is because I believe that Paul Eggers is a man of the future, it is because I believe that George Bush is a man of the future that I endorse them for the offices which they are running for in the State of Texas.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. at the Gregg County Airport.

398 Remarks in Dallas, Texas. *October* 28, 1970

Senator Tower, Congressman Bush, Congressman Collins, Congressman Price, all of the very distinguished guests on the platform, and all of this very distinguished audience here in the hall, all of the people who are waiting in the overflow hall, and the thousands outside:

I just want you to know that I am very proud and honored for the first time, as President of the United States, to be speaking here in Dallas. And as I speak in Dallas, I know that this State likes to think of itself as being number one in a number of ways.

Dallas likes to think of itself as being number one in a number of ways. And I have been trying to think of what I could say which wouldn't get me in trouble in Ohio or some other place.

So, I will just make a few comments in this respect about this city, this State, some of the current headlines we have been reading on the sports pages.

First, I find that, and I must be very careful what I say here, that the AP poll puts Texas as number one.

Second, I find that the Dallas Cowboys, after a slow start, are now tied for number one in their division.

Third, I understand that SMU [Southern Methodist University] isn't having its best year, but I do know this, and a little bit of history long before those from high school or even the present members of the SMU band will recall: In the year 1934, which was my senior year in college, I remember that, for the first time, a southwest conference team came to the Rose Bowl, SMU came there. They won 7 to 0. That was not something that was particularly new, because other teams from the East or the West or the South had won in the Rose Bowl. But what really made the news was the SMU band. It was the greatest they ever had.

I am very proud tonight that the SMU band, as I understand, for the first time for what is labeled as a political event, is here.

I appreciate your coming. I shall keep my remarks as nonpolitical as I can under the circumstances. I can only say in that respect, however, that after the reception, the wonderful reception, we had in Longview earlier today, after this enormous reception here in Dallas, it is quite clear that most of the people in Texas do not consider the President of the United States to be an outsider in the State of Texas.

Now, my friends, since this is a State that thinks of itself and is very proud of its number one teams and its number one band, I will tell you that I am very proud to be standing here with what I think is a team of champions, George Bush and Paul Eggers, your great candidates for the Senate and the governorship.

You will expect me—and you will not be disappointed in this respect—to endorse them strongly. However, I am going to surprise most of you by the way that I do it. You know, as you get to the last days of a campaign, the oratory gets more strident, the charges get more wild, and you hear "Vote Republican" or "Vote Democratic"—"The other fellow is bad, and this fellow is good."

Let me simply say this: First, the issues before the American people today are too great to be thinking in partisan terms. We have got to think of what man is best for America. And George Bush, in my opinion, is the best man for America.

I would like for you to consider, for example, the fact that in this election campaign there are vitally important issues—vitally important issues—that involve the future of all Americans. They involve the future of particularly young Americans. They are ones that involve your vote on November 3d, and they are ones that I would like to address myself to, not in partisan terms, but in the terms that I know you in this State appreciate and understand.

You want the best man for Governor; you want the best man for the Senate. And it is because I believe these are the best men for Governor and for the Senate that I am for them.

First, for your candidate for Governor, I appointed him as the General Counsel

of the Treasury Department. I watched him working there for over a year in that very important department. I know that this is a man who had responsibility in the field of taxes, who knows what a dollar means, and who will do what needs to be done by the Governor of a great State, who will see that he will cut the spending so that your taxes are not going to go up in the State of Texas.

Whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, I urge you, consider him as a man, a strong man, a qualified man, an experienced man, and one who can be a great Governor of a very great State.

Now I turn to the national scene. Here, I unqualifiedly, of course, endorse Jim Collins, Bob Price, our candidates for the Congress—Frank Crowley. I endorse them because we need the assistance in the House and in the Senate of men who will work with us on those great issues that I am going to describe.

I want to tell you why I feel so strongly about George Bush. I spoke for him before. I remember that election many years ago—1964. It was a hard year. George ran hard. He lost. But he came back. And you remember he was elected to the Congress in 1966. I have watched him in those 4 years, and what I have seen is that a man who came there 4 years ago has become a very big and strong man in the Congress of the United States. His is a voice that is heard in the House of Representatives because of the quality of the man, because of the honesty of the man, because of his integrity.

His voice will be heard in the United States Senate, and I can assure you it will be heard and paid attention to in the White House.

George Bush and John Tower will make a very great team in the United States Senate—young men, experienced men, speaking for Texas, speaking for America.

I don't suggest that when George Bush gets to the Senate that he is going to support the administration all the time any more than he has in the House. He is independent. He is independent like most Texans, I can assure you. I admire him for that. And when he believes that we are wrong, he will not support us.

But I do know that on the great issues that I am discussing here tonight, the ones that have counted, George Bush has stood firm and strong. We need him. I need him in the United States Senate, and I hope you are going to send him there so that we can have him there.

Now listen to the issues. Don't think in terms of being a Republican or a Democrat. Think of America, think of its future, think of our young people, what you want for this great country of ours.

And what you want first of all, of course, and what we all want, is peace—peace at home and peace abroad. And when we think of that, we think of the war in Vietnam and the record of this administration. I want to tell you about that.

What we have done is that after 5 years of men going into Vietnam, we have been bringing them home. We have brought them home by tens of thousands.

What we have done is that by our strong action in Cambodia, we have reduced our casualties to the lowest in 4½ years. And what we have done is to offer a peace plan for a cease-fire, a negotiated settlement, and exchange of prisoners.

My friends, we are ending the war in Vietnam, but the important thing is how we are ending it. You see, the difficult

problem is not ending a war. The difficult problem is ending it in a way that you can win the peace.

Look back over the history of this country. If you haven't lived as long as I have, you have studied it. The United States has been in four wars in this century. We ended World War I. You will remember that was the war that was going to end wars. And yet, before a generation was over we were in another war, World War II. We ended World War II. That was a war that was going to be the last.

The United Nations came along. And within a few years, we were in Korea. We ended that war, and then came Vietnam.

You look over the whole century and what do you find: that we have yet to have in this century a full generation of peace for the American people. I think we can do better. That is why our policies will end the war in Vietnam, but end it in a way that will discourage those that would start another war and will win that generation of peace that we want for all Americans.

This is not a partisan issue. I can assure you that when I was talking tonight to former President Johnson on the phone, I told him that I knew that he tried, just as I am trying, to bring peace to this country.

The problem is doing it and doing it in a responsible way.

And again I come back to our candidates. Here are men, George Bush, John Tower, our candidates, who understand this issue, who will be responsible, and this is why—one reason—I urge your support.

Now I come to another point. This is the problem of peace at home. This is something that you usually wouldn't think would be discussed in an American campaign. But it had to be discussed in 1968. You will recall what the figures were. You remember that over the period of 1960 to 1968, crime went up 150 percent in this country, and we saw a growth in the use of drugs and narcotics. We found, also, that there didn't seem to be a program that would stop it.

I pledged in that campaign that I would ask for new strong laws, that I would appoint new strong judges, that I would put in a strong Attorney General, and that I would see to it, if I got support from the Congress, that the wave of crime did not become the wave of the future in America. And we are going to do that with your help and your support.

We are succeeding in that program. The Congress has not come along as fast as we would have liked, but I can assure you that pledge will be kept, and it must be kept so that our young people, all of our people, can have the feeling that there is going to be respect for law and justice and order in this country, something that we must have if we are going to be able to stand for law and order in the world.

A third promise that I made in the campaign had to do with another problem that concerns every American family. And that is how you balance your family budget. You know how prices have been going up.

You remember that when we came into office they had been going up for the past 3 years. And you will recall that I said that we had to get at the heart of the problem, that we had to recognize that when your Government in Washington spends billions of dollars more than it takes in in taxes year after year, inevitably that means that it raises prices for all of the people.

That is wrong, and that is why I have

stood firmly for a program that allocates those monies and asks for the monies that are necessary and the funds for the programs that we need, but that will cut the Federal budget where we can so that we can take the pressure off of prices.

Let us put it this way: Unless we cut the Federal budget, you are not going to be able to balance the family budget, and we need support on that proposition.

It goes beyond that. It goes to all of our economic policies. We have found that in this country too often we have sometimes enjoyed prosperity in wartime, and too often we have not had full employment without war in a period of peace.

The objective of this administration, and I believe we can have it—I think we are on the right road; I think we are making progress—is to have the transition from war to peace—and a million men have been let out of the armed services, and from defense plants, as a result of the winddown in Vietnam—to have that transition so that young Americans, all Americans, can have what we really want.

Let's have prosperity without war, and progress without inflation. That is what we want, and that is what you can help us achieve.

Now let's look to the future in terms of progress for America. Every American, Democrat and Republican, is for progress. The question that I found when I came into office was this: I found huge Government programs for very good causes, billions for education, billions for health, billions for welfare.

And all of us who have a feeling about our fellow citizens want to see that programs are adequate to take care of those who are in need, and to see that all Americans have an opportunity to move up, to have the chance that all of us would want to have, the chance to realize the American dream.

However, I determined then that we had to examine the programs, because I found that in program after program we were putting billions of dollars into old programs, and they weren't working. It doesn't make sense to put good money into bad programs because you end up with bad programs and bad money both. And so we started to change it.

The way we have changed it? I can use as an example: First, I determined it was time to have a different approach to the whole relationship between the States and the Federal Government.

To all of you young people, again, I know you study American history and you are very interested in politics. And you will remember that in the early days of this Republic we used to talk about States rights and States responsibilities. And for 190 years we have seen those rights and those responsibilities go down and down. Power has flown from the people and from the States and from the cities to bureaucrats in Washington, D.C., until it is concentrated there, an enormous amount of power.

And now I think after 190 years of power going from the people and from the States to Washington, it is time to turn it around and have the power come back to the States and back to the people of Texas and all of the other States of this Nation.

But it isn't enough to say the States have the responsibility unless the States have the funds. And that is why we have the revolutionary program, one of revenue sharing, in which the revenues that the

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Federal Government collects will be shared with the States so that the States will make the decisions; the Texans will make decisions about Texans rather than Washingtonians making them about Texas.

This, I think, is the proposal that we support.

George Bush supports this proposition. John Tower supports it. Paul Eggers helped to develop it in his position as Counsel for the Treasury Department. He will be a great Governor to handle those responsibilities when that power does come to the State of Texas, and the funds to deal with it.

There are many other programs that I could discuss, but one in particular, I think, needs to be discussed very frankly, very honestly, because I understand it has become an issue in this campaign.

That is the question of our welfare program. I want to tell you why I made some recommendations about changing it. This is what I found when I came into office: I found that welfare costs in this country were going up and up and up. The number of people on the welfare rolls just went up and nothing was being done to stop the increase both in the numbers and the costs of welfare. And it was breaking cities and counties and States, and also even the Federal Government was having enormous responsibilities to meet the cost.

So, I decided something had to be done about it. And I took the city of New York as an example. Did you know—listen to this—New York City in 1966, just 4 years ago, had 600,000 people on welfare. Four years later, New York City had 1,200,000 people on welfare—double.

I will tell you what is wrong with it. The difficulty is that in that same period of time in the city of New York, the great newspapers there had want ads, pages after pages, offering work for people, and no takers.

I say to you that when a program makes it more—as far as an individual is concerned—where it rewards a man for not working rather than rewarding him for working, when it, in effect, gives him an incentive not to work rather than to work, when it gives him an incentive to desert his family rather than to stay with his family, it is time to get rid of that program and to get another one in its place.

So, we have offered a reform, a reform that will provide, as it should in this rich country, for those families in need, without the degradation of welfare. But, on the other hand, one that will have a work requirement and a work incentive. Everybody in this great audience wants to see to it that any family in this country, and particularly children, do have an adequate income, because this country should be able to afford that if they need it.

But, my friends, I say also that when a man is able to work, when he is trained for a job, when he is offered a job and refuses to work, that man should not be paid to loaf by a hard-working taxpayer in the United States of America.

I have outlined these programs for you to give you a broad sweep of what we have been trying to do, to bring real peace for a generation abroad, to restore peace, respect for law at home; a program of progress for Americans, progress without inflation; a program in which we can have real prosperity, prosperity without war; and a program of reform of the institutions of government in which government comes back to the people where it belongs and to the States, and in which we reform those institutions that are draining from

the American people funds that could better be used for other purposes.

This can happen in America. This is what we stand for in this administration, and I say to you that these principles that I have outlined tonight—and think back to what I said a moment ago—they are not Republican; they are not Democrat; they are what are best for America, and George Bush stands for those things and for what is best for America.

I would not want the opportunity to pass while I was here in Texas before this great audience, and particularly with so many young people in the audience, both here and in the other hall and outside, without giving you an impression of what I have seen in the country in these past few weeks as from time to time I have visited States all over this Nation. It is a very different impression than you see night after night on that television screen. It is a very different impression than you may see, even, when you see coverage of rallies that we have had.

For example, on the television screen, if you saw what happened in Florida when we were there, you would have seen a few hundred over on the side trying to shout down the President of the United States with four-letter words, trying to engage in that kind of conduct which I think many Americans have grave questions about.

So, you get an impression as you see that. One night you see a bombing or a burning—a bank, 2 days ago, 10 miles from my home in California, near the University of California at Irvine campus, burned senselessly, no reason at all.

You see violence. You hear hecklers, not there for the purpose simply of trying to learn but trying to shout down a speaker, the President, anybody else who happens to come. And the impression is created, when you see that, that the violent few are really a majority of American youth and that they are probably the leaders of the future of this country.

Well, I have a different view. I have been around this country. I have talked to students. I have seen them at meetings in great numbers. And I can tell you that the violent few that you see on your TV screens, they are not a majority of American youth today, and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

I want to tell you what I think about American youth. I believe in them. I have faith in the young people. It is an idealistic young generation. They care—they care about peace in the world, and they care about it at home. They care about those who don't have the chance that they have. They want this country to be a better country. They aren't satisfied with things as they are. And that is what we want from our younger generation. We don't want them simply to ape what we have done and what we have said.

That is to their credit. They are going to be great leaders of this country. But also America's youth, the great majority, recognize that the greatness of America is that for over 190 years, we have had a lot of changes in this country, and that in a country that provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence and violent change.

To the young people, I want to say something to you—just to you, if I could for a moment:

Sometimes you must wonder about your country. You hear about how we are not liked abroad, that our foreign policy is a Fascist policy or an imperialist policy. You have seen the signs. You hear about the situations at home in the United

States, about all the things that are wrong, the fact that the air isn't clean and the water is poison, and that our system is one that has grave inequities in it, and that the United States of America should be held up to scorn to other nations of the world.

Let me tell you what the truth is. There are some things wrong about this country. We make mistakes abroad; we make them at home. But as we look at the things that are wrong, and we should look at them and we should correct them, let's also stand up and talk about what is right about the United States of America.

I will tell you what is right. As I traveled through other countries, I was very proud of the fact that whether it was in a Communist country, Yugoslavia or Romania, or in a non-Communist country, hundreds of thousands of people came out to cheer for the President of the United States.

Why? Because they know that while the United States is the strongest nation in the world, to our credit, they have nothing to fear from the United States. We keep our strength not for the purpose of destroying freedom but for the purpose of defending it. We will not use it to break the peace, only to keep the peace. Let's be proud of that.

Here at home, you look over this great country of ours and why is it that people abroad, as they look at America, why is it that the traffic is all one way, coming here? I will tell you why. Because they know that this country is rich, yes, and that it is strong, but also that in America there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more progress than in any nation in the world. There is no country in the world, for example, where the President or the leader of that country could do what I have been able to do—to offer to the American people programs in education, programs in health, programs of care for those that are in need, on the massive basis, and be believed.

But because America is rich, because America has produced what it has, we are able now to offer a better life to Americans than any people have ever enjoyed in the history of the world.

So, as you consider those things that are wrong, I repeat: Remember, what is right about America is that we have the ability to correct what is wrong. We have the idealism to do it.

I simply leave this final message with you: My friends in Texas, all over this great State, I have never been prouder of the United States of America than as I have traveled abroad and as I have traveled in this country. This is a great country. We are part of a very great people, and we share a great future. And one of the proofs of that greatness is what is going to happen on November 3d.

I don't mean all of you are going to vote the way I want you to vote, but you are going to vote and you are going to make a decision. I have been often asked: What is the answer to those that try to shout you down in a meeting? Do you shout back? What is the answer to the violent few?

No, you don't shout back. The thing to do is simply this: To those who try to shout down, to those that engage in violence, it is just time for the great silent majority of America to stand up and be counted; and the way you can stand up and be counted is with the strongest weapon ever given to a free man—the right to vote.

So, I say vote on November 3d, vote for the candidate of your choice. If you ask my advice, and even if you don't ask for it, I can say I believe that the election of

your candidates, the men that I have mentioned here tonight, the election of Paul Eggers as Governor, the election of George Bush as United States Senator, will be good for Texas. I know it will be good for America, and I am convinced it will be good for you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. in the Market Hall Convention Center.

399 Remarks to Overflow Crowd in Market Hall Convention Center, Dallas, Texas. *October* 28, 1970

I WAS just saying to George Bush and Paul Eggers, I thought the rally was in the other room.

We want to tell you how much we appreciate all of you coming—not being able to get in—standing here and waiting for us.

I can only say that I often think that it is really service beyond the call of duty even to go and park a long way off and get into the hall. But then not to be able to sit down—to stand here like this—that has got to mean something.

I will tell you what I think it means: I think it means people care. I think it means that people are on the march. I think it means that you are going to elect two very great men, one Governor, one Senator, from the State of Texas. And I think they are right here.

I only wish that I had the chance to meet each of you individually. To give you an idea, I fly from here to Chicago tonight—not for a meeting, they have had that. But then tomorrow, it is a rather light day. I have two meetings in Illinois, one in Omaha, Nebraska, one in Rochester, Minnesota, then in San Jose, California, and then San Clemente, California.

But I am going to tell them this when I go out across the country, that in this great State of Texas, a State that has a great political tradition, that something is happening, and that on November 3d, watch Texas. It is going to be number one for our candidates.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m.

400 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Illinois. *October* 28, 1970

RALPH Tyler Smith follows in a great Illinois tradition of distinguished Republican leaders. He came to the Senate following the sudden death of Everett McKinley Dirksen and in just 1 year he has acquired a solid reputation as a wise and able legislator.

Of course, Senator Smith is not new to the legislative process. For 15 years he served with distinction in the Illinois State legislature, and he did an outstanding job from 1967 to 1969 as speaker of the House of Representatives.

In Washington, Senator Smith stands for fiscal responsibility and against big spenders. He stands for law and order and

against permissiveness. His influence was instrumental in strengthening the law enforcement legislation which recently emerged from the Congress, especially in extending Federal jurisdiction to move against campus bombings.

In the struggle for order and progress, at home and abroad, Ralph Tyler Smith is an important ally of the Nixon administration. He is a man who works with us and not against us in meeting the great issues of our time. I hope that the voters of Illinois will support Senator Smith—and the entire Republican ticket in next Tuesday's election.

NOTE: The statement was released at Chicago, Ill.

401 Remarks at a Breakfast for Participants in a Junior League Conference in Chicago, Illinois. *October* 29, 1970

Madam President, all of the distinguished officers of the Junior League here at the head table, and our guests and the representatives from, I understand, 44 States, and from Canada. And Mexico? Viva!

The environment is something that, it is interesting to note, was very little touched upon in the campaign of 1968. Some were speaking of it; there were people in local areas.

I remember even in 1962 and 1963 in California, I found many people as I traveled through that State, who were enormously concerned about what was happening to the beautiful beaches and the great parklands of California that might come into public use.

But now the environment has become a subject that is very high in the consciousness of most Americans and particularly in the consciousness of young Americans, and it should be, because the environment that we pollute today is the one that they are going to have to live in tomorrow.

As we think of the air and the water and the beauty of this country, we are thinking not just of our generation; we are thinking of what it is going to be like.

I don't want to put it too far forward. You will be here to celebrate that wonderful 2000 millenium new year. I might be; I will be a little old.

But, nevertheless, when we stop to think what America will be like—what the world will be like—30 years from now, if we just go on doing what we are doing in the great industrial nations, can't you imagine? Not just here. I am glad to note there is somebody from Mexico here and somebody from Canada. I have been to all the great cities of the world. They all have smog problems. They all have traffic problems. They all have crime problems. They all have pollution problems.

Do you think there is pollution in Lake Erie? You should see the Bay of Naples, or you should see what the situation is with that magnificent beach around Rio—completely polluted.

So, my point is this: that what you are talking about is not just an interesting subject to discuss with your various groups when you go home, your 100,000 members, but it is one that is of vital concern; it is one on which we must act now or it may be too late to act ever.

I was very interested to talk to one of

the representatives from Erie, Pennsylvania, last night, and she says Lake Erie is not dead.

Well, now, that means that she still believes it can be saved, but it will not be long. Because, you know, there comes the time—you have heard all this—when the ecology of a lake, a body of water, when it goes beyond the point of no return and then it is almost impossible to bring it back.

So, you want to bring Lake Erie back and you don't want Lake Michigan to get that way.

Of course, we could talk about the oceans, the sea waters; we could talk about the fresh waters; we can talk about the Nation generally. I am not going to go into those subjects. I am simply saying this: You have all come a long way to this conference. You wonder if it is worthwhile. You wonder if the subject is worthwhile. It is. It is vitally important.

Government has great responsibilities here, and I know that probably what you have been hearing about mostly is what can you tell your Congressman, your Senator, your Governor, or your President to do. Fine. You tell us and we will try. But let me say: Just as important is what you can do.

Remember, 80 percent of our environment is in our homes, in our offices, and in the places in which we work, and on the roads in which we go from home to work. And that is why when you look at a littered parking lot, that is why when you look at the places of work that are not properly, of course, kept up for those who work in them, when we consider the environment that we ourselves create, we can see that those are things that government can't do a great deal about.

We can help. We can help where the air is involved, where the water is involved, where parklands are involved and public lands are involved, in decisions with regard to airports. That is a government job. But, also, there is an enormous responsibility on the part of individuals in their communities to get people to be proud of their homes and proud of their cities, and clean them up and make them look like they should look. This is something that must come from people themselves. It has to be educational.

I know it is all right in your family. I think of my own little area of southern California where I grew up. There is a great beach, Huntington Beach. I remember what a beautiful beach it was in the old days.

Now, of course, it has some oil wells. It still has some good beach, but there is one part of the beach that is not yet properly policed in which—I went by there the other day and there were literally thousands of beer cans and litter and so forth—completely destroyed.

Government can come in, policemen can come in. They can put in all the receptacles for handling that thing and unless the attitude of people changes, the attitude of young people, the attitude of all people, it is still going to be that way.

So, as leaders of your community—and you are—as people who have had a better advantage than most of the people in your community, I know you come from the better educated people; you have the good fortune of living in what we call part of what the American elite is in your community; you can be leaders, leaders in getting public consciousness aroused with regard to what government can do, but also public consciousness aroused with regard to what individuals can do.

So, I tell you, this job is worthwhile.

It is enormously important. You have the complete dedication and commitment of the Federal Government to this proposition, of most of the State Governors to whom I have talked, and we also have yours. And with this, we can do the job.

America can be, in the year 2000—it can be a place where the air can be clean, where the water can be pure, or at least most of it. And, finally, it can be a place where we will have the open spaces, not only out far away where most of the people in the cities have never seen them, but those little parks down in the towns, and particularly in the poorer areas of our country that need to be developed so that hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—of children that are never going to get to Yosemite or Yellowstone and the rest, at least will have a little time when there is a place of beauty in their lives.

These are some of the things we have been thinking about and some of the things that I know you, too, have been thinking about. And we urge your cooperation and we urge also your support.

Now, one final point: I have emphasized the problem. There is a tendency on any kind of a problem to go overboard and say, "The problem of all this is our great industrial society. If we just didn't have these factories, if we just didn't have these jet airplanes, if we just didn't have all this progress and all this industrialization, what a wonderful country this would be."

It wouldn't be a wonderful country.

Let me tell you, I have been to countries that don't have industralization. I have been to countries that do not have progress. I have been to countries that are basically living not much differently from the way they did 3 or 4 thousand years ago.

And these are countries that are primitive; these are countries, in many cases, that are uncivilized; and they are countries in which life isn't all that good. Man in his natural savage state isn't a particularly attractive person. Don't knock this great industrial society of ours. It is something that has created the problem, but the genius that created the highest standard of living that the world has ever seen also has the genius to clean up the problems of a high standard of living. So, let's remember that particular point.

I must leave to get on to my schedule and be sure that our airplane doesn't leave too much jet noise at the airport.

I just want to say that it has been a very great pleasure to stop by for a few moments to see you. I wish I could talk to each of you from each of your States. And I can only say that you are very fortunate to be so young, to have the opportunity to be contributing to the future of this country, to have faith in the future of this country.

Just let me give this final thought to you: Tell your children—most of you have children—tell them that what they see on the television screens night after night, usually a group of people trying to shout down speakers with their four-letter words, or engaging in violence, or burning, and casting out their hatred of the United States—the impression that these are the majority of America's young people, the teenagers and the college people, the impression that they are going to be the leaders of the future—I will tell you, I have been around this country and that is not true.

They are not a majority of America's young people, and they are not going to be the leaders of America's future.

I hope you tell all of your members that

we have great problems in this country, but we can be proud of the fact that in our foreign policy we are a nation, the strongest in the world, that no other nation fears in terms of the fact that we aren't trying to dominate anybody else. Our power is kept for the purpose of protecting freedom, never to destroy it.

And also at home, we can be very proud of the fact that in this country there is more freedom; there is more opportunity; there is more progress; there is more hope. Let's just stand up and say it. There are a lot of things wrong about America, but let's not overlook the things that are right. And let's remember that this is a great land and a good land and a beautiful land, and we are part of a great people.

We, all of us, we share a really great future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:47 a.m. in the Airport Marriott Inn to women attending a conference on "Strategies of Environmental Control," sponsored by the Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc.

The president of the association was Mrs. William H. Osler.

402 Remarks in Mount Prospect, Illinois. *October* 29, 1970

Governor Ogilvie, Senator Percy, Senator Smith, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and this very great audience here in Mount Prospect at Prospect High School:

In checking my notes, I find that I have a proud distinction today: the first President of the United States ever to visit Prospect, and I'm glad to be here.

I appreciate very much the warm welcome that we received. I remember the meeting in 1968. I recall something about "Ooh-Aah" then. And I had forgotten. Now I remember. Thank you very much.

I want to express appreciation, I know all of you will, for all of those that have participated in the program. That marching band from Prospect High School—how about a hand for them—the marching band from Elk Grove; the marching band from Hershey High School; and from Wheeling High School—that is one way to bring all these high school rivals together. They are all for each other today.

Also, I am very proud to stand here today on this platform in the presence of a number of fine candidates. I am going to talk particularly about the candidate for the United States Senate. But I am also very happy to have here our candidates for the county offices and candidates for the Congress.

I have a special feeling about the man who is running for the office of county executive here—Joe Woods. He has been the sheriff of this county. He has been one whom I have known for many, many years.

All of you have known him and I have known him as a man who has a marvelous record in the field of law enforcement. But I know him, too, as a man—and this is the important thing—who has the respect of the men with whom he works. And he only gets that by being a good administrator. He is the kind of a man you need to run this county, Cook County.

I am very proud, too, to be here with the people whom I have worked with in Washington, D.C., some of whom are on

the ticket, one of whom is not—Senator Chuck Percy.

And from the Congress, Congressmen Harold Collier, Phil Crane, and Bob McClory. How about a hand for them?

Now I want you to see them all. This is a great team. They have worked with this administration. We have needed them. We need them again. Send them to Washington and we will get the job done. This is your team, our team. Thank you.

I want to talk to you about this Senate race here in Illinois, both in terms of the State of Illinois, but also in terms of the Nation. The eyes of the Nation are on this State. It is a critical State. It is a State that makes the difference in a national campaign as to whether a man will be elected President or not be elected President. It is the State that this year could well make the difference as to whether we have in the United States Senate—and listen to this very carefully—a majority of one.

I am not referring to a majority of one in terms of who is going to be the majority leader or the minority leader, but a majority of one in terms of great issues that are beyond whether you are Republicans or Democrats, issues that involve our children, their future, your future, peace abroad, peace at home; the chance that all of us want to develop in this country what we have not had for many, many years: prosperity and progress, but without war and without inflation.

And in the United States Senate, we have a very closely divided situation. In vote after vote over these past 2 years, we have had men who honestly disagreed, but men who reached different conclusions from the programs that we have tried to implement from the national administration.

And in instance after instance, a change of one vote would have made the difference.

So, you are talking today not simply about another Senator from Illinois who will go down there to continue the fine team of Chuck Percy and Ralph Smith in the United States Senate, you are talking about the man, the one man, who might make the difference as to whether the President of the United States, who has the responsibility to carry out policies for all the people, will have people who will vote with him or will vote against him on the great issues that you asked him to do something about.

We need Ralph Smith because he will be with us and not against us on those great issues. That is why I am here.

I do not suggest that we expect a United States Senator or United States Congressman to come to Washington and vote 100 percent for whatever the President says. I like a man who is independent. You have independent men from this State, and you have one in Ralph Smith.

But I am going to talk today about just four issues, four because, particularly with so many young people here, I know you study these things in your social studies and in your history classes and political science. To all of those who are voting age, it seems to me right now, as I travel around the country, there are four great concerns the American people have.

Do you know what is interesting about it? I recall so well, just 2 years ago, speaking in this very hall. I remember the four things that I talked about. And interestingly enough, those four great issues that I talked about 2 years ago are the ones that people are concerned about today. They wanted action then. That is why I won the election in 1968. The

people wanted action on those particular issues.

And what I am here to do is to try to get the support that we need, that I need, but particularly that the Nation needs, so that we will be able to carry out the pledges that I made right here in this hall, I made to the people of Illinois, I made to the people of America.

All of you will remember the first pledge. It had to do with a major concern of older Americans and younger Americans, all Americans, and people throughout the world, and that is: I pledged that I would work for lasting peace in the world. Here is what I found when I came into office.

I found that we had a war with 550,000 men in Vietnam, no plans to bring them home, casualties 300 a week, with casualties going up, no peace plan on the conference table.

I went to work. And what we did is that instead of sending men to Vietnam, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and we are going to continue to bring them home.

Instead of having the situation with our casualty list going up and up, they are the lowest in 4½ years, and they will continue to go down, because of the leadership we have provided. And we have a peace plan on the conference table, a peace plan that we were finally able to make because of the success of our other programs, a peace plan which offers a cease-fire, an exchange of prisoners, a political settlement, and a mutual withdrawal of forces.

Let me tell you where the situation is right now, today. The war in Vietnam is being brought to an end. It will bring peace in Vietnam, but the important thing is how we are bringing it to an end.

Here is where we have the difference, the difference between the various candidates throughout the country. We see it here in Illinois. We see it in many other States. It is a very simple one. There are those who say, "End it now," or "End it 6 months from now," or "12 months from now." "Set a date. The most important thing is to end it, no matter how."

Let me tell you, that would be the easiest thing I could do. After all, the President of the United States is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. I could simply order all the men home and everybody might have a sigh of relief and say, "The war is over."

Could I recount a little history for you? Look back over this century. I was born in 1913, and in my lifetime there have been four wars. There was World War I; we ended it. There was World War II; we ended it. There was the Korean war; we ended it.

But do you know, and I say this particularly to this younger generation, that in this whole century, we have not had a full generation of peace.

The problem is not to end the war. The problem is to end the war in a way that we discourage the warmakers so that we can have a generation of peace for Americans and that is what we are working for and that is what we are doing.

Your Senator, Ralph Smith, understands that issue. He has supported this administration on that issue. Because he understands it, because he supports us, it means that he has often provided what could be the majority of one. We need him. If we want that generation of peace, if the President is going to be able to carry out the pledge that he made to the American people, not just peace for the next election but peace for the next generation,

we need a man like Ralph Smith in the United States Senate that will stand with him and not against him on this great issue.

After talking about foreign policy, let's come right close to home. I see a number of people here who will probably be out shopping a little later in the day, some of the ladies will. You are not going to like what you find as far as the prices are concerned. Prices seem to be going up. They were in 1968. You remember I talked about it here in 1968. I remember exactly what I said. I said that what we had been having over the past 8 years had been the situation where government was spending billions of dollars more than it was taking in in taxes, and that when a government spends more than it takes in in taxes year after year after year, $50 billion—that is the amount that was spent, more than we took in in taxes in the previous 8 years from 1961 to 1968—when that happens, the effect is to raise prices throughout the country.

That is one of the major causes of inflation. I said to the American people, I said to the people of Mount Prospect, to the people of Illinois, when we get to Washington, we are going to cut the Federal budgets where we can cut them, cut the Federal budget so that we can take the pressure off of prices.

So, we need help on this issue.

Let me tell you why it is vitally important. There are many programs that we need for the spending of Federal funds, and those programs I have asked for, those programs we will approve.

There are others, however, that go far beyond what we need, which involve runaway, irresponsible spending. Now, the big spenders think that they are going to be the big winners on November 3d. Well, they are going to be the big losers, because the people are tired of big spenders in Washington, D.C.

I say quite directly, if you want to stop the rise in your grocery bill, if you want to stop the rise in your clothing bill, if you want to stop the rise in prices, one of the major things you can do is to elect a man who has the courage, as Ralph Smith has, to go to Washington and, when he finds that he has to make a decision, will make the hard and courageous decision to vote against a spending program that might help some few people someplace in the country, but would raise prices for all people. He is that kind of a man. That kind of courage we need in the United States Senate. A majority of one could make the difference. There might be the one— Ralph Smith, the one.

All over this country I have found that there has been an enormous interest in the problem not only of peace abroad but peace at home. Americans are concerned about that. I understand it. All of us understand it because we are a peaceful people, we are a law-abiding people. We are very proud of that tradition in this country.

Americans have been shocked by the fact that in the sixties, for example, crime went up 158 percent in this country: the use of drugs and narcotics, the flow of pornography and obscenity into the homes of our children, the fact that we find organized crime going up and up, and street crime, the fact that we needed action. I talked about it in 1968.

I pledged that I would do something about it. And we have done something about it.

First, we have gotten a strong Attorney General and we have backed him up, right up and down the line.

Second, I have appointed strong men to the judiciary up and down the line, men who will strengthen in their decisions the peace forces rather than weaken the peace forces as against the criminal forces.

Third, I have asked for legislation—now listen to what happened to this legislation. Eighteen months ago—Chuck Percy will bear me out, Bob McClory, who worked on this and contributed to it enormously in the House of Representatives, will bear me out—I submitted legislation to deal with organized crime, with pornography, with obscenity, with drugs and narcotics. And it stayed in the Congress. Nothing happened until just a few weeks ago, as we approached the election, the bills finally began to reach my desk, and I have signed them. It is better late than never.

But I say to you that we have to have a sense of urgency more than that. And what we need in the United States Senate is a man that will vote for the laws, who will also speak out on this subject very strongly, not just at election time but all year round. And Ralph Smith does that.

He is the kind of a man that stands firmly with us on this issue. Now, that is what we are going to do. We are going to see to it through our laws, through our courts, through every other device that we can legitimately use, that the wave of crime isn't going to be the wave of the future, the heritage for these young people whose fate is entrusted to us.

But, you know, there is something you can do, and I do not want to miss this opportunity to mention it. A couple of days ago in Kansas City I went to a hospital to visit two policemen. They were very brave men, rather young men; they were men who had been injured in a bomb blast when they were working in a very depressed area of the city and working in a very humanitarian cause in one of our major Federal programs, to try to bring better information to the people of that area with regard to respect for law, the decencies that make a society livable.

Yesterday, as we were driving in one of our motorcades in Florida, a motorcycle officer was hit by a truck. He fell off the motorcycle. It fell on top of him. I stopped the car; I went over to shake his hand. His arm was broken; his leg was broken. His head was bleeding.

I said, "I am sorry that this happened." Do you know what he said? "Gee, I am sorry I spoiled your day. I am sorry I can't stand up and salute."

Let me say something to you. Our law enforcement officials in this country have a hard job. It is a dangerous job. Sixty-six have been killed already this year, many of them in senseless murders and bombings. Hundreds have been injured. They aren't paid enough. Now, we may not be able to pay them enough and we may not be able to give them the laws that we need, but there is one thing that we can give the law enforcement officials and not just at election time. Let's give them the respect and the backing that law enforcement officials deserve in this country.

Then, finally, there are programs for progress—I have talked about here—it seems so long ago, 2 years ago—programs in which we would reform our government: a program of revenue sharing which Governor Ogilvie is so very much interested in, in which the revenues of the Federal Government will be shared with the States so that the States will be able to handle their problems here rather than having them handled from Washington, D.C., programs of welfare reform, programs of cleaning up the air and the

water, the environment, so that these young people can have what we have, a beautiful America, and not have the air polluted and the water poisoned and all of the beautiful places destroyed.

These are all programs of reform that this administration stands for. They are programs that we have had support for from these men who are in the House.

We have had strong support from Chuck Percy. We have had strong support from Ralph Smith. There, again, we need Ralph Smith in the United States Senate so that we can, I can, not as an individual, but as a man who was elected President, who made certain promises to the American people, so that I can keep the promises that you elected me to keep. We can do that only with your help.

Let me say a word about the President. When you go back, they will ask you to write, many of you, a little theme, I suppose, about what the President talked about. And one of the things you read a lot about these days is the power of the President. I don't want to be self-effacing about that in a personal sense, but let me talk about the office for a moment.

The President of the United States, because we are the most powerful and the richest country in the world, is the most powerful man in the world. But the President of the United States, while he can do a great number of things with his power, cannot act effectively for his people, for the American people, to carry out the pledges that he makes to them unless he has help from the Congress, from the House and from the Senate. That is what this is all about. It is part of our system.

I respect the right of people who disagree with my policies. But, after all, I was elected in 1968, and I intend to keep my promises, and I need Ralph Smith in that Senate to help me keep my promises to the American people.

One note: With all of these young people here, and particularly, perhaps, I should say this to the older ones, I am so delighted to see you here. I have appreciated the way that you have listened.

I know that sometimes these days when you look at television night after night you see on that television screen a distorted picture of America. I don't blame the television people. After all, what is news is usually bad news rather than good news. That is what makes the news.

So we will have a rally with thousands and thousands of people, and there will be a few demonstrators out shouting four-letter words or trying to shout down a speaker, and they will show their picture on the television screen.

Or you will see rocks thrown, as was the case in Vermont, at the President of the United States, you will see their pictures on the television screen, or you will see a bomb thrown or a building burned.

So the violent few, the radical few, over and over again, they come across your television screen. So Americans get the impression that the radical few are either a majority of American youth or are going to be the leaders of the future.

Let me tell you something. I have been around this country. I have been to most of the major States, and I have seen lots of young people. I have seen some of the radical few.

But despite what you have seen on that television screen, despite what you have read in columns, and despite what you have seen in the newspapers, the radical few are not a majority of American youth today, and they are not going to be the leaders of America tomorrow.

American youth, to its great credit, is

idealistic. It wants change; it wants peace in the world; it wants peace at home; it is not satisfied with the way things are. And that is the way young people should be, because that gives vitality and strength to our system.

But they also recognize that our country's glory is that it provides for peaceful change, and that when a system provides for peaceful change there is no cause that justifies resort to violence.

So I simply say to you, all of you here, on November the 3d you have a chance to speak out. People often ask me, "How do you answer those that shout, try to shout down a speaker? How do you answer those that give a false impression of America?"

Don't try to answer them in kind. You don't have to. You can do it another way. The way you can answer them is by your votes on November 3d. That is the time, on November the 3d, that is the time when we are really going to see what America is like. That is the time when the great silent majority of America can stand up and be counted with their votes and stand up and be counted for America, for those programs that will build America, and for, in my opinion, a man like Ralph Smith and our congressional candidates here who will stand with the President of the United States so that he can carry out his promises to you and to the people of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in Mount Prospect High School.

403 Remarks at Rockford, Illinois. *October* 29, 1970

Governor Ogilvie, Senator Smith, Congressman Anderson, Congressman Schadeberg from Wisconsin, and Congresswoman-to-be Phyllis Schlafly:

I want you to know how very grateful I am for this enormous crowd, for this wonderful reception. I think that all of you inside the hangar should know that there are at least twice as many outside the hangar, and I understand, if they can hear on the public address system, I have delayed our flight to our next stop so that we can come out and say hello to you in just a few moments.

I particularly want to express appreciation to those that have been entertaining you before we got here. I understand we have a number of high school bands: the Gilford High School Band, the Jefferson High School Band, the Auburn High School Band, the East Rockford High School Band, the West Rockford High School Band. Any rally that will bring East Rockford and West Rockford together has got to be quite a rally, believe me.

As I speak here in this State, I wish first to say that I am very proud to be in the State in which the chief executive, Dick Ogilvie, has made an outstanding record, one of the finest Governors in this Nation. I look forward to working with him in the future, as I have in the past, for the better progress of this State and of this Nation.

I welcome the opportunity to endorse, not only the national candidates about whom I will be talking in a moment, but also the State ticket—men like Ray Page, who is one of the best commissioners of education in the whole United States. I am glad to endorse him here in Rockford. And, also, while he is not on the ticket

this year, I wish to express my appreciation for the fact that we have in Illinois a team—a team in Governor Ogilvie and Senator Percy, all of the others working together, because they know, as I know, that Illinois is the key State in this Nation.

I want to talk about the role of Illinois. I want to talk about the role you can play and how important it is to you, to Illinois, and to America.

Now, all of you are aware of the fact that there used to be an old saying in politics that, "As Maine goes, so goes the Nation." That doesn't happen to be true now.

I think it could be said, however, as Illinois goes, so goes the Nation. In 1960, in a very close election, I did not carry Illinois.

In 1968, in another close election, I carried Illinois. That is why I am here as President of the United States today, because of the people of Rockford.

As I stand here in this city, in this airport, I remember the great welcomes we have had over the years past. I recall a meeting in the rain in 1956—you remember?—down in the armory, where people came by the thousands.

But when you come to the airport and stand like this, this means something is happening. It means in this strong area of the State people are thinking about the issues. They want to hear about them directly. They want to know what their votes mean. And I want to talk to you about that for just a moment.

First, in the United States Senate today, we have a contest in Illinois that will affect not only your Senator but will affect the votes in that Senate over the next 2 years.

In the past 2 years, in vote after vote, a change of one vote would have made the difference—one vote as to whether or not the President of the United States would either be backed or not be backed on his program for peace abroad, for a strong America, for peace at home.

And as I look back on that record, I realize that it is vitally important for the people of Illinois to know that in the United States Senate, the election of Ralph Smith means something, of course, to him—I believe it is in the best interests of the people of Illinois. But Ralph Smith may be the one that will make the difference. We need him in Washington, D.C.

Now let me describe how that one vote can affect you, how it can affect your family, your children, the future of this State, and the future of America.

In the campaign of 1968, I made some promises to the people of Illinois and to the people of America. I have been trying to keep those promises. We have made some progress and we are going to make some more.

I can also tell you, however, that while the President of the United States, because of the wealth of this country and the strength of this country, is the strongest man, perhaps, in the world, in terms of power, the President of the United States cannot do it alone. He cannot do the job that the people of the United States elected him to do unless he has a Congress that will work with him rather than against him. And Ralph Smith will work with me and not against me for these great goals.

Your own Congressman John Anderson can tell you how it works. Week after week I meet with him as one of the leaders of our Congress, in the White House. And he will tell you that in week after week as we count the votes it is a question of one vote that will determine whether the President, not as an individual, but because

he is trying to keep his promises to the people of America, the promises that the people elected him to carry out; whether he is going to have the support in the House and the Senate.

My friends, we have had some support. We have had not enough. But let me say the vote that we have in this case, of Ralph Smith, along with Chuck Percy, these are the votes that can make the difference on these issues.

First, above everything else, in 1968 I recognized that the American people wanted leadership that would end the war and bring us a lasting peace.

Look what we have done: We found 500,000 men in Vietnam with no plans to bring them back. And we have been bringing them home by the thousands and more of them will be coming home.

Second, instead of casualties going up at the rate of 300 a week, they are the lowest in 4½ years because of our strong action to deal with the problems in Vietnam.

Third, we have a peace plan on the conference table calling for a cease-fire, calling for a political settlement, calling for an exchange of prisoners.

Now let me come to the key point. I realize that there are those who disagree with our policies here. I realize that there are those—and in this Senate campaign you have a pretty good choice in this respect—who honestly believe that we should either bring the boys home now or 6 months or 12 months from now without regard to what happens.

Let me say ending the war is not the problem. America has ended three wars in this century. You know. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended Korea.

And we have yet to have a generation of peace. I just want to say to these young men that are calling "Peace now" out here, that our men in Vietnam are fighting in Vietnam for a lasting peace so that they won't have to fight in Vietnam, or someplace else in the future.

You see, I pledged to the American people that our goal will be to end this war in a way that will discourage the warmakers, to end this war, that will bring us what we have not had in this century: a generation of peace.

Now, that is something to be for, it is something Ralph Smith is for. We need him in the United States Senate to work for that policy. And I thank you for sending him there as you have, and as you will on November 3d.

I can give many other examples. Quickly, one that I discussed in the campaign of '68: We saw prices going up. I pointed out that we had to get at the cause of it.

One of the major causes of your prices going up at home for groceries, for clothing, and everything else, is that your Government has been spending far more in taxes over the past 10 years than it has been taking in, far more in expenditures than it has been taking in in taxes.

I pledged that we do something about that. It has required some hard decisions. But what we need, you see, are men in the House and men in the Senate who will have the courage to vote against a spending program, spending not their money but yours, that might benefit some of the people but that would raise prices for all the people. That is the kind of man that you have in Ralph Smith, and it is the kind of man that we need.

My friends, what we want, in other words, as we move from a wartime to a peacetime economy, as a million men have been let out of the armed services and out

of defense work, what our goal is—and this is what we are working for and we are making progress toward—is progress without inflation, and prosperity and full employment without war. That is something to be for. And it is something that we are accomplishing on behalf of the American people.

And that majority of one can make a difference in another area: I know that you are concerned not only about peace abroad but peace at home. I talked about that in 1968. I pointed to the fact that we have seen crime go up by 158 percent over the past 8 years before we came into office, and I said we would do something about it.

I pledged stronger judges. I pledged a stronger Attorney General. I pledged to submit new laws. I have done all those things.

We have made some progress, but it took the Congress 18 months to send the law down that I asked for 18 months ago to deal with organized crime, to deal with pornography, to deal with the problem of narcotics, and to deal with the problem of drugs.

My friends, let me say I pledged to the American people in 1968 that we would have the strong action to deal with the criminal elements in this country in a way that would see that the wave of crime is not the wave of the future in America.

I will keep that pledge. But in order to keep that pledge, my friends, I will tell you what I need: We need in the United States Senate a man like Ralph Smith who will not only vote for the laws that we need, but will speak for those laws and vote for them and speak for them, not just in election time, but all year around. He is that kind of a man, and that is why we need him there.

And then, of course, we need support for our programs of reform. Many of you are concerned, as I am, about our welfare program. I have found, for example, that in the city of New York, from 1966 to 1970, a period of 5 years, welfare rolls went up from 600,000 to 1,200,000.

And yet, in that same city, the want ads for help wanted—there were scores of pages in the Sunday papers week after week.

I want to tell you what we propose to do about that and where we need some help. I say that when a program, like the present welfare program, makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when it rewards him for deserting his family rather than to stay with his family, we ought to get rid of that program and get another one in its place.

I say that in this great, rich country—and I have submitted a program which will do this—we should provide for all of those who are in need. But, my friends, I say that if a man is able to work, and if he is trained for a job and then if he is offered a job and he refuses to work, he shouldn't be paid to loaf by a hard-working taxpayer in the State of Illinois or anyplace else in this country.

And now I would like to report to this audience, as I have to all of those in these last 2 days, as I have traveled from Florida and now on to California later in the day, about what I have found across America on an issue of great concern to you.

Over here are a lot of television cameras, and tonight you will have an opportunity, perhaps, to see this rally on television or parts of it. Over the past few months, you have seen on television, night after night after night, what purports to be young America. And you know what you have seen: a bombing here, or a build-

ing burned down, or people trying to shout down a speaker, some of them shouting obscenities, others engaging in discourtesies. And you get the impression that the radical few are a majority of young Americans or are the leaders of the future.

Just let me say this: The radical few in this country that you see on your television screen night after night, they are not a majority of young Americans, and they are not going to be the leaders of America in the future of this country.

And to the young Americans here, and particularly to your fathers and your mothers, I say I am proud of young America. I am proud of your idealism. I am proud of the fact that you want peace. I am proud of the fact that you care—care about the people that don't have as good a chance as you have.

But also, I am proud of the fact that the great majority of young Americans, while they want change, they recognize that in a system that provides for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies violence. That is the kind of young Americans we are proud of.

And to young Americans, may I bring you a message?

Sometimes you may get an impression that this is a sick country, that we have policies that are held up in disrespect in other nations of the world.

Don't you believe it. I have traveled to Communist countries in recent weeks, and to non-Communist countries. I have found that every place I go, hundreds of thousands of people come out to cheer the President of the United States. Why? Because they know that this country, the strongest in the world, does not threaten the peace; it does not threaten the freedom of any other country. They realize that a strong America is necessary if we are going to have peace in the world. You can be proud of that.

They also are aware that in America, whatever we may see of its faults, there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more chance for progress than in any country in the history of the world.

So, I say to you today, let's look at what is wrong with America, let's correct it, but as we talk about what is wrong, let's stand up and speak up about what is right about the United States of America. It is time for the great silent majority. You can speak up. You don't have to speak out in obscenities. You don't have to try to shout down the other side.

I will tell you the way you speak. The most powerful weapon ever devised in a free nation—November 3d you go into a quiet place for a moment and you vote. You are the most powerful person in the world at that moment. Your vote can make the difference about that majority of one in the Senate. Your vote can make the difference as to whether the President of the United States in his efforts to bring lasting peace abroad, to bring peace at home, to have prosperity and progress without war—your vote will determine whether you are going to have, in the Senate, a man that is going to work with the President or against him.

I ask you, give me a man, Ralph Smith, who will work with the President for the good of America and the good of Illinois.

I wanted you to be sure to see Mrs. Smith, because the wives are the unsung heroines of this campaign. My wife, Pat, is not with me on this trip, because she is off campaigning in another State in the West and we will join up in California to-

night. My daughter, Tricia, I think, is in New Jersey today. My daughter, Julie, is going to be in another State another day. They care a great deal, not just about their father, but about this country. And so does Mrs. Smith.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. at Rockford Airport.

404 Remarks to Overflow Crowd at Rockford Airport, Rockford, Illinois. *October* 29, 1970

WE WANT to express appreciation to all of you for coming here and for waiting outside. Of course, it is a beautiful day. I remarked of the fact that the last time I was in Rockford it really rained pitchforks. But on this beautiful day to have so many of you here is most heartwarming and I am most grateful.

I am very proud to be here in the company of your Congressman, John Anderson, who is one of our leaders in the Congress.

I meet with him every week, of course, with the other legislative leaders. He is a great representative of this district at Rockford, and he is a fine Congressman working for the good of America in, of course, the leadership meetings that we have at the White House.

And, of course, I have already spoken about Ralph Smith, a man who has come to the Senate by appointment, a man who comes before the people of Illinois for election.

I think on his record he has demonstrated that he is the kind of a man that will do the job that the people of Illinois want done. He is an effective Senator. He is an honest Senator. Above all, he is one who has the courage to stand for those kinds of policies that are essential if we are going to have not just a temporary peace but a lasting peace; not just a situation where we have employment based on war, but prosperity and jobs without war.

That is what we want for America and that is what we are going to get.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m.

405 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Minnesota. *October* 29, 1970

MINNESOTA and the Nation need the constructive and creative leadership which Clark MacGregor and Douglas Head can provide for the 1970's.

I have known Clark MacGregor for years, and I have found him to be one of the most dedicated and hard-working Congressmen in Washington. He's a man who gets things done.

Clark MacGregor has provided a strong and thoughtful voice for peace with honor. He has been a leader on the issues of law enforcement and reform, and I was proud to have him at my side when I signed the Organized Crime Control Act, a bill he cosponsored and fought for.

Clark MacGregor will be a full-time Senator for all the people of Minnesota

as together we work for a generation of peace, prosperity without inflation, and an end to crime and fear.

Douglas Head, your candidate for Governor, has already shown that he can provide outstanding leadership on the issues which will face us in the 1970's. As [State] attorney general, his strong efforts to control pollution and combat crime have helped him gain national recognition as a strong leader.

Minnesota needs men of this quality; Minnesota needs men like Douglas Head for Governor and Clark MacGregor for U.S. Senator.

NOTE: The statement was released at Rochester, Minn.

406 Remarks in Rochester, Minnesota. *October* 29, 1970

Governor LeVander, Congressman Quie, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of those who have welcomed me and our guests so very warmly on this occasion to Rochester:

It is very difficult to respond to such a welcome, not only the welcome we received here but the one downtown, which delayed us just a bit, but for a very good reason when people are so friendly.

I think my feelings can be expressed first in this way: that it is good to be in MacGregor country and, also, it is good to be in Viking [1] country.

I got myself in trouble with that one. I have been to Dallas, however, already. I have already been to Kansas City. But I am going to Los Angeles tomorrow.

All that I can say, based on the Vikings' record up to this point, it is good to be in the land of champions, and I am proud to be here with champion candidates.

I don't know who does the recruiting for the Vikings, but if they need anybody for that front four or for blocking, just go downtown. Those young people downtown are the strongest, most vigorous young people we have ever seen.

I also want you to know that I realize that in the middle of the day for so many of you to come is a sacrifice of your time.

I also am aware of the fact that we have some wonderful musical entertainment here. The Lourdes High School Band—which side are they on?—and the West Concord High School Band, on the right? Well, let's give them all a hand. And the Mayo High School Southtown Singers, are they here?

For all of those who have come, thank you very much.

What I have to say today will be primarily directed to those in this audience who can vote on November 3d, but what I have to say also will be directed to you, those of you in these bands, most of whom are not yet old enough to vote, but most of whom will be thinking about your future and how this election might affect it.

I want to talk about the future of America as I see it today and as I base it on my travels around this country and around the world.

In talking about that future, I have already indicated how proud I am to be here on this platform with the candidates from the State of Minnesota. Nat-

[1] The Minnesota Vikings professional football team.

urally, your Congressman and all of his colleagues in the Congress—Al Quie, John Zwach, Ancher Nelsen—they are a fine group.

The candidates that are running for the House of Representatives, one of the best teams I have seen around the country, I enthusiastically endorse them all.

And at the State level, I remember when Harold LeVander ran 4 years ago. I remember the polls indicated that he couldn't win. He did win and this election can be won this time in the State of Minnesota.

I am glad to see that Harold LeVander, who has made such an outstanding record as Governor of this State, has coming up in Doug Head a man who is in the great tradition of very great Minnesota Governors. I say that because, first, he is a young man with a great future ahead of him, a man who, as attorney general of this State, was recognized by his colleagues as the outstanding attorney general of the United States, which indicates that he knows something about law enforcement; he knows how to handle that difficult problem in a just and effective way; a man also who is an expert in the field of the environment in which Minnesotans, with this magnificent land of lakes that you have, are so proud of, and where you want action—action that we are going to take at the Federal level, supplemented by action at the State level.

As I look across this country, as I think of candidates for the governorship, I don't know of one who is better qualified, who has a better future and a better future for the State of Minnesota than Doug Head, your candidate for Governor in the State of Minnesota.

Bob Forsythe, Val Bjornson,[2] the whole team, what a fine team. Again, I am proud to be here with them.

And now I come to the campaign for the United States Senate. I want to talk to you quite directly about this man, first, personally, then, what he means to Minnesota, and then, what he means to this Nation.

I am here in Minnesota because Clark MacGregor, in my opinion—and I have seen many men come to the Congress in the 24 years that I have watched Washington pretty close at hand—Clark MacGregor is one that ranks very high at the top among his colleagues and in the Nation. He is a man with brains. He is a man with courage. He is a man of great character. And also, he is a man who has enormous determination and that vision that is so essential for the future of America. He is a man that never looks back. He looks to the future.

At a time when Americans are examining our society, when they are looking at the old programs that have failed in the past, when they see how much we have wasted on those programs, no matter how good intentioned they are, they don't want to go back; they want to go forward.

It is because Clark MacGregor is a man of the future, a man that will carry you forward, that is why I am for him for the United States Senate in the State of Minnesota.

I come here to Minnesota not to speak against anybody, but for the candidates that I am supporting. I am for Clark Mac-

[2] Robert A. Forsythe was Republican candidate for attorney general of Minnesota and Kristjan Valdimar Bjornson was Republican candidate for State treasurer.

Gregor. I want you to be for him. I want you to be for him for the right reasons, not simply because he is a Republican and you may be a Republican; not simply because you like him and his family, his wife and his three charming daughters, because it is a fine family, as I like them; but because Clark MacGregor stands for something. He stands for something that America needs. It needs it very deeply. It needs it in the United States Senate. It needs his voice, a voice of the future, rather than a voice of the past. A man, and this is also important, who will stand with the President rather than against the President on the programs that the President was elected to carry out in 1968.

Most important, and this is true in Minnesota and all over this Nation, is the promise that I made in 1968 that I would work to bring peace to this Nation and to the world.

I want to report to you on that promise. I want to tell you why Clark MacGregor is, in my opinion, one who will give the support that we need to achieve that goal of a lasting peace.

When we came into office, here is what we found: 550,000 men in Vietnam, no plans to bring them home, casualties at 300 a week and going up, no plans to bring them down, no peace plan on the conference table in Paris.

I pledged we would do something about it, and I went to work. We have made some progress.

First, instead of men going to Vietnam, which was the case in the previous administration during that 5 years, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and more of them will be coming home.

Second, instead of American casualties going up, they are coming down, the lowest in 4½ years.

Look at your papers this morning and you will find that is the case.

Third, instead of America not having a peace program, we have offered a cease-fire; we have offered a political settlement; we have offered to negotiate without conditions in all of these areas. It is on the table.

Let me tell you where we stand right now. We are on the way to ending the war and winning a just peace in Vietnam.

And now comes the critical point at issue in virtually every campaign in this country.

The problem is not to end the war. Every President, every American, wants to end the war. No President, no American, wants to start a war. We don't want to see young Americans die anyplace in the world. But, you see, the problem is not to end the war. All of you who have studied history, the older people who have lived it, the younger people that have studied it, know that in this century we have been in four wars.

We ended World War I, you remember. That was the war to end wars. We ended World War II, and you remember the United Nations came and that was supposed to end wars. Then we ended the Korean war.

But did you realize that despite the fact we have been in three wars and ended three wars in this century we never yet have had a full generation of peace?

That is why what I am trying to do, and what I ask for support for is a program to end this war in a way that will discourage those that would start another war so that we can win a full generation of peace for Americans.

Clark MacGregor understands that. He will support it. As he has supported it in the House, he will support it in the Senate. He recognizes the necessity to make the hard decisions.

We must think not just of peace for the next election but peace for the next generation. It can be done.

And remember, too, that a strong America, one in which the President of the United States when he goes to the bargaining table with the Soviet Union or any other power negotiates from strength rather than weakness, is essential if we are going to have this generation of peace. And he stands for that strong America.

So if you want to help the present President of the United States in a goal that Americans want, not just Republicans or Democrats or this President, then I say Clark MacGregor is a man who is committed to that program. He is one I will count on. I need his support in the United States Senate.

We turn to the problems at home, and I can speak with the same feeling and the same conviction about Clark MacGregor because, again, I know his record over the years in the House and I know what he will do when he gets to the Senate.

First, let's look at the problem of the cost of living. Everybody is concerned about it. When we went in, we saw inflation, and so we tried to find out why. And we found that this country had been on a spending binge, a spending binge in which, during the previous 4 years, we had spent $40 billion more than we had taken in in taxes.

When you go on a spending binge you have a hangover, just like when you go on any other kind of a binge. And so how do you cure the hangover? By more spending? No. What you do is to cut the spending so that you can get rid of the hangover, and that is what we are trying to do in Washington, D.C., at the present time.

That does not mean that we do not stand firmly for programs, as we do, where the United States will commit itself to those expenditures that are necessary and appropriate for the better life that all Americans want.

But it does mean that every time a spending bill comes before us, a hard decision has to be made. Is this a bill that is going to benefit some people but is going to raise prices for all people? If it is, you have got to think of all the people and not just the special interest group.

Clark MacGregor is that kind of a man. That is why I am for him for the United States Senate.

There is another area that has been talked a lot about in this campaign—I will touch it only briefly because everybody agrees on this now, as we approach the election—and that is the fact that during the previous 8 years, before we came into office, this country had a rise in crime that was totally unacceptable to the American people. It was due to the fact that we didn't have strong enough laws. It was due to the fact that we did not have strong enough administration of those laws.

So we decided to change it. We came into office, so I asked for new laws. It took 18 months for the Congress to get the first one to my desk just 2 weeks ago.

Clark MacGregor, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, helped to get that law there. He understands it.

Let me say this: In this field, we are going to use the new laws that we asked for and that finally the Congress is beginning to give us, laws dealing with organized crime, laws providing more of an oppor-

tunity to handle the problems of street crime, laws which deal with the traffic in pornography and the situation with regard to dope and narcotics.

All of these areas are areas in which we have new laws. But what we need in the United States Senate is a voice of a man who is for the laws and will support the President in the strong stand that I believe the people of the United States want their President to take with regard to law enforcement, who will talk that way and vote that way, not just in election time when it is an issue, but all year round and through his public life. And that is Clark MacGregor.

I can pledge to you we are meeting this problem. We are making progress. We can make more if we get more help.

Then there comes another area, the whole area of government reform. And there is a critical difference in this State, a very honest difference of opinion between two men who have different philosophies. I understand that difference. I respect those who may differ with our position.

But I want to tell you what we found.

We found a lot of programs when we arrived in Washington, programs dealing with problems that all Americans want to deal with—education, health, housing, welfare. Now, you go around and take your own private poll and you will find everybody is for better education and better housing and better welfare for the American people.

But when you look back over the history of this country, what you will find, particularly over the past 8 years before we got into office, is we were pouring billions and billions of dollars into programs in this field, in which money was being wasted and we weren't making progress in solving the problem. So we have instituted an exciting and certainly a revolutionary program of reforming the institutions of government.

What we have very simply said: that it is time to quit putting good money into bad programs, because you end up with bad programs and bad money both. And that is why Clark MacGregor again is the man, the man of reform, the man of the future.

Whether it is in education, whether it is in the environment, whether it is in the field of health, whether, of course, it is in the field of welfare, he stands firmly.

Speaking for just a moment about the welfare problem, an excellent example of the problem: Everybody wants to see that no family in this country, particularly families with children, does not have some kind of an adequate income.

In this rich country it is possible that that can happen. But, you know, under our present welfare program what has happened.

Let me give you an idea about the city of New York. In the city of New York between 1966 and 1970, the welfare rolls went from 600,000 to 1,200,000. And the number of want ads in the major New York Sunday papers were hundreds and hundreds and, yes, thousands of ads with no takers, as far as jobs are concerned.

So our new program has two approaches: One, we provide a floor of dignity for families who need assistance without that kind of situation that we have in the present welfare program, which has a very bad effect on family morale. But we also provide work incentive and work requirement, because I will put it very simply: When a program, which is like the present welfare program, has the effect of making it more profitable for a man not

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to work than to work, when a program has the effect of encouraging a man to desert his family rather than to stay with his family, let's get rid of it and get another program in its place.

That is why we say we will care for every family that needs it and without the degrading aspects of the present welfare program.

But if a man is able to work, if a man is trained for a job and if a man is offered a job and refuses to work, he shouldn't be paid to loaf by a hard-working taxpayer in the State of Minnesota or by any of the people of America.

I have talked about these four issues because I think they best indicate the problem: Honest men honestly disagreeing about what is best for America. I will simply indicate to you my own conviction in these concluding remarks.

We all know that when a President of the United States is elected he becomes President of all the people. He has responsibilities to all the people. And the President of the United States is a very powerful man—powerful because this country is rich and because it is strong.

But a President of the United States cannot use that power, he cannot work for the best interests of the people for his programs, unless he has support in the House and support in the Senate.

We have had some support. We haven't had enough. We need more. One man, one vote in that United States Senate, could make the difference as to whether or not we are going to have the kind of leadership that will bring a lasting peace rather than a temporary peace; that will bring prosperity and progress without war, which is something we haven't had for a long time; and that will bring, also, a reform of the institutions of government rather than pouring good money into the programs of the past.

My friends, Clark MacGregor is the one. He is the one we need. He is the one I am for. He is the one you should be for on November 3d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:32 p.m. in Mayo Civic Auditorium.

407 Remarks to Overflow Crowd in Mayo Civic Auditorium, Rochester, Minnesota. *October* 29, 1970

IF I COULD HAVE your attention for just a moment, we do appreciate your waiting in this other auditorium and listening on closed circuit.

I do say that when you come to a wonderful part of the country like Minnesota, and this heartland of the country, when people will come out in the middle of the day, as you have, and listen so attentively, it makes you very humble about the responsibilities we have.

I want you to know how grateful I am for your welcome, and particularly for the way you have received our two fine candidates.

I want to say another thing about these two candidates that I didn't say a moment ago. I like them because they are men of the future. They look to the future.

I like them because they are young men. I say young men—I know some of you are going to say anybody over 30 is old.

Well, don't you believe it. I say anybody less than 50 is young.

Here we have Doug Head, a man of 40, with all that great life ahead, a man who, if elected as Governor, can go on to provide leadership not only to his State but to his Nation.

Here is a man, Clark MacGregor, 48 years of age. Do you realize when you elect a man like that to the United States Senate you are electing a man who can serve for four terms? And if he serves for four terms, here is a man, and I know the qualities of the man, who can be a future majority leader of the United States Senate—Clark MacGregor.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m.

408 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Nebraska. *October* 29, 1970

DURING all the years that I have known Roman Hruska, he has provided the kind of representation and leadership that Nebraska and, indeed, the Nation need. Senator Hruska has been a clear, courageous, creative voice in our attack against the crime and violence which is threatening our Nation. He has worked diligently to help stop inflation and the large government spending that feeds it. And Senator Hruska is helping our Nation move through the difficult transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. With men like Roman Hruska in the Senate, the voice of the people of Nebraska will continue to be heard and respected at the highest levels in Washington.

Let me also say a few words about Governor Norbert Tiemann. As America moves into the 1970's, we will need strong leaders in our States. The new federalism and this administration's emphasis on rural and area development are the kinds of initiatives which will demand from our Governors the highest kind of dedication and ability. As a proven leader in these fields, Governor Norbert Tiemann will be able to make these initiatives succeed, here in Nebraska and across the Nation as well.

Nebraska and the Nation need men like Roman Hruska and Norbert Tiemann working in public office for the good of all the people.

NOTE: The statement was released at Omaha, Nebr.

409 Remarks in Omaha, Nebraska. *October* 29, 1970

Governor Tiemann, Senator Curtis, Senator Hruska, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of our great friends here in Nebraska:

As I move across the country today from Illinois to California, where I will speak later this afternoon, and stop at Nebraska, I know how much you realize this welcome means to me. Here in the middle of the afternoon, at 4 o'clock, to find this great hall, where I have spoken before, the Ak-sar-ben auditorium, completely jammed, to find thousands outside, to realize that you have taken off from your

jobs—many of you—to be here, to realize that you have waited, and then to get such a warm reception, makes me realize how much I owe to this State.

I am proud of the fact that in 1952, when I was on the ticket, in 1956, when I was on the ticket, in 1960 and 1968, Nebraska was the best Nixon State in America, and I thank you very much for that.

I wish to express my appreciation, too, to the University of Nebraska at Omaha Band back there. Let's give them a hand, in the back.

Toward the conclusion of my remarks, I have a special message for some of the young people who are here today and their parents, but I particularly wanted to take note of that wonderful musical organization that is here.

And since I have mentioned universities, I understand from a little bit of polling that I have done around here, that there is a holiday in the schools. I found I have never seen children so delighted. I said, "What happened? School is out?" They said, "Oh, no, the teachers are in a convention." We welcome all the teachers who are here today from all over Nebraska.

My wife, Pat, as you know, was a high school teacher. In other words, she subsidized me while I was trying to practice law before going into the Navy. And many teachers do that, or did in those days, at least. And my daughter, Julie, who is married to David Eisenhower, who is now in the Navy, is studying to be a teacher.

So, we have a very special place in our hearts for those who are in this profession which is so important to the future of our country. I am glad that you are here, so many of you. I wanted to pay my respects to you.

Also, as I speak of education generally, some of you are aware of the fact that I am somewhat of a football nut. I understand I have a lot of company here in this State.

You know, my wife went to the University of Southern California. I recall in that first game of the season that the Trojans, who were rated one of the top teams in the country, and Nebraska went out there, I asked Nobby [Governor Norbert T. Tiemann] what happened and he said they tied them 21 to 21, "but," he said, "we should have won by two touchdowns."

Then I asked Nobby, "You know, I may be in Florida, and I would probably go to the Orange Bowl if Nebraska came." I said, "Which bowl is Nebraska going to?"

He said, "Nebraska wants to go to the bowl where they play the number one team, whichever one it is. They are going to be number one."

I would like, particularly since I am in Nebraska, to go a little bit further and say that Nebraska is number one. I got into trouble last year trying that in Texas. I have already been in Texas. They think they are number one. I was in Ohio. Ohio State thinks it is going to be number one.

I am now in Nebraska. You think you are going to be number one. All that I can say is: While I am in Nebraska, Nebraska is number one. That is for sure.

Since I have been talking about football and champion teams, I am glad to be here on this platform with a group of very, very fine candidates. They are really champions in the great tradition of this State, a tradition of politics which goes back many, many years, and many, many good men, good men in both parties.

I particularly want to pay my respects to those in the congressional delegation

and those who are going to be in the congressional delegation. I want to express appreciation for the years of service that Glenn Cunningham has rendered to this State of Nebraska, and I want to thank him particularly when, having not succeeded in the primary, instead of sulking, he is getting in there pitching. That is the fine team spirit that we like in anybody who is in political life.

And to Charley Thone, the candidate in the first district, I remember what a great help he was in that 1960 campaign, when we rolled up that huge majority, and John McCollister in the second district. These, with Dave Martin, give Nebraska a three-man delegation in the House that will be one of the best in the country.

We are for them all and I hope you will support them all.

All of you are aware of the fact that I have a very high regard for your Governor. I remember when he first ran—this new face in the national political scene—a man who brought some new ideas to State government, a man who recognized that it was not possible simply to talk about States rights without also talking about States responsibilities, a man who looked to the future of this State in terms of doing what was necessary for better education, for progress in all fields.

I want you to know that as I have looked at his record and as I consider the kind of leadership he can give to Nebraska in the future, that Nobby Tiemann is a man who, among his fellow Governors, is rated as one of the best. I think you consider him one of the best. That is why I believe he deserves his reelection as Governor of the State of Nebraska.

Now, I come to the Senate races, to the national campaigns generally. When I speak of the Senate race, I realize that talking about Roman Hruska is, in Omaha, something that is not considered to be necessary in terms of getting any votes that he didn't already have.

I remember when I spoke for Roman Hruska, or with him, in a campaign years ago, I said, "Roman Hruska is a man you can count on." I simply think that you here in Nebraska should know that in the almost 2 years that I have had the high honor to serve as President of the United States, there has not been a man in the United States Senate who was more strong, more sound, more courageous, more dependable than Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

And with his colleague, Carl Curtis, they make a great team, the kind of a team that Nebraska likes to be proud of, and you can be proud of them in Washington, D.C.

And may I say that in this respect for all of you now if, for the next few moments, we might think of the national issues where I have a primary responsibility. I would like to discuss them, discuss them in terms of these fine candidates for the House, the candidates for the Senate, and to the extent that those issues do affect State government, as is the case with one or two. Think of them in terms of your candidates for Governor and State office.

I remember when I spoke in Nebraska in the 1968 campaign. I remember the big crowds. I remember what you responded to. It was the same here as it was all over the country.

The major issue in 1968, the major concern that Nebraskans were worried about, just as other Americans were worried about, was about how could we bring peace to the world. And I pledged in that campaign that I would work, as President

of the United States, to bring peace, lasting peace, to the world.

I want to report to you. I want to give you a report on my stewardship as President of the United States on that vitally important first responsibility of whoever is President of this country.

When I came into office, this is what I found: There were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring them home. Our casualties were 300 a week; they were going up. There were no plans that would bring them down. There was no peace plan on the conference table, and no plans as far as we knew to submit one. And so, we went to work.

We have had some success. We are moving along. We have put into effect a plan to bring an end to the war and to win a just peace. Instead of men going to Vietnam, which had been the case for 5 years before we got in, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and more of them will be coming home in the months ahead. Instead of our casualties going up, they have been coming steadily down, until, as you have noted, if you saw your papers yesterday, they are the lowest in 4½ years, and they will continue to go down.

And finally, we have been able to submit at the peace table a comprehensive proposal in which we have offered a cease-fire, an exchange of prisoners, a negotiated political settlement in which all people in South Vietnam will have the chance to participate in the political process, and we will abide by the result. This is what America has done and this is what we have offered.

We are bringing the war to an end. And now comes the critical question.

I know it is on the minds of many people, people who may support our general goal of peace, but wonder why not sooner, why not now, why not just bring the boys home right away.

That would be very, very easy, particularly for whoever was Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, as I am.

But the problem, you see, my friends, is not to end the war. Look back over the history of this country. I was born in the year 1913, and in my lifetime, we have had four wars. In this century, as a matter of fact, there have been four wars. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. And yet, we have yet to have in this century a full generation of peace.

So I determined, when I became President of the United States, that we would end this war, but we would end it in a way that would discourage those who might start another war so that we could win our objective of a full generation of peace for Americans. That is what we are working for and that is what we are getting support for.

It goes beyond that. It requires a strong America because the strength of America is essential—essential if those who might engage in war will be discouraged from doing so. And that is why the strength of America is so important if we are to have this full generation of peace.

I will simply say this: We are on the road to that great objective. I believe it can be achieved. I think the chances that America can have a full generation of peace are better now than at any time since the end of World War II.

That is why across this country I am asking support for those men like Roman Hruska, like those who are candidates for the House of Representatives here in this State, who will support the President in trying to win a just peace, a generation

of peace for young Americans and for all Americans.

As we end a war, we confront problems, and among those problems is the transition from a war economy to a peacetime economy.

One of the problems since World War II has been that the United States has found it difficult to have full employment without war.

I think what the American people want is prosperity without war, full employment without war. That is what we are working toward and we are on the road to doing that.

A million men have been let out of the armed services or out of defense plants as a result of the winddown of the war in Vietnam and other policies.

We are making the transition of moving those people into not wartime but to peacetime-related activities. This will take some time, but it is something which I think the American people want to have happen. We are going to make it happen.

And also moving in that direction we have another problem that I know all of you are concerned about. That is the problem of rising prices. You recall in 1968, I talked about that, too, the fact that prices seemed to go up and up, and there seemed to be no program to stop it. So we looked at the cause and what we found was that in the years before we came into office our Government in Washington had spent $50 billion more than it took in in taxes, with the result that there was a pressure on the rise in prices for every family budget in America. So we have gone after that problem.

Let me be very precise on this question. There are lots of things Government should do. We should appropriate money for the needs, the needs of education, the needs of health, the needs in all this country that we have.

But we also must bear in mind this: that when you have a kind of spending that goes so far that it may benefit some people but raise prices and taxes for all people, then let's cut that Federal budget so that we do not raise and destroy the family budget of millions of Americans.

A third problem that I discussed when I was here in Nebraska was the problem of peace at home. It is a problem which is not limited to this State; it is all over the country. It isn't limited to our cities; it is even in some of our smaller towns. It is the fact that in the 8 years before we came into office, crime went up 158 percent in this country, and we looked at the causes of that crime.

One of the causes was that we didn't have strong enough law enforcement officials; we didn't have strong enough laws; we didn't have, in my opinion, strong enough judges in many areas—judges who, as far as their records were concerned, clearly realized that it was important to strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country. So we went to work.

We went to work in several areas. I appointed a strong Attorney General of the United States. We strengthened the law enforcement officials at the Federal level. We have appointed strong men as U.S. attorneys across this country at the Federal level.

We have strengthened the LEAA [Law Enforcement Assistance Administration] program in which we have, of course, a program in which the Federal Government helps the States and the counties and the communities in their law enforcement programs.

And then in addition to that, I went to

the Congress 18 months ago, and I submitted a comprehensive proposal to deal with organized crime, to deal with the problem of narcotics and drugs, which not only is damaging people in our big cities, but particularly young people in not just the poorer families, which is the usual mythology that you hear, but even among other families throughout this country. We had to do something about it.

I submitted this comprehensive proposal to the Congress 18 months ago and it took 18 months to get the first bill on my desk to sign just a couple of weeks ago.

That isn't fast enough, but I do want you to know this: If there is one man in that Senate and one man in that House who should be known as "Mr. Law Enforcement," it is Roman Hruska of Nebraska.

His has been a powerful voice for law, for order, for justice in the United States. And that is another reason why I am glad that he is going to win, and win big again in Nebraska this year.

Then we come to another area. I recognized that in 1968 it was essential that we examine everything this Government had been doing over previous years to see whether we were putting too much money into bad programs.

We found that that was the case. It isn't just enough to be for education and for better housing and for better welfare and the like. What you have to find out is to see whether or not the programs you have inherited are doing the job. If they are not doing the job, you need to reform them.

So we have embarked on a program of reform for America, reform that covers the whole gamut of all of our problems: a new program in the field of housing, a new program in the field of education, a new program in the field of welfare.

Let me touch upon that just briefly in terms of what we are trying to achieve in that area, because there has been some lack of understanding in this field.

First, let us recognize why we had to change the present welfare system. It isn't because we wanted to do anything that would be damaging to people who needed help. But look at what had happened.

I looked at the figures in New York City. Do you know what I found? Between 1966 and 1970, here is what happened: There were 600,000 receiving welfare—600,000 receiving welfare—in New York City, one city, in 1966. There were 1,200,000 in 1970. The cost went up. The number on the rolls went up. And yet, jobs, help wanted ads, went begging.

I determined right then and there that it was necessary to get a new approach to welfare because I say to you that when a program, any program, makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when it encourages him to desert his family rather than stay with his family, it is time to get rid of that program and get another one in its place.

That is why we are asking the Congress to consider a new program which will provide a floor of dignity for all families that need it—that is what we can do and what we should do in this very rich and good country of ours—but on the other hand, which has a work requirement and a work incentive. Because if a man is able to work and if a man is trained for a job, and then if he refuses to work, he should not be paid to loaf by a hardworking taxpayer anyplace in this country.

Other programs could be mentioned,

particularly in the field of the environment, where we finally are recognizing that we must leave to our children the heritage that we had, of a beautiful country, not with the air unfit to breathe, the water unfit to drink, and with all the problems of our open spaces being destroyed.

What we must recognize is that if we don't deal with that problem now, it will be too late to deal with it later.

That is why we have submitted a massive program in this field. That is why we appreciate the cooperation we have had from Nobby Tiemann and other Governors, forward-looking ones at the State level.

That is why we have submitted a new program in terms of the relation of the Federal Government to the States. It is called revenue sharing.

I will tell you what it is really about. We have found that for 190 years, power, money, has flown from the people and from the States to Washington, D.C., and it is concentrated there.

And after 190 years, I decided that it was time for power to flow from Washington back to the States and back to the cities, power to the people of the United States. So we will share the revenues if the Congress gives us that approval.

That is why your election of a Governor is so important, because if the revenues are going to be shared with the States, we must have State Governors who will have the foresight, the farsightedness to use those revenues and use them effectively for the benefit of the people of the State.

I have touched briefly these issues to give you an indication of what we are trying to do: to bring peace, lasting peace abroad, peace for a generation, to bring peace at home, peace with law and order and justice and safety for our citizens, a program of reform of our institutions of Government.

All of these things I am sure we want, and we want that with progress and prosperity without war and without inflation. We have made some progress, but a President, as powerful as he is, needs the help of a Congress, of the House and the Senate, to do a job. That is why I am talking in Nebraska.

That is why I am glad to find we are going to have that kind of help from the people of Nebraska and their Senators and their Congressmen from this State.

Now one closing word. I am delighted to see, as I mentioned earlier, such a great number of young people here. And I am also delighted to see a lot of your parents here. I want to say a word to the parents first and then perhaps a word to the young people.

I think that young America has been getting a bad rap. I want to tell you why. Night after night on that television, what you will see is a minority of young Americans. You will see a bombing here, a burning, for example, of a bank, 10 miles from my home in California, near one of the University of California campuses. Or you will see, in some places—it doesn't happen here, but in most places where I appear—hecklers trying to shout down the President of the United States, four-letter words, what have you, and that sort of thing.

You see them shouting, some of them engaging in violence, night after night.

The impression is created that that is a majority of young Americans. Now, I have traveled across this country. I have been in Ohio, I have been in California, I have been in the East and the West and the

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North and the South. And I have seen young people by the thousands and the tens of thousands, I should say. I can tell you that that picture that you see of the radical few is inaccurate.

The idea that the radical few is a majority of young Americans today or that they will be the leaders of America tomorrow is not true. They are not the majority and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

I will tell you what young America is. Oh, young America isn't satisfied with the way things are, and they should never be. Young Americans want change, and they should always want it.

It is to the great credit of the younger generation that they care—they care about people that don't have the equal chance that they have.

That is the kind of a system we want. Because we can't fulfill the American dream until every American has a chance, an equal chance, to fulfill his own dream. All of this is good to report about young Americans today.

But, also, they know that in the history of this country, the glory of it is that we have a system that provides a method for peaceful change. And when you have a method peacefully to change a system, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence. For that reason, let's keep our faith in our young Americans.

And may I say to them, to young America: Don't you lose your faith in America. I know sometimes you get an impression from the columns, maybe again from television, radio, and so forth, that the United States is an imperialist power engaged in Fascist activities—oh, I have seen some of the signs and this and that—and hear in this country that everything has become rather a sick society.

Well, that is a distorted picture, too. I know. I have had the great privilege, as President of this country, to travel abroad, to visit countries in Asia, in Europe, all over this world. And hundreds of thousands of people in Communist countries—350,000 the other day in Yugoslavia, stood in the rain for 2 hours to cheer the President of the United States—in Spain, in Ireland, in Italy, every place.

Why does this happen? It happens because they know that the United States is the strongest nation in the world, but they also know that the United States, in this century, has never started a war; that we have never used our strength to break the peace; that the United States will use its strength not to destroy freedom but to defend it, not to break the peace but to keep the peace.

In other words, people abroad know what we in the United States should be proud of: that our strength is for the purpose of keeping the peace and not breaking the peace. Let's stand up and be proud of it.

And there is something else you should know about this country. Oh, there are a lot of things wrong. There are too many people that are poor. There are too many inequities. The air and the water is polluted in some places, and we have got to do something about it.

But never forget this: In the United States of America, there is more freedom; there is more opportunity; there is more progress than in any country in the world. And only in the United States of America could the President of the United States offer to the country a program which would provide a floor for families in need, which is higher than the ceiling than

three-fourths of the world could ever hope to achieve. That is what the United States of America is.

So, I say to you, we live in a great country. We are part of a great people. We share a great future. And the way that you can participate in that future on November 3d is to go to the polls, express your views. Naturally, I hope you express them in the way that I urge.

But the most important thing is to express them, because this great country is one that all Americans now should recognize in this time of trouble through which we have passed—we should recognize we are fortunate to be alive at this time. We are fortunate to be living in this the greatest country in the world, because what happens in America will determine whether peace and freedom survive in America and the world.

Let's be worthy of the challenge. I know the people of Nebraska will meet that challenge.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:07 p.m. in Ak-sar-ben Coliseum.

410 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in California. *October* 29, 1970

THE NUMBER ONE State in the Nation deserves first-rate leadership, the kind of leadership which has been provided in recent years by Governor Ronald Reagan and Senator George Murphy. I hope the voters of my home State will give them strong support once again in next week's elections.

Governor Reagan and Senator Murphy are tested, experienced leaders who know how to get results. They are both team players, men who will work closely with one another and with the administration in Washington in meeting the great challenges of our time.

One of those challenges is the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. I can report with confidence that the temporary problems caused by that transition—problems which have been felt with special force in California—are coming to an end. Our strategy for curbing inflation and promoting stable growth is working. For California, there must be—and on our part there will be—a strong continuation of efforts to convert the capability that has been used in defense and aerospace into peacetime pursuits such as our efforts to enhance the environment. And we are pressing harder for a favorable expansion of foreign trade.

Senator Murphy has been one of the most effective men in Washington in the effort to ease the problems caused by the current economic transition. Like Governor Reagan, he has also been a leader in the battle against crime and disorder. And I am pleased to say that he has been a strong supporter of administration foreign policy as well, especially our efforts to bring peace with honor in Southeast Asia.

I am proud to know that Governor Reagan and Senator Murphy are close friends and allies of the Nixon administration. I hope the voters of California will give strong backing to them and to the entire Republican ticket.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Jose, Calif.

411 Remarks in San Jose, California. *October* 29, 1970

Governor Reagan, Senator Murphy, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all of those who have come here to this auditorium to welcome me so warmly:

I want you to know, first, that I am very proud and honored to be the first President of the United States ever to speak in San Jose at this auditorium.

I want to thank the San Jose Mercury for their very nice editorial providing the red carpet treatment in this city in which I have so many pleasant memories. And I want you to know, too, that as I come to San Jose at the end of a rather long day of campaigning, as I have come across this country, it is good to be home in California, and to speak to my fellow Californians about this campaign of 1970, what it means to you, what it means to California, what it means to America, and what it means to the world.

Before going into that particularly, however, I do want to thank those that have participated in the program up to this time.

I didn't get a chance to hear it, but I know Johnny Grant[1] was here, and I know, too, that you have had some excellent musical entertainment: the Blue Saints Jazz Band—was it here tonight? Right. And they did such a fine job representing us at the Expo in Japan.

We are proud of these young groups that go abroad and represent America. And right back of us the Cupertino High School Band that is going to be in the Rose Parade. Let's give them a hand.

We look forward to seeing them on television on January 1st.

Also, I understand there is some talk to the effect that perhaps the representative in the Rose Bowl this year may come from northern California.

As you know, I am somewhat of a football bug or nut or whatever you want to call it. But, in any event, I find that I can get into deep trouble when I am traveling as President of the United States all over this country.

I was in Texas yesterday, and all the Texans were telling me that Texas was number one. I was in Ohio the week before. And in Ohio, Ohio State is number one. I was in Indiana just last week, and there they told me Notre Dame is number one. And then today, when I was in Nebraska, I was told that Nebraska is going to be number one.

Well, all that I can say, when I am in California, Stanford is number one.

There may be some argument about which is the number one football team, but there is no argument about this: California is the number one State, and Ronald Reagan is the number one Governor in the United States of America.

As a Californian, I am proud that he is the Governor of my State. I am proud that I am going to be able to cast my vote for him and for the whole State ticket when I vote on November 3d. I am proud not only to be here with him, but with all the fine candidates on the State ticket, with Ed Reinecke, the Lieutenant Gover-

[1] Radio and television entertainer with Los Angeles station KTLA.

nor, with the Flournoys, with Hugh Flournoy and Jim Flournoy,[2] two great teams. We want them both.

I am also very happy that Mark Guerra, the congressional candidate, is here. Charley Gubser [3] was here earlier, but he is over attending another meeting.

I do want you to know that at a political meeting like this, it is very gratifying for somebody who has the responsibility to travel all over the country to realize that when he stands on the platform and speaks about a group of candidates, he can be proud of every one of them. And I am proud of every one of these men.

Now, I would like to talk to you about the race for the United States Senate in California, what it means to you, to California, to the Nation, and to the world. As I speak of that race, I speak first of a man that I have known for 25 years. I am very proud to have George Murphy represent me and my State in the United States Senate. I am also very proud to have known him for 25 years as a friend. He is a fine Senator but, more important than that even, he is a very fine human being.

He is a man that is devoted to his family. He is devoted to his church. He is devoted to his State and to his country. He loves this country. He is working for this country. And I believe that this man, a man of unquestioned integrity, a man of unquestioned honesty, is a man we can all be proud to say: "He is our Senator; he is our George Murphy."

Right there an endorsement could stop. After all, he is my friend; he is a fine man; he is an honest man; he is a fine Senator. But it can't stop there.

This year we can't just think of whether the man is a good man or whether he is our friend or whether he even bears our party label.

The important thing is what does a man stand for? What does his election mean in terms of the next Senate? What does it mean in terms of what this Senate has been over the past 2 years in which a majority of one in that Senate can determine whether the United States has an adequate defense?

A change of one vote, for example, would have determined whether the United States did or did not have a missile defense, whether the President of the United States was able to negotiate from strength or from weakness.

And over and over again, in vote after vote after vote, that is the way the present Senate is divided.

So what I would like to talk to you tonight about is what George Murphy's vote means, what his position means, in terms of those larger issues, the larger issues that are the responsibility primarily of the President of the United States.

When I was elected President 2 years ago, I made some pledges to the American people. I remember those pledges. The American people, I think, remember them, too.

They included the four subjects that I will talk about tonight and which I particularly have been emphasizing in this campaign. They are the four great issues of this election campaign. They are the ones on which the American people must make up their minds as to whether they want a man in the United States Senate who will stand with the President or

[2] Houston I. Flournoy, Republican candidate for State controller, and James L. Flournoy, Republican candidate for secretary of state of California.

[3] Representative Charles S. Gubser.

against him on these great issues.

George Murphy stands with me. I need him not because he is with me, but because, as President of the United States, I have the responsibility to keep my campaign pledges. I can keep them only if I have help.

Let me put it another way: I am very delighted to see a lot of young people here, high school age, and I know that you study history, social studies, much more deeply than we did when I was in school many years ago. And I know that you read—and it is true—that the President of the United States is probably the most powerful man in the world, because our country is richer than any other country in the world and it is stronger than any other country in the world. So, whoever is President is a very powerful man.

But, my friends, the President of the United States can do a lot of things, but when it comes to these issues that I am talking about, his power is limited by the support that he has in the Congress. If he doesn't have the House and the Senate working with him rather than against him, his power is limited. And what I ask for the people of California tonight—I ask that they give to the present President of the United States the support that he needs to carry out the pledges that he made to the American people, and that the American people want carried out because they are in their interest.

Because here they are: The American people want, above everything, peace—not temporary peace but lasting peace.

The American people also want to restore peace at home. They are concerned about violence and they want to restore peace. And they expect the President to provide leadership in that field.

The American people want prosperity and progress. They want it without inflation and without war.

And they want full employment—jobs—jobs for everybody, but without the cost of war.

And, finally, the American people want progress. They want to have programs that will mean better education and better health, better housing, better opportunities for all of our people, whatever their backgrounds may be.

That is what they want from their President. That is what they want from their Government. And that is what I have pledged, and that is what we will get. But I need help. We need it in the Senate; we need it in the House; and you can help by giving us men that will work with us rather than against us.

Now let's come to the issues.

First, the problem of peace. Here is what I found when I came into office: There were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam. There was no plan to bring them home. Casualties were at 300 a week, and they were going up. There was no plan that would reduce them. And as far as a peace plan was concerned, there was none, none on the table, and no plans that would bring peace, either shortrun or longrun.

I went to work. I adopted a program in which, instead of sending men to Vietnam, which we had been doing for 5 years, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands, and they are going to continue to come home.

Second, I took some very strong action. I took action against enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia. Why? Because I knew that if we did we could reduce American casualties. And we have. They are the lowest in 4½ years, and they are going to continue to go down.

And, third, we took action on the peace front. As a result of our increased strength, we were able to offer, and we now have offered, a forthcoming policy, a cease-fire, an exchange of prisoners without any conditions, the negotiation of a political settlement, the mutual withdrawal of troops.

There is where it stands.

And here is the prospect for the future: The war in Vietnam is being brought to an end. We will bring peace, as far as that section of the world is concerned.

But now we come to the difference, a difference that is vitally important to the American people. The question is why not now—why not? And we see the signs and we hear them: "Why not peace now? Why not bring the boys home right away? Why do we care about doing it this long way?"

I will tell you why.

My friends, do you realize that in this century we have been in four wars? I was born in 1913, and in my lifetime we have had four wars: World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam.

We have ended each of the three of those wars. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. And did you yet realize that not one generation in this century of Americans has had a full generation of peace?

The question, you see, is not ending a war. The question is ending a war in a way that you discourage those who will start another war and, therefore, have a generation of peace for Americans. And that is what we are doing.

That is what our men in Vietnam are fighting for, and that is what they are going to win. They are going to win a peace. They are fighting in a way that will end this war, to discourage those that might start another war, and that will bring peace in the Pacific and increase the chances that we can have peace in the world for a full generation.

They are fighting in Vietnam so that those young men that are outside shouting their obscene slogans won't have to fight in Vietnam or anyplace else any time in the future.

If we are going to have a generation of peace, we need more than that. We must think also of the whole world scene. The President of the United States at present leads the strongest nation in the world. This is important for peace. It is a guarantee of peace. It is a guarantee of peace, because the United States, never in this century—and we never will—has never used its power to destroy freedom. It has never used its power to break the peace. It has used it to defend freedom or to defend the peace. And, therefore, a strong United States is essential if we are to have peace.

Here, again, we come to the candidate for the United States Senate, what it means.

It is very easy to talk about reducing our spending for defense, reduce it beyond what the President has recommended. It is very easy to vote against, as did half the Senate, an adequate missile defense for the United States of America, when our potential opponents in the world already have one. But, my friends, we are entering a period of negotiation with the Soviet Union. I hope that negotiation—I believe that it can reduce the burden of nuclear arms and increase the chances of real peace in the years ahead.

But if we are to succeed in those negotiations, I say to you, don't send the Presi-

dent of the United States to the negotiating table in a position of weakness. Send him there in a position of strength. We need a strong United States of America.

George Murphy stands for those things. He has voted for, he has talked for, a strong United States. That is why we need him in the United States Senate, because that kind of strength is what the President needs to back him up in that vitally important body.

Now, let's turn from the problems abroad to the problems at home.

One of them is related to what has happened abroad. As a result of our turning down of the war, we have found that a million men have been let out of the armed services in the past 2 years or out of defense plants, and we have had to begin to work into that transition from what we call a wartime to a peacetime economy.

Listen carefully to what I say. Did you realize that when we look back to World War II and through World War II, that the periods when the United States of America has had full employment have usually been in times of war?

My friends, I think we want to have full employment and prosperity without war, and we can have it and we need it with your support.

This presents a temporary problem in some places, like California, in which we have a trained force of highly skilled people working in aircraft and in other industries that are associated with war production. But let me say this: that trained force is an enormous asset for the future, because as America moves from wartime production to peacetime production, the possibilities are enormous, the possibilities in the field of the environment, the possibilities in the field of health care, the possibilities in the field of education, the needs as far as transportation is concerned, the needs as far as housing is concerned.

In all of these areas, California's trained, skilled manpower will now move from the wartime economy to jobs for peace. This is the kind of a program that we are working on.

I realize that in a political campaign, particularly in the last days, some rather wild charges are made. And an attempt has been made, I understand, to inject into this campaign, an issue that is completely false and one which creates fear among people right in this area. I heard about it when I came off the plane today.

One of the reporters said, "What about the Ames laboratory? George Murphy's opponent has charged that the United States Government plans to close that right after election and that as soon as it is closed, 3,000 men will be put out of jobs."

This is what I find: First, anyone who checked, and a Congressman of the United States has the same right to check as a Senator or anybody else, would have found there has never been any intention of closing the Ames laboratory. It has never been discussed. It is not going to be closed and anyone who made that kind of charge did so with knowledge that it was false.

My friends, I think that is the fact.

California will move forward in this period with better jobs, jobs based on a far firmer foundation—not on the demands of war which can be temporary, and we hope will always be temporary, but on the sound progress of peace in the future.

Now, we come to a third point, the

problem of peace at home.

George Murphy referred to it. I realize it has been an issue here in California, as well as in other places. Let me tell you what I found here.

When we came into office, I found that in the previous 8 years, crime in the United States of America—listen to this—had gone up 158 percent, all kinds of crime: organized crime, street crime, drugs, narcotics, obscenity, pornography. And there was no program to do anything about it.

And I said over and over again in that campaign of 1968 that I intended to do something about it, that I was going to appoint stronger judges, that I was going to appoint stronger law enforcement officials, and that we were going to get stronger laws.

I tried to keep those promises. But let me tell you what happened: Eighteen months ago, I asked the Congress of the United States to send to me a program to deal with organized crime, to deal with narcotics and dangerous drugs, to deal with obscenity and pornography. And it has taken 18 months for that Congress, on this very urgent problem, to get the first bill to my desk for signature. They had to wait until an election was coming up.

That isn't soon enough. Let me say that we need in the United States Senate a man who not only talks and votes for supporting the President in his effort to stop the rise in crime, who not only talks and votes that way in the 2 months before election, but all year round. And George Murphy is an all-year-round crime fighter and that is the kind of man we need in the United States Senate.

Now, we move to the area of progress. There are so many areas here we could discuss: the plans this administration has submitted to the Congress for our environment 14 months ago—still not the action that we need—the plans in so many other areas. But whether it is in the environment or health care or housing, or in the case of our welfare program—and I will discuss that briefly so you can understand exactly where we stand here—I feel that it is essential to recognize that this government of ours has got to quit putting good money into bad programs, or we are going to end up with bad programs and bad money.

That is why we are reforming the institutions of government.

Let me discuss briefly the welfare program as we presently found it, what we are trying to do about it, and what we believe we can do about it if we get the proper support in the Congress of the United States.

Why change it? We don't want to change it because we are not interested in helping people in need. Let me say that in this great, rich country of ours, we ought to feel fortunate that any family, and particularly any children in a family, can be assisted when they are unable to take care of themselves.

Look what happened to our welfare program. Let me tell you about what I found as far as New York City was concerned. In 1966, in New York City, there were 600,000 people receiving welfare. In 1970, just 4 years later, there were 1,200,000 receiving welfare. They just go up and up and up, the number on the rolls, the costs, and no plans to bring it to an end.

What did we decide? I will tell you why we decided it.

We looked at that program; it was one that had no incentives for work, no incentives for job training, no requirements

for work that were adequate.

I say to you, my friends, let us take care of all those who need, but when a program makes it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when a program encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, we ought to get rid of it and get another program in its place.

That is why we are working on a welfare reform which provides, as we should, for assistance to all families that need it, but which also provides for a work requirement and which, in very simple language, makes this particular point: If a man is able to work, if he is trained for a job, if he is then offered a job, and if he refuses to work, he should not be paid to loaf by a taxpayer in the State of California or anyplace else.

Now I have one message particularly for the older people here, and then perhaps one for the younger people as I complete this day which started in Illinois and has taken me to Minnesota, Nebraska, and now California. I have been in now 15 States over the past couple of weeks: north, east, west, and south. I have had a chance to see the temper of America, to see great audiences, some of them supporting my proposals, others not. But most of them, like you, listening, trying to know what the issues are, trying to make a decision about your country and your future.

From time to time there have been problems in some of these rallies, as you may have noticed. Sometimes there are a few people in the hall or, like tonight, outside the hall. The Secret Service told me there are 900 demonstrators outside shouting their hatred for the United States and shouting also the usual obscenities that you expect from this kind of a crowd.

But let me just say this, my friends: I have seen America. Young Americans are getting a bad rap, and they are getting it because night after night on that television, what you see are the violent, radical few. You see a bombing here, a building is bombed, a bank is burned—just 10 miles from my home near the California campus at Irvine—or you see, as has been the case in some meetings, of people trying to break up a meeting, shouting down speakers, shouting down the President of the United States. And as you see those people on the television, you think that they are the majority of young Americans or, if not a majority, that they are going to be the leaders of the future.

Well, I have news for you: Those violent few, those radical few, they aren't a majority of young Americans, and they are not going to be the leaders of America in the future.

Now, again, all of you parents and others, you listen: I know young America. Young America is idealistic, and that is to their credit.

They want peace in the world, and that is to their credit.

They are not satisfied with things as they are, and that is to their credit. They care. They care about people that don't have the chance that they have, and that is to their credit .

They want change in America, and that is to their credit. Because a younger generation that was satisfied with things as they were would not be a great generation, and this has the potential for greatness.

But, my friends, the young generation that I have seen around this country, the great majority, while they want change, recognize that the greatness of America is that this country, for 190 years, provides a method for peacefully changing what you don't like.

And in a country that provides for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies violence and lawlessness in the United States of America.

My friends, how do you answer them? There is a very simple way. You don't answer in kind. You don't resort to violence. You don't try to shout them down.

The way you answer is with the most powerful weapon that free men have ever had, or women. And that is with a vote.

On November 3d, each person here of voting age has the opportunity for a moment to be the most powerful person in the world, because with his vote, he determines his future, the future of his State, the future of his Nation, and possibly the future of the world.

Tonight, I have tried to tell you how I believe that future would be served.

I believe, very honestly, it would be best served by supporting the candidates that I have mentioned tonight: Governor Reagan and our fine team at the State level, George Murphy and our team at the national level.

But, my friends, I simply want to say this as I conclude: The most important thing is you on November 3d—remember, that is when the power is to the people. Use that power and vote for what is best for America, and it will be best for you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in the San Jose Municipal Auditorium.

412 Statement About the Disorders at San Jose, California. *October* 29, 1970

THE STONING at San Jose is an example of the viciousness of the lawless elements in our society.

This was no outburst by a single individual. This was the action of an unruly mob that represents the worst in America. I have been careful to point out that these are the actions of a violent few.

It is important that all Americans keep this perspective. But the time has come to take the gloves off and speak to this kind of behavior in a forthright way. Freedom of speech and freedom of assembly cannot exist when people who peacefully attend rallies are attacked with flying rocks.

Tomorrow night at Anaheim I will discuss what America must do to end the wave of violence and terrorism by the radical antidemocratic elements in our society.

NOTE: The statement was released at El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, El Toro, Calif.

On November 3, 1970, a statement on the disorders by Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler was given to reporters at San Clemente, Calif. The statement read as follows:

Following the San Jose incident, there, of course, has been a lot of discussion and conjecture about it. I think everyone agrees that it was an unfortunate incident.

As the President said, this violent act by a few should not reflect on San Jose, nor should it reflect on the capabilities of the San Jose police force.

However, one thing, unfortunately, should be stated clearly, and this is the assessment of those riding in the Presidential car and in the Presidential motorcade. That is that the President's car and motorcade came under a barrage of rocks as it left the San Jose Auditorium.

It should be further said that reporters from various news organizations inspected the Presidential limousine and noted chips in the roof glass and other parts of the car.

I give these comments, not to take specific

issue with all of those who are discussing the San Jose incident, but simply to state two things—that published and broadcast reports of the incident were in no way exaggerated. It was a serious and unfortunate incident that I personally would hope never would occur again around the President of the United States and those accompanying him.

413 Remarks in Anaheim, California. *October* 30, 1970

Governor Reagan, Senator Murphy, my fellow Californians, my fellow Americans:

I cannot tell you what a proud moment it is for me to be addressing the Nation, for the first time in this campaign, from my native State of California. And I join with all of you in this great hall, and those of you in California, in giving my enthusiastic endorsement to the entire State ticket, and particularly to the leader of that ticket, a man who is the first man of the first State—Ronald Reagan.

And I also give my enthusiastic endorsement to all of those on the national ticket, the candidates for the House of Representatives, and to our candidate for the United States Senate for reelection—George Murphy.

I should like to give a personal testimonial with regard to George Murphy. I have known him for 25 years. I have known him for 6 years as a United States Senator. He is a very, very fine Senator. Just as important, he is a fine human being.

For all the years that I have known him, he has been dedicated to his family, to his church, to his State, and to his Nation. I am very proud that a man like George Murphy, who is a man of unquestioned integrity, unquestioned loyalty, unquestioned honesty, is my Senator from California and is my friend.

Ladies and gentlemen, after giving that personal testimonial, I am sure that that would seem to be enough with regard to why I feel George Murphy should be reelected Senator from California.

But to this audience here in California and to all of you listening across the country, I say it isn't enough simply that the individual is one who is a personal friend and is a member of your party.

In this year 1970, the issues are so important that we must not think in personal terms, we must not think in party terms, we must think of what is best for America. And it is because I believe that what George Murphy stands for, what the candidates for the United States Senate that I have campaigned across this country stand for—because I believe what they stand for is best for America, that I am for them and I hope you are for them, too.

This is probably the most important and decisive Senate election in the 190-year history of this country, because the present Senate is divided very narrowly. In vote after vote, a change of one vote, a majority of one, could make the difference as to whether or not the policy that the President of the United States pledged in his campaign is going to be adopted or whether it is going to be rejected.

I made some promises in the campaign of 1968. I am trying to keep those promises. The people of the United States expect their Presidents to keep their promises.

The President of the United States is a very powerful man. He is probably the most powerful man in the world because he heads the world's richest country and the world's strongest country.

But the President of the United States cannot do the job that needs to be done fully unless he has the support of the House and the support of the Senate.

That is why I say that tonight, whether it is in California or in your State where there is a Senate contest or a House contest, I ask you to vote for those men who will vote for the President rather than against him, so that the President can keep his promises to you, the American people.

Let me begin with the most important promise that I made in the last campaign. You all remember it. I made it right here in this very hall. It was that I would work to bring peace to America and to the world.

I have tried to keep that promise. I want to tell you what I found and I want to tell you what I have done. I want to tell you what we need if we are going to meet that great objective.

When I came into office, I found 550,000 Americans in Vietnam with no plan to bring them home. I found that our casualties were 300 a week and no plans to bring them down. I found that there was no peace plan being offered at the conference table in Paris.

I went to work. We adopted a plan to bring the war to an end. Instead of having a situation which had been the case for the previous 5 years when men were going to Vietnam, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and they will continue to come home.

Instead of casualties being at 300 a week, as a result of the strong action we took against the Cambodian sanctuaries, we have destroyed the enemy's capability to the point that our casualties are the lowest in 4½ years, and they will go lower as a result of that policy.

And the United States, because of the actions we have taken, has been able to present a peace proposal as far-reaching, as generous as anyone could possibly recommend, a proposal that contains a cease-fire, an exchange of prisoners, a negotiated settlement, and, of course, the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own government and our willingness to abide by that decision, whatever it is.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is what we have done. But now we come to the issue, the issue that divides the present Senate sometimes by one vote, sometimes two, sometimes three.

The issue is whether or not we should move faster. Some say, "Peace now." Some say, "Why not 6 months from now? Why not a deadline?"

Let me simply answer that in this way: The problem is not to end the war in Vietnam. After all, the President of the United States as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces could have ended the war the day that he came into office.

Let us remember that we have been in four wars in this century. We ended World War I. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. But let me say to these young people here particularly, because your future is involved: Do you realize that in this whole century, the 20th century, the people of America have not had a full generation of peace? So, what we want to do now, is to end this war in a way that we will discourage those that might start another war, so that we can

have a full generation of peace for all Americans.

You may have noted that one of the Senate critics of our peace policy toward Vietnam, who was asking for a more precipitate withdrawal, said that our best young men were going to Canada.

I disagree. Our best young men, my friends—our best young men are in Vietnam risking their lives so that those that protest "Peace now," won't have to go to Vietnam or fight another war in the future.

And tonight I can say to you, with assurance, we are bringing the war to an end. We are ending it in a way that will discourage those that might start another war, and that will give us a chance to have peace, not just for the next election, but peace for the next generation.

And if you want that, then it is important that we get backing, backing for the President from the Senate, backing that men like George Murphy and the others that I have campaigned for across this country have been giving. If you want that, it is also important that the President of the United States, whenever he negotiates with other countries—and particularly when he negotiates with the Soviet Union, as I will be negotiating in the future, and as my representatives will be, for the limitation of nuclear arms—when we negotiate, let us be sure that the President of the United States negotiates from strength and not from weakness.

So the issue is clear: We need Senators, we need Congressmen, who will recognize that a just peace in Vietnam, one that discourages the warmakers, and that a strong America are essential if we are going to have a generation of peace.

And that is what I ask the American people to consider as you vote on November 3d.

And as we consider the problem of peace abroad, let us turn to a closely related problem, that of peace at home.

The United States cannot lead the forces of peace abroad unless we can demonstrate that we can restore peace and keep peace right here at home in the United States of America.

Let me again tell you what I found. When I came into office, I found that in the previous 8 years crime had gone up 158 percent in this country, street crime, organized crime, the use of drugs and narcotics, the flow of obscenity and pornography into the homes.

I pledged certain things. I remember pledging it right here in this hall and in halls all across this country in the 1968 campaign.

I said that I would appoint stronger judges. I said that I would ask for stronger laws. I said that I would appoint a stronger Attorney General.

I have tried to keep those promises. But what have I found? We have had delay in the confirmation of the judges, and it took 18 months for the Congress to get the first one of the major crime bills that I asked for 18 months ago to my desk for signature, just before the election.

My friends, I tell you what we need in this field. Again, we need Members of the House and the Senate who will vote for the President and not against him, so that we can see to it that the wave of crime does not become the wave of the future in the United States of America.

Let us clearly understand the issue. The issue is not being for crime or against it. Everybody is against crime. But the issue is what do you do about it; how do you

act; how do you vote; how urgent is the problem to you?

I should point out to all of you here that as I look over this situation, I find that there are men in the House and the Senate who, as we approach an election, become very concerned about the issue. But what we need are men in the House and the Senate of the United States who not only talk that way in the 2 months of the election campaign, but who work and talk and vote for those measures that are necessary to stop the criminal elements all year round. And George Murphy and those that I am supporting are that kind of men.

And now, I turn to an event related to all this, that occurred in San Jose yesterday. You saw it on your television screens, an incident in which you saw 3,000 people inside listening to the speakers and 1,000 demonstrators outside, demonstrators who shouted epithets, but, in addition to that, who hurled bottles and rocks and bricks, broke windows, damaged the President's car, damaged the buses, injured some of the people in those buses.

It was a violent demonstration. And as that demonstration was concluded, there were those that were trying to indicate what it meant.

I want to give you tonight my judgment as to what that demonstration meant.

I say to you tonight, it is time to draw the line. I do not mean a party line. Because, when I speak of a line, I am referring not just to Republicans or Democrats, I am referring to a line between those who understand this problem and deal with it effectively and those who do not.

You recall what happened at the University of Wisconsin, where someone was killed in a lighted building. Listen to what the Wisconsin State Journal said in an editorial. "It isn't just the radicals that set the bomb in the lighted, occupied building who were guilty. The blood is on the hands of anyone who encouraged them, anyone who talked recklessly of revolution, anyone who has chided with mild disparagement the violence of extremism, while hinting that the cause was right all the time."

Here is what we must understand: We must recognize, my friends, that simply because the cause happens to be peace, no protest for peace justifies violence, justifies shouting down speakers, justifies lawlessness, or any kind of action.

My friends, what we must recognize is that in a system that provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence or lawlessness in the United States of America.

And it is time, also, for us to recognize that candidates for the Senate and the House who, in the past, have either condoned this, defended it, excused it, or failed to speak up against it—that these are men who do not have the qualifications now to take the strong stand that needs to be taken against this kind of lawlessness and this kind of violence.

I can say again, that across this country, I am proud to say that every candidate that I have spoken for is one that has not adopted this permissive attitude toward either crime or toward this kind of violent protest. So, stand with these men who understand the issues and whose record is clear on this point.

But now, let's keep this in perspective. As you saw that picture in San Jose yesterday of the violent few, and as you look at your television screens night after night, you may get the impression, with the rocks

being thrown, the shouting of the obscene words and the like, that the violent few among our youth are a majority of American youth today, or that they may be the leaders of America tomorrow.

My friends, I have good news for you. I have traveled this country. I have seen thousands of people over the past few months. I have seen thousands of young people. And I can tell you that the radical few that you see on your television screens night after night—they are not a majority of American youth today and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

My friends, it is time to answer those who have given this distorted and inaccurate picture of America. It is time for the great silent majority of Americans to stand up and be counted. And the way you can stand up and be counted is not to answer in kind. You don't have to resort to violence. You don't have to shout down speakers. You don't have to shout four-letter words.

The way to answer them, my friends, is on November 3d, to go to the polls and vote. And in that very moment when you vote, in the loneliness of that polling booth, you are the most powerful person in the world.

Vote for men who have a clear record of understanding these issues. Vote for men who have always stood against those who would tear America down.

And I urge you to vote for those men who will stand with the President, rather than against the President, for these policies, for progress without inflation in this country, for prosperity without war, for the reestablishment in America of respect for law and of laws that deserve respect.

And, above all, for the great objective that young Americans want, that all Americans want, a generation of peace for America and all the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:37 p.m. in the Anaheim Convention Center. His remarks were videotaped for broadcast at 8:30 p.m. on the CBS television network on time purchased by the Republican National Committee.

414 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Arizona. *October* 31, 1970

PAUL FANNIN and Jack Williams are a tested and experienced leadership team who deserve the support of all Arizonans who are concerned about effective government.

Paul Fannin is a man who has proven himself worthy of your trust—and mine—in the Senate of the United States. He is a man who will stand with the administration on the crucial issues. He shares our commitment to peace through strength—both in ending war abroad and in restoring order at home. Highly respected by his colleagues, Paul Fannin is an effective spokesman for Arizona in the United States Senate.

As mayor of Phoenix and as the first Republican Governor to work with a Republican legislature since statehood, Jack Williams has been a strong and a sound leader. He has fought effectively against crime, against corruption, and against pollution. His experience and proven ability make him exactly the right man to be

elected to the first 4-year term as your Governor.

Republican government means good government—in Arizona and in the Nation. I hope that the voters of Arizona will vote to support the Republican ticket in the coming elections.

NOTE: The statement was released at Phoenix, Ariz.

415 Remarks at Phoenix, Arizona. *October* 31, 1970

Governor Williams, Senator Fannin, Congressman Rhodes, Congressman Steiger, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and all the distinguished members of this audience:

I appreciate very much your wonderful reception. I understand, incidentally, that traffic is backed up for 3 miles. We saw it as we came in. I hope, incidentally, that our friends in radio and television that they have this on the radio, so the people in the cars can hear on the radio, and my greetings to you.

I am very happy to be back in Arizona. I remember my very young years when I was in Prescott on three different summers. I have very warm feelings about this State. As Barry Goldwater says, too, I was raised on Arizona's water, so we share something in common.

I am particularly impressed by the size of this crowd when I realize what we are competing with today, the homecoming at the University of Arizona at Tucson. I understand the Arizona State Fair—is that right?—it is going on now, and the opening of deer season.

And also, I am very appreciative of the fact that we have had some wonderful musical organizations that have been entertaining us and entertaining you before we were here. If I could just mention them briefly. I want all those who are listening on television and radio to hear it, too. I understand we have had from the choral groups—and let's give them all a hand—the Phoenix Boys' Club chorus, the Coronado High School choral group, The Phoenicians barbershop chorus, the Scottsdale High School Band, and the Arizona State University Band.

After that reception from that band, I can't resist just saying something to you that is going to get me in trouble someplace else. When I was in Texas a few days ago, they told me that Texas was number one. When I was in Ohio the other day, they told me that Ohio State was going to be number one. When I was in Indiana, they told me Notre Dame was going to be number one. When I was in northern California, they told me that Stanford was number one.

But, boy, when I am in Arizona, Arizona State is number one.

I am glad to be in the State of champions, a champion United States Senator and a man who belongs not only to Arizona but the whole Nation—Barry Goldwater.

And a champion in the form of the man that I am proud here to endorse, a very great Governor, one who has served this State and one who is among the top ranks among the Governors of the Nation, Governor Williams, of Arizona.

And champion Congressman, too, Johnny Rhodes, who serves in the leadership with me, and Congressman Steiger. Let me say for our congressional candidates, let's give them the hand that they deserve, too.

And finally, your United States Senator, the man who is up for reelection, the man who is among those for whom I am particularly campaigning across this country, because what happens in the Senate this year is perhaps the most important Senate race in the 190-year history of this country.

I simply want to say this about Paul Fannin: I have known him as you have known him for a number of years. I have known him as a fine Senator and as a fine man.

I also know this: that he is a man on whom I depend. I value his advice. I know that he fights for Arizona, but I also know that he fights for the defense of the United States of America, and we need that, too, in the United States Senate.

I am proud to endorse him. I don't know what I would do without him. Give him back, will you? How about it? We want him back.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you are all standing here and I know you have been standing for a long time, jammed up, and I don't want you to get tired. But I have selected this particular occasion for a major statement. A major statement that needs to be made, needs to be made now, not because it is the end of a political campaign, but because this problem has been building up in America.

It is time for the President of the United States to speak out clearly to the American people, not because he personally has been affected by it but because all of America is affected by what happened a couple of days ago in my home State of California, in San Jose.

You saw some of it on television. You saw the crowd inside, a crowd like this, 3,000 people, listening, cheering, indicating their interest in who might be the Governor, who might be the Senator, and, of course, showing respect for the office of the President of the United States. You saw also the crowd outside.

The crowd inside were exercising their right to peaceable assembly, as you are today. They were listening to political speakers. They were weighing the issues in the campaign of 1970.

And outside the hall there was a mob of about 1,000, maybe a few more. We could see the hate in their faces as we drove into the hall, and the obscene signs they waved. We could hear the hate in their voices as they chanted their obscenities.

And inside the hall, we could hear them pounding on the doors as if they could not bear the thought of people listening respectfully to the Governor of the State of California, the senior Senator, and the President of the United States.

Along the campaign trail we have seen and heard demonstrators, but never before in this campaign was there such an atmosphere of hatred. As we came out of the hall and entered the motorcade, the haters surged past the barricades.

They began throwing rocks. These were not small stones; they were large rocks. They were heavy enough to smash windows, windows in the press bus, windows in the staff cars. They weren't directed at me, though some did hit the Presidential car. Most of the rocks hit the buses and the other cars behind.

What is the reaction of the people who came—people like you? They are at a

rally, peaceably at a rally. Many who brought their children were terrified. Others were incensed at the insult to their elected leaders. And all were repelled by the atmosphere of violence and hatred that marred the event. And they thought to themselves, "Is this America? Is this the land where reason and peaceful discussion is the hallmark of a free society?"

Some say that the violent dissent is caused by the war in Vietnam. Well, ladies and gentlemen, my fellow Americans, it is about time we branded this line of thinking, this alibi for violence, for what it is: pure nonsense.

Those who carry a "peace" sign in one hand and throw a bomb or a brick with the other are the super hypocrites of our time.

My friends, the war is ending. Instead of sending men to Vietnam, we are bringing them home. Instead of casualties going up, they are coming down. A peace plan is on the table. And we are ending the war in a way that will discourage aggressors so that we can have not just peace for the next election, but peace for the next generation. That is what is happening, and that is what Americans are for.

And yet, as the war ends, the violence continues, and this is proof that these alibis are worthless.

Others say that the cause of violence is repression, but the people who came peaceably to the rally in San Jose—they were not repressing the haters outside. There is more freedom in the United States than anywhere else in the world, and it is about time that we cut out the nonsense—it is simply pure nonsense that repression is the cause of violence in the United States of America.

Violence in America today is not caused by the war; it is not caused by repression. There is no romantic ideal involved. Let's recognize these people for what they are. They are not romantic revolutionaries. They are the same thugs and hoodlums that have always plagued the good people.

And now the reason, a major reason, that they have gained such prominence in our national life, the major reason they dominate our television screens as they do night after night, the reason that they increasingly terrorize decent citizens, can be summed up in a single word: appeasement. When you permit an imbalance to exist that favors the accused over the victim, you are inviting more violence and breeding more bullies.

For too long, and this needs to be said and said now and here, the strength of freedom in our society has been eroded by a creeping permissiveness in our legislatures, in our courts, in our family life, and in our colleges and universities.

For too long, we have appeased aggression here at home, and, as with all appeasement, the result has been more aggression and more violence. The time has come to draw the line. The time has come for the great silent majority of Americans of all ages, of every political persuasion, to stand up and be counted against appeasement of the rock throwers and the obscenity shouters in America.

My fellow Americans, let us understand this is not a partisan issue. There is no candidate of either party that is for crime, that is for violence. The choice before the American people next week is not so simple as picking between the proviolent and the antiviolent. Everyone denounces violence.

The choice is between approaches to the same goal. One approach holds that violence will end as we end the war; that violence will end as we give more

power to those who demand more power; that violence will end as we end hunger and poverty in America.

The people who believe in this approach are sincere Americans. They have every right to this point of view. But I believe that their approach has led us down a path of appeasement that has resulted in the very thing that they abhor most: the increase in violence, the limiting of personal freedom.

For years now, it has been fashionable to portray ours, this great country of America, as a sick society; to belittle its successes and breastbeat about its shortcomings; to make automatic heroes out of those who protest as if the act of protest—regardless of what was being protested, or how it was done, or whose rights were being infringed, or even whether the protesters had anything better to offer—as if this act itself were the mark of some higher virtue, and when rituals of protest began establishing a tyranny of their own, there were many who somehow forgot that tyranny is wrong, whatever its form—whether the tyranny of government, or the tyranny of terrorists, or the tyranny of those who shout down speakers, or the tyranny of those who would shut down colleges or blockade streets in an effort to impose their own views on others.

That way is not the American way and that way will not be the American way as long as those who care about freedom and decency and respect for the rights of one another stand up and be counted.

For a decade, now, this approach dominated America. It has obviously failed. The time has come to try a new approach.

Let me first point out what this new approach, our approach, is not. The answer to bluster is not more bluster. The answer to bluster is firmness. The answer to a wave of violence is not a wave of repression. That is exactly what the violent few want so that they can enlist the sympathies of the moderates.

The answer to violence is the strong application of fair American justice.

And the answer to violent dissent is not oppression of legitimate dissent. The great danger to dissent today comes not from the forces of law, but from the organized tyranny of some dissenters.

Now, let me spell out what the new approach, our approach, is:

First, the new approach to violence calls for new and strong laws that will give the peace forces new muscle to deal with the criminal forces in the United States of America. And in the United States Senate, Paul Fannin, and in the House of Representatives, Johnny Rhodes and Sam Steiger, have stood firmly with the President for that proposition and we need them back.

I have called for a whole series of laws. But because we have not had enough support in the House and the Senate, Congress has dillydallied; Congress has bottled them up in committee; Congress has passed only part of a program I asked for; and then they waited until just before the election.

The new approach to violence requires men in Congress who will work for and fight for laws that will put the terrorists where they belong—not roaming around civil society, but behind bars. That is where they belong.

And our new approach calls for a new approach to the interpretation of the laws we already have. I will continue to appoint judges to the Supreme Court and to all the courts who have an awareness of the rights of the victim as well as the rights of the accused.

And I need men in the United States Senate like Paul Fannin who will back me up when I send those recommendations for such judges to the United States Senate.

Third, our new approach to violence calls for a new attitude on the part of the American people—on your part, all of us. "Law and order" are not code words for racism or repression. "Law and order" are code words for freedom from fear in America.

This new attitude means that parents must exercise their responsibility for moral guidance. It means that college administrators and college faculties must stop caving in to the demands of a radical few. It means that moderate students must take a position that says to the violent: "Hit the books or hit the road."

This new attitude means that all Americans should stand with the men who are assigned to carry out the laws. After all, my friends, the first step toward respect for law is respect for the lawman. Let's give him the respect that he deserves.

Today I have been describing two approaches to violence in America. While the goal of ending violence is the same, the two approaches are very different. But don't let anybody tell you everybody is against violence, it is not an issue. The two approaches are deeply different. It is an issue, one of the central issues in America today.

If we do not act now to protect our freedom, we will lose our freedom. If we do not choose the tough-minded approach to violence, we will allow violence to gain a terrible momentum. If a man chooses to dress differently, to wear his hair differently—if he has any—or to talk in a way that repels decent people, that is his business. But when he picks up a rock, then it becomes your business and my business to stop him. Because, you see, that is what American freedom is all about.

When a man cannot bring his child—and I see so many wonderful children here today—when he can't bring his child to a political rally for fear that the person in the next seat is going to start yelling some filthy obscenity; when a man can't bring his wife to a rally for fear she is going to be pushed around by an unruly mob; and when any American faces the risk of a rock being thrown at him when he rises to speak, then I say appeasement has gone too far and it is time to draw the line.

Since 1776, this great Nation of ours has never knuckled under to the tactics of terror, abroad or at home, and we are not about to start in the year 1970.

And now could I add a personal note? The terrorists, the far left, would like nothing better than to make the President of the United States a prisoner in the White House. Well, let me just set them straight. As long as I am President, no band of violent thugs is going to keep me from going out and speaking with the American people wherever they want to hear me and wherever I want to go. This is a free country, and I fully intend to share that freedom with my fellow Americans. This President is not going to be cooped up in the White House.

To keep this country free, to adopt the new approach to violence, to answer those who shout their four-letter words and abuse the right of free speech, what can you do, particularly you of voting age, as an individual? I will tell you what.

You don't have to shout back the same obscenities. You don't have to pick up a rock or a stone or a bomb. You have your vote. That is more powerful than any obscenity, any word; more powerful than

a bomb. That vote of yours is what makes this Government respond. That vote of yours can bring about the new tough-minded approach to violence that threatens freedom.

Many people have asked me why I have been campaigning so hard in the past few weeks when my own name isn't on the ballot. "You are risking your prestige," they say. "After all, if some of the people you campaign for lose, you are going to be hurt." I am a lot less interested in my prestige than I am in the future of this country that we all love.

The American people, and the people of Arizona joined with them, elected me 2 years ago to do a job. I am trying to do that job, and I need help. I need help in the Congress to put across the programs that will make America strong enough to bring a full generation of peace abroad and strong enough to turn back the threat to peace and order at home.

My fellow Americans, America is a great country. Americans are a great people. And Americans together share a great future. I have seen this. I have felt this from an airplane hangar in Vermont to the warmth and good will of that vast majority of the people in San Jose.

I want to say, too, to young Americans, as I said last night and I repeat it here with so many young Americans: Night after night on the television screen you get an inaccurate picture of young Americans. You see the bomb throwers, the rock throwers, those shouting out the filthy words, trying to shout down speakers. And you get the impression that they are a majority of young Americans or maybe the leaders of the future.

Well, I have news for you. I have seen young Americans all over the country and those that appear on the television screens night after night, they are not a majority of young Americans today and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

My fellow Americans, the message in the campaign of 1970 is very simple. It is this: Have faith in this great country. Have faith in your ability to improve this country with your vote. And have faith in a system that has resisted attack from the violent few for almost two centuries.

Nobody is going to tear this country down as long as you are ready to cast your vote to build this country up.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:54 a.m. at Sky Harbor Airport. His remarks were videotaped and portions were broadcast on television on the evening of November 2, 1970, on time purchased by the Republican National Committee. An advance text was released on October 31.

416 Telegram to the President of the Student Body of San Jose State College. *October* 31, 1970

I GREATLY appreciated your comments about the incident Thursday night in San Jose. You can be sure that I was totally aware of the fact that only a small number of San Jose students participated, that a substantial number of those who created the disturbance were from outside of the city, and that the overwhelming majority of San Jose State's 24,000 students completely disapprove of violence and lawlessness as tactics which can be used to further any cause.

I have great faith in young Americans because of their idealism. I share their

concern for peace at home and abroad. I admire them for their idealism and for their desire not only to make a good living for themselves when they finish school, but to make life good for less fortunate people across this Nation and in the world who have not had the opportunity for a fine education.

I recall two previous occasions when I have visited the campus of San Jose State and received a very friendly welcome from students who were there to listen and who would have been completely repelled by any group who tried to deny them their right to listen by shouting down the speaker.

I hope you will extend my very best wishes to all the members of the San Jose State student body. I pledge to you, and to them, that I will do everything I possibly can to achieve the goal which we have not had in this century—a full generation of peace for them and, hopefully, for their children.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the telegram, addressed to Mr. Bill Langin, was released at Phoenix, Ariz.

417 Letter to the Publisher of the San Jose Mercury News. *October* 31, 1970

Dear Joe:

I want you to know that I will assume personal responsibility for seeing to it that the ugly incident at the Rally on Thursday night does not reflect on the good name of San Jose and the fine people in that community. It is quite obvious that the violent radicals selected this particular occasion to create an incident, and the fact that it happened to occur in San Jose can be no reflection whatever on the people of that community or on San Jose State College.

Through the years, going back to 1950, I have visited San Jose on many occasions and have always come away with memories of the cordial receptions I have received there. I shall remember Thursday night for the five thousand people in the Hall who were listening courteously to what I had to say and gave me a very friendly reception after my remarks, rather than the thousand or so ugly demonstrators outside the Hall. I look forward to the time when I can return to San Jose on another occasion. Perhaps you and I can have another visit from the balcony of your beautiful home and see the progress that has occurred in that Valley since the last time we were there.

Best personal regards,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of the letter, addressed to Mr. Joseph Ridder, was released at Phoenix, Ariz.

418 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in New Mexico. *October* 31, 1970

THE NATION and the State of New Mexico need Andy Carter in the United States Senate and Pete Domenici in the statehouse. I am proud to give them my endorsement.

Andy Carter is a man who will stand

with the national administration in Washington as we take our positions on the great issues of our time. He is a man who believes that the Nation must maintain a strong defense posture. He also takes a strong stand against lawlessness and violence at home. When Andy Carter becomes the junior Senator from the "Land of Enchantment," he will provide a fresh voice in Washington, a voice of which all New Mexicans will be proud.

Pete Domenici comes before the voters of New Mexico with a strong and specific platform, a positive program that will bring more jobs, better education, and greater safety to the people of this State. He is already a proven leader, a man with invaluable experience in local government. He is a man who will do more for New Mexico when he becomes your Governor.

I regard both Andy Carter and Pete Domenici as good friends of the Nixon administration. They and all the Republican candidates in this State deserve your support on November 3d.

NOTE: The statement was released at Albuquerque, N. Mex.

419 Remarks in Albuquerque, New Mexico. *October* 31, 1970

Governor Cargo, Congressman Foreman, Congressman Lujan, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and this wonderful audience here in Albuquerque:

Somebody reminded me, as I was at the airport, that I had not campaigned in New Mexico in the 1968 elections. I did, however, campaign when I was running for President in 1960. I remember what I said.

I said that I would return to New Mexico as President of the United States. I am returning, but a little later than I thought.

I want to express my appreciation to all of you who have come here, to the enormous overflow audience outside. I hope they can listen by loudspeakers. We tried to shake hands with a few as we came in.

My appreciation, too, to the musical organizations that are here. I don't want to overlook any of them, but I understand that outside we have the Manzano High School Band.

So that there is no discrimination, the Manzano choral group is inside, right over here.

I understand that inside we have also the Paul Muench Jazz Band. That is here someplace. And somebody told me the Highland High School Band is here.

I just hope our candidates score as well as Highland High School has been scoring in its football games.

On this occasion in the closing days of the campaign, I have come to New Mexico, as you know, to talk to you about a very important decision that you will be making next Tuesday. I am not going to talk to you in the usual terms that you hear at the close of a campaign—you know, vote Republican or vote Democratic, regardless of what you may think of the man.

I would like to talk to you in terms that I think are more appropriate to the times and ones that the people of New Mexico particularly appreciate.

I realize that I would not have carried

New Mexico in 1968, had it not been for the fact that I had the support, not only of Republicans but of great numbers of Democrats and Independents.

And so today, I address my remarks to all the people of New Mexico, and to those that may be listening in other parts of the country, to all the people of America. I don't expect all of you to agree. I only ask you to consider what I have and my responsibilities are, and to consider my recommendations in that light, and then make your decisions on November 3d and let it be a decision of the majority and not just of the few who might take the time to go to the polls.

Therefore, in that spirit, I would like to talk to you about our candidates, the people that I think deserve your support.

First, at the State level: I think you have a great State ticket right here in the State of New Mexico. Pete Domenici is a man that I have not known well in the past, but that I got to know during the course of this campaign.

What I like about him is that he has his eyes on the future. He is thinking of the future of young people. He is thinking of jobs. He is thinking of jobs and progress.

Like Dave Cargo before him, also a man who thought of this State in terms of the future, he is thinking of how this great, beautiful State can move into the seventies and the eighties with all of the promise that it has.

As our plane circled Albuquerque, and as we came down, I thought what a beautiful country this is. I thought what a really beautiful country it is.

And I thought how wise it was that we were putting so many of our Federal installations here, our defense installations.

And incidentally, they are here because this is the place they should be, because this is the area where I believe we can best serve the interests of America, not just the interests of New Mexico.

I think, too, of the future. I think of other Federal installations and why, instead of going as they so often do, too often, to the overcrowded centers of population on one end of the country or the other, they can come to this great area in the middle of the country, in which people have a chance to live in a State with all of the progress and all of the possibilities that New Mexico has.

It is because Pete Domenici is a man of the future, a man who understands the problems of the future. I am for him all the way and I hope you are for him.

Now, I am going to talk about the House races a moment. Normally, I haven't had a chance to go into House races, because usually when I appear in a State like California or Ohio, there are so many House candidates that if I mention the candidates, I will have no time to mention the Senate candidate, and I have to say something about him, too, usually.

As far as your House candidates here, you have two. They are men who surprised everybody by winning in 1968. They are going to win again in 1970. I can tell you.

Ed Foreman and Manny Lujan, I have valued their support. They have been with the President on the great issues. I value them as friends. I believe they are wonderful representatives of their districts, of this State, and of America. I ask you to support them.

And now, I come to the candidate for the United States Senate. Let me say first that I understand there was a primary in this State, as there were in others. Let me say, second, that I think that in the best interest of the State and the best interest of the Nation, it is in a fine tradition that

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the man who was not successful in the primary is supporting the man who was.

Let me say I have won a few elections, I have lost a few, and believe me, winning is a lot more fun.

Therefore, my hat is off to Dave Cargo, who is giving his support to the man I am supporting, Andy Carter, for the United States Senate.

I want to tell you now why it is so very, very important that that happen. Why even despite the fact that you have a primary campaign—and you know how people can get pretty stirred up about the other fellow, what he said and what his people said about you and all the rest.

But this year, personal differences, personal attitudes, party labels cannot be the major consideration in our decision. What is involved in the campaign for the United States Senate is a decision that is more important than in any Senate race in the whole history of this country, in my opinion.

Let me tell you about the United States Senate today. It is divided very, very closely. If you have watched the votes, a change of one vote on national defense, a change of one vote on our peace policy in Vietnam, a change of one vote on the approval of a judge who would take a strong line on law and order, a change of one vote in issue after issue might have changed the result.

So what we are talking about is the man—it happens to be in this case Andy Carter, in other States it happens to be the other candidates I am supporting—but a man, who could make the difference as to whether the people of New Mexico want to send down to Washington, D.C., a man who, on not all votes because we want a man to be independent but on the great votes, the votes that make the difference, the ones which enable the President to keep the promises that he made to the American people—whether that man is going to be with the President or against him.

And I say I come here to New Mexico because I made some promises to the people of this Nation in 1968. The people expect me to keep those promises. I am trying to keep those promises. I can't keep them unless I have more support in the Senate, more support in the House of Representatives.

And it is because Andy Carter will be with me rather than against me in the big issues, I ask you to support him for the United States Senate.

Now for just a few moments, listen to me carefully as I outline what I consider to be perhaps the four major issues that you are thinking about, that the people of America are thinking about, the four big issues where there is a clear difference of opinion between two men in this State. I respect both. I am not here to campaign against a man personally, or the rest.

But four great issues where Andy Carter will be with me and where the present man who is in the Senate has opposed me—not me as a person, but opposed those policies and those programs that I pledged to put into effect if I were elected President.

First, let me talk about the problem of peace. I am referring not to just peace for the next election. I am referring to peace for the next generation.

Here is what I found. When I came into office I found 550,000 men in Vietnam, no plans to bring them home; casualties 300 a week, going up; no peace plan. We went to work. And as we went to work what we did is that instead of sending more men to Vietnam, we are bringing them home

by the tens of thousands.

My friends, our casualties are the lowest in 4½ years. We have a peace plan on the bargaining table in Paris. And I will say this, we are on the road. Our plan is working. The war is coming to an end. And we are going to end it in a way in which we are going to discourage those that might start another war.

Now let me tell you why it is important to do it that way. The problem, my friends, is not ending a war. To all of you young people here, you study this in college, and you study it in high school, and you have read about what has happened in this century. We ended World War I, you remember. We ended World War II, you remember that. We ended the Korean war. But did you know that in this whole century we have yet to have a full generation of peace, and I have pledged to myself and I have pledged to the American people we are going to end this war in a way that will discourage the warmakers so that we can have a full generation of peace for the American people.

And the question then is very clear. Andy Carter's opponent has voted consistently for those proposals in the United States Senate that would not back the President on this issue; that would call for a precipitate withdrawal; that would mean that we would end the war all right but end it in a way that the United States would, in effect, suffer either humiliation or defeat.

My friends, defeat or humiliation for the United States anyplace in the world hurts the cause of peace. We have to have a United States that is respected in the world, and we are not going to be defeated.

There is also a second important principle if we are going to have a generation of peace. We have to keep America strong.

Let me tell you why: The President of the United States has a responsibility, along with his associates, for negotiating with the Soviet Union and other major powers, and particularly with the Soviet Union on limiting nuclear arms so that we can reduce the danger of any war, and particularly a nuclear war.

We are going to proceed in that era of negotiation. But in order to do so, we have to have some cards on our side of the table. And what we find here, then, is another clear difference of opinion. On the one hand, the present Senator, against whom Andy Carter is running, voted—and I know he believed this way, he was sincere in voting that way—voted to take one card away, voted against having a missile defense for the United States when the Soviet Union had it.

I say don't send the President of the United States to the bargaining table with the Soviet Union in a position of weakness. Put him there in a position of strength. That is what we need to have.

And it doesn't do any good to talk about bases in New Mexico and vote against the programs for the defense of the United States in Washington, D.C.

There is a clear difference of opinion between two honest men, and I say to you one is for, one is against. But I have the responsibility, and I am going to have it for the next 2 years, the responsibility to make the decisions that I think will bring an end to the war in a way that will promote a lasting peace for the world. And I ask for your support, the support of the people of New Mexico on that issue.

We have another problem closely related to this: the problem of peace at home. Why is peace at home related to the problem of peace abroad? Because

the United States is the leader of the free world. As the Nation that has in its hands the responsibility for being an example of a society of order, if we are not able to keep order at home, we are not going to be able to exert the leadership that is necessary to advocate a rule of law and order abroad.

So the question of peace at home is very important. It is, of course, important another way: because it affects the safety of our homes, the safety of our children, of our wives, of all of us in this country.

Here is what I found there: I found, when I came into office, that crime had gone up 158 percent in 8 years, and I found the reason for it—one of the reasons, at least, the major reason, was an attitude of permissiveness toward crime, again by well-intentioned people—I just don't happen to agree with them—but well-intentioned people. Permissiveness by judges, permissiveness by law enforcement officials, and permissiveness by lawmakers who didn't pass the strong laws that were needed.

In the campaign of 1968, if you heard me on television, if you heard my acceptance speech at Miami, you heard what I said.

I said that I would appoint a stronger Attorney General. I said I would appoint stronger judges. I said I would ask for stronger laws. I have tried to do all of those things.

This is what has happened: We have the Senate of the United States delaying and delaying and delaying in approving the judges who will take a strong stand in strengthening what I think the American people want. We need to strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in the United States of America.

I asked for stronger laws, and what happened?

Ed Foreman can tell you, and Manny Lujan can tell you.

For 18 months, they dillydallied and waited, and I just got, just as the election was coming, the first bill on organized crime, and the next one dealing with drugs and narcotics. We must do better than that. We need men in the United States Senate, a man like Andy Carter, and the two men that are your candidates here, men who will support the President when he asks for stronger laws, men who will vote to approve those judges, who are going to take that strong position for respect for law and for enforcing the law.

We need men who will do that, because only that way can I keep the promise I made to the American people. And I make it again here to you today.

The wave of crime is not going to be the wave of the future for these young people of America.

And now to the fourth point. I direct this particularly to those thinking of the future of this great western part of the United States which we all love and which we share together.

That is: What does the future hold? Here we have programs of progress, what kind of an America are we going to build? You know, we are a rather young country by some standards but very old in terms of the democracies in the world—190 years old. We are going to celebrate our 200th anniversary, as you know, the Declaration of Independence, in 1976. And I have been thinking of what we want America to be then.

Among those things that I want, I say it is time to reform the institutions of government. One thing we need to do: In-

stead of having, as has been the case for 190 years, a power constantly flowing from the States and from the people to Washington, let's reverse it. I think it is time to have the power flow back from Washington to the States and to the people. Let's bring power to the people of the United States of America.

I am sure you young people here say, "That is just a good political science point. What is it all about? Why does it mean something?" I will tell you why it means it: because it means better government. It means government that is closer to the people. It means that decisions that are made with regard to the future of the people of New Mexico will be made by people closer to home rather than some bureaucrat back in Washington, D.C., who may not know what is best for people here.

It means also, looking to the period of reform, that we in Washington now—and this is part of our exciting new program—we are thinking of where people are going to be. We are thinking of what is really the new frontier in this country. It is no longer in the Far West; it is no longer far across the oceans.

But it is in that section of the country over which those who went clear to the Far West traveled.

Here in New Mexico, in Arizona, in Nevada, in Colorado, in Montana—what a great part of the country in which we need to see that there is the development of opportunities—opportunities for jobs, opportunities for progress—so that people that want to live in one of the best parts of America can have a job so that they can live here. That is what we stand for.

And now, finally, I want to speak briefly about a sign I saw at your airport. The sign said, "This is not San Jose. Welcome."

And, friends, I expected you to react that way when I said that. But now I want to tell you what the truth of the matter is. Don't get the wrong impression of San Jose, and don't get it, because, my friends, I have been to that beautiful city in California many times. It is a city, like the city of Albuquerque, that the people are very proud of. It is a city of peace-loving people, a city in which people come out, as they do here, 3,000, to hear the President of the United States, who listen, who try to give him an opportunity to express his views, and then give others the opportunity to express contrary views if they want to.

I simply want to say to you that what happened in San Jose was the work of a very few, a violent few. Let me also say that in every city I have seen young people, some of them carrying signs saying "Peace now," some of them indicating opposition to the President, opposition to his proposals. They have every right to do that. They have a right to speak out.

What I do say, however, is this: I say that for—and here is where we draw the line—that those who carry a peace sign in one hand and a bomb or a brick in the other are the super hypocrites of our time.

And to the older people here, don't get the wrong impression of San Jose—a fine, good, American city, or of San Jose State College, a college of 24,000. The president of the student body wired me and said, "The overwhelming majority disapproved of what happened there."

Don't get the wrong impression of our young people, I say to you older people here. You see on your television screen night after night the bad young people. Well, it is time we saw more of the good young people on television.

Show them. Here they are.

I know from what you see on television night after night, you would think that the violent, radical few are a majority of American youth today and may be the leaders of America tomorrow.

Well, I have news for you. I have been around this country, and the radical few are not a majority of youth today, and they are not going to be the leaders of America tomorrow.

To those of you who are young, may I say, don't lose faith in this country, and don't just agree with everything that those of us who are old, what we have done. I admire American youth. I have faith in American youth.

I have faith in you, because you are idealistic, because you do care, because you do want peace, because you want a better life for all people. May you always want it. May you always want to change America for the better.

But, remember—and I know you all know this—that in a system that provides a method for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence or lawlessness. That is the simple rule.

What can you all do about this? How do you answer the rock throwers and the obscenity shouters?

You don't answer them in kind. You have got a more powerful weapon. You have got a peaceful weapon—the weapon of a vote.

November 3d you go into the polling booth and vote. Some of you will not vote the way I want you to vote. That is not important. You are going to vote.

The important thing is that when you vote on November 3d, that vote is going to represent not the minority but the majority in this country.

And I say that it is time for the great silent majority to be heard.

Be heard on November 3d. Vote and let America know what you think.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in Highland High School.

420 Statement in Support of Republican Candidates in Nevada. *October* 31, 1970

TO MEET the challenges which face us in the 1970's, our Nation needs leaders like Bill Raggio and Ed Fike. As part of our team, they will help solve the problems of violence, crime, and drugs; help us beat inflation and complete a smooth transition to a peacetime economy; and help us bring a generation of peace to the world.

With Bill Raggio in the Senate, the voice of the people of Nevada will be heard and heeded in the Congress and the White House. His expert law enforcement experience will be an asset to the Senate, and his strong support of fiscal responsibility will help us beat inflation and curb the irresponsible Federal spending which feeds it.

I have known Ed Fike to be a man of honesty, integrity, and great ability throughout our years of friendship. He is a hard-working leader who has won the respect of people all across the Nation. He has worked his way up in the best American tradition, and as Governor he will provide creative, firm, and dependable leadership of which Nevada can be proud.

NOTE: The statement was released at Las Vegas, Nev.

421 Remarks in Las Vegas, Nevada. *October* 31, 1970

Governor Laxalt, all of the distinguished guests on the platform, and this very great audience in the Convention Center here in Nevada:

I, too, am proud to be here on the 106th birthday of this great State, and I am particularly proud to be in this State, and I have been in all the 50 States of this Nation, but I have a very special feeling for this State because it is the birthplace of my First Lady and America's First Lady, Pat Nixon.

She is not with me today because, as you get near the end of the campaign, we like to campaign every place we can. She is campaigning in northern California for George Murphy and Ronald Reagan.

And Tricia is campaigning in Cleveland, Ohio, for Bob Taft, and Julie is in Pennsylvania for the Pennsylvania ticket; David is in the Navy in Newport.

The reasons for this all-out family venture, I will indicate in a moment. At this time, I particularly want to express my appreciation to all of you for coming out and giving me such a wonderfully warm welcome on such a magnificent day in this miracle city of the West—and what a miracle city it is.

I want to thank all of those who have been providing entertainment for the audience before we got here. I must say to provide entertainment here in Las Vegas is really competitive. As we were coming down the line, I want to express appreciation for the fact that in hotel after hotel, there were the signs out, "Welcome President Nixon." I am very happy, and I want to thank you.

And to our musical entertainment—The Kids Next Door,[1] I understand, were here. Let's give them a hand.

Wayne Newton[2] flew in for this meeting. I want to thank him.

Usually I ask them to put on the card the high school band that is going to play. They had to give me two cards today. The Basic High School Band, the Rancho High School Band, the Western High School Band, the Las Vegas High School Band, and the Rancho High School Choir. What a great group.

Let's give our young people, the good young people, a hand. How about that.

And now in the closing days of this campaign, I have come to Nevada, as you know, for a purpose, one in the great tradition of American politics.

I have a responsibility to speak for those men that I believe will best serve the interests of the Nation and the interests of this State where those interests are tied together.

I am here and very proud to endorse the members from the State ticket. First, before speaking of those that are running, I want to say something about a man who is not on the ticket, but with whom I have been very proud to work over the past 4 years: Paul Laxalt.

He has made a record for progressive leadership in this State which has been an example for all of the Governors of the Nation. And I am very, very happy to pay respects to him, to thank him for his public service and tell him that I look forward

[1] A singing group.

[2] A popular singer.

to the day when he returns to public service at some time in the future.

I am very happy that in the State of Nevada, and I think the people of Nevada should be happy, that in the Lieutenant Governor of this State, Ed Fike, you have a man who will continue in the tradition of Paul Laxalt.

May I say something quite personal about him? I have known Ed Fike for 15 years. Long before he became Lieutenant Governor, I knew him as I campaigned in this State. He is a man of very great intelligence. He is a hard-working man. He is a man who knows government. He is a man of unquestioned honesty and integrity. I am proud to endorse him.

And now I turn to the race for the United States Senate. This is, my friends, in Nevada, one of the most important races in the Nation. It is one of the most important races in the Nation, because the contest for the United States Senate this year is probably the most important contest for the United States Senate in the whole 190-year history of this country.

I say that because we have a Senate over the past 2 years that is evenly divided. On vote after vote, a shift of one vote makes the difference as to whether the policies that the President recommends—I don't mean everything, but I mean those policies he recommends in which he has pledged action for the American people—a shift of one vote determines whether those policies are going to be approved or whether they are not going to be approved.

And so, today, I want to talk to you about your next United States Senator, what the vote means, why I am here, and what I would hope you would do.

I am not going to talk to you in terms of: if you are a Republican I want you to vote Republican, or a Democrat, vote Democrat, or as the case might be.

As we get toward the last days of this campaign, I say what happens to America is far more important than whether you are a Democrat or Republican. Let's vote American this year.

Both of the candidates for the United States Senate are good Americans. I know both of them. It happens that in the case of one candidate, the man who is the present incumbent Senator, I have had some differences. I respect his right to differ.

It happens also that as far as the candidate I am supporting, Bill Raggio, I find that he does not agree with me on everything.

In the great tradition of Nevada, he is not going to be a rubber stamp. He is going to vote his convictions and I respect that in any man. That is the kind of man you want in the United States Senate.

Now, let me put it right straight from the shoulder like the people of Nevada like it. And I have been here enough to know how you like to hear it.

I was elected President of the United States in 1968. Nevada voted for me for President of the United States. When I was elected President of the United States, I made some promises to the people of America. The people of America expect their Presidents—and they have every right to expect their Presidents—to keep their promises.

The President of the United States is a very powerful man. Because this is the richest country and the strongest country in the world, he is the most powerful man in the world, probably.

But the President of the United States

cannot do what needs to be done. He cannot keep the promises that he made to the American people and that the American people want him to keep and expect him to keep, unless he has people in the Senate and in the House who will vote with him, rather than against him on the big issues.

Let me be more precise: There are many, many votes in the course of a year in the United States Senate. Nobody votes with the administration all the time. I do not expect it. I would not respect one who agreed with me every bit of the time, because no one in our country is right all the time. We just try to be right.

But, on the other hand, I think it is only appropriate that the voters of Nevada know what the facts are with regard to this Senate contest.

Again I repeat, the present Senator from Nevada is a man who with sincere conviction has voted against the President 70 percent of the time on the key issues. Now, let's repeat again. Let us understand what we are talking about.

I was elected President. I made some promises. If I can keep those promises I will, if I am able to. I can do so only if I have support from the United States Senate, a Senate that is divided usually by a majority of one.

I respect a man in the Senate when he votes against me from time to time. But, it seems to me, that the man who is elected President of the country and who received the endorsement and the support of the State of Nevada in that election, should have a Senator—not one that votes with him 100 percent of the time, but certainly one who will vote with him more than 50 percent of the time. And Bill Raggio will do that.

So you see the key question that you are going to have to answer. You want me to do a job, you want me to keep my promises. I am going to do that job and I want to keep my promises. The question is: Do you want a Senator who is going to vote against me 70 percent of the time or one who more than half the time will support the President on the big issues?

Now let me come to the big issues and you can then give your own evaluation as to whether or not you believe the President deserves support on those issues.

I begin with what is certainly the most important issue of all. You remember when I spoke in the campaign that I said over and over again that the primary responsibility of the next President of the United States would be to develop policies that would bring lasting peace in the world. I have been working toward that end. We have made progress toward that end.

The war in Vietnam, in which we had 550,000 Americans there when I arrived in office, instead of having the situation where for 5 years we were sending men into Vietnam, they have been coming out by the tens of thousands. I think the American people like that policy.

We have a peace plan on the conference table in Paris.

Casualties are down as a result of the strong action I took in Cambodia. And so, as a result of this, we are on the road to ending the war in Vietnam and ending it in a way that we will discourage those who might start another war.

And let me make that point very precisely, because I note here as I note in some other places people who understandably say "Peace now."

Let me tell you, the problem is not

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ending a war. America has ended three wars in this century. We ended World War I, you remember. We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war.

But listen to this, you younger people that are here, all the members of those high school bands and the college students: Do you realize that in this century, despite the fact that we have ended the three wars, we have never had a full generation of peace?

And so I have made a pledge to myself, and I make a pledge to the American people: We are going to end this war in a way that will discourage the warmakers so that we will have a chance to have a generation of peace for all Americans.

That is why when key amendments like Cooper-Church come up, that is why it is very important that we have in the United States Senate men who will back the President, back the President in a chance to get a just peace, one that will last, rather than a temporary peace.

Now we come to the broader aspect of peace. I speak here in Nevada, a State which is one of the key States in our whole defense and space complex. Let me tell you about that defense program, why it is so important.

The President of the United States and his colleagues are going to have to negotiate in the months and perhaps the years ahead with the Soviet Union in the critical area of nuclear arms. I have indicated that we should move from a period of confrontation to negotiation.

As we negotiate, it is vitally essential that we have something to negotiate with. In other words, it is essential, when you are negotiating with somebody else, that the President of the United States negotiate from strength and not from weakness. So let's keep America strong.

And now I come to one of those key votes, a key vote where a majority of one determined whether the United States President would negotiate from strength rather than from weakness.

A year ago, I made a very hard decision, a decision that because the Soviet Union had an ABM missile defense, the United States should try to have one.

I recommended it to the United States Senate. The vote came up in the United States Senate. The vote was 50–50. The present Senator from Nevada, who is running against Bill Raggio, voted against the President of the United States.

Let me say, my friends, I think that on that particular vote that you must realize that had that vote gone against the President of the United States, had that majority of one gone that way, it would have meant that we would not have had that missile defense, which is essential to see to it that America has the strength, and that the President has the strength at the bargaining table that he is going to need if we are going to be able to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

I give this only as an example, and I simply leave to you the question again that comes: Remember, in the next Senate, one vote may determine whether the President has the strength that this Nation needs when he goes to the bargaining table or whether he negotiates from weakness.

Also, it relates to the State of Nevada in a very direct sense. The test center here in Nevada is essential and indispensable to our defense program. The test center here in Nevada is essential and indispensable to our space program.

Unless we have a Senator who votes for what the President says is necessary for national defense, we are not going to have anything to test at the test center. So why

not Bill Raggio on that particular point?

What I am simply suggesting is this: Everybody, of course, is for peace and everybody is for defense, in the general sense. But you get down to the critical votes we must realize that America first needs defense, and second, that if we are going to have that defense it means we have to have Senators and Congressmen who will back the President in those critical votes that make the difference between whether we have strength or weakness at the conference table.

I know where Bill Raggio stands. I know that on those votes involving national security, involving not only the security of this Nation but involving Nevada's participation in that program, he will be with the President of the United States more than 50 percent of the time.

And the other point that I would make is this: You know, in the last days of a campaign rumors begin to fly around. I frankly have been quite shocked to find rumors to the effect that immediately after this election unless the present Senator from Nevada is reelected, that Nevada can simply forget the programs for the test center and the rest that presently it is participating in.

Well, I can tell you that is pure nonsense. Bill Raggio is a man in whom I have confidence. He is a man who will have, certainly, the ear of those who make the decisions in the Defense Department and in the White House, and when Bill Raggio comes to talk to us about those matters he will be listened to.

Nevada is not going to be shortchanged. It will play a great role in the future as it has in the past in the defense and space programs of the United States of America.

Now we come to issues that are at home. And here there is one that is directly related to something that we are all concerned about, the whole problem of reform of government in America. We don't want to go back to programs of the past.

We realize that it doesn't make sense to put good money into bad programs. And that is why this administration has recommended a whole series of programs to reform the institutions of government. I want to give you one example, the welfare program.

Here is what we found when we went in: We found a program in welfare in which the number on the welfare rolls all over America was going up and up and up, and that costs were going up into billions of dollars.

Cities and counties and States were practically going bankrupt because of the cost of welfare. New York City alone—listen to these figures—in 1966, in New York City there were 600,000 people on welfare. In 1970, 4 years later, there were 1,200,000 people on welfare. If the present welfare program continues, we will find that by 1980 there will be 2.5 million people on welfare in one city, New York City.

My friends, that kind of a program does not make sense.

I say this: That when a program has the effect of making it more profitable for a man not to work than to work, when it encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, you ought to get rid of that program and get another one in its place.

That is why I am very proud that in this great, rich country of ours I have been able to recommend a program in which we will provide for every family in America that needs assistance, assistance that could provide, certainly, the needs that they require, but provide that assistance with-

out the degrading aspects of the social snoopers of the present welfare program, but also one that would have work incentive and work requirement.

Because, my friends, if a man is able to work, if a man is trained for a job, if a man is offered a job, and if he refuses to work, he shouldn't be paid to loaf by a hard-working taxpayer of the State of Nevada.

I made another promise to the people of Nevada and the people of America, and you well remember it. In 1968, I found that over the previous 8 years, crime had gone up 150 percent in this country: organized crime, street crime, drugs, narcotics. I said that I would appoint stronger judges. I said that I would ask for stronger laws. And I said I would appoint a stronger Attorney General and stronger U.S. attorneys.

I have tried to keep my promises, my friends. I appointed a great Attorney General—John Mitchell—who is doing a fine job in that particular aspect.

I have appointed strong judges, but here, again, the United States Senate comes in. When I appoint a strong judge, one who is strong on the issue of law and order, one who believes in strengthening the peace forces against the criminal forces, I think the President deserves the support of the Senator rather than his opposition. And I think we will have that support from Bill Raggio.

I asked for strong laws and it took 18 months for the first law—I presented the program 18 months ago—for the first, the one on organized crime, to reach my desk. That isn't soon enough.

We need a man in the United States Senate who knows the subject, a man who will work on it, a man who will vote on it, a man who will fight for it all year long and not just talk about it during election time.

Bill Raggio knows this subject. He has been one of my chief advisers in the field of law enforcement. He is a man who will be invaluable to us in the United States Senate. I say send him down there so that he can help us see that the wave of crime is not becoming the wave of the future in America.

And now, my friends in Nevada, could I make reference to a very gracious remark that was made by Paul Laxalt in his introduction. He referred to an incident in California 2 days ago, in San Jose. He referred to the fact that the reception here in Nevada was a very warm one.

When I was in Phoenix, I saw a sign which said, "Welcome, Mr. President. This is Phoenix, not San Jose."

My friends, I think it is well that that incident be put into context. San Jose is one of my favorite cities in California. It is a great, growing city, like this great, growing city of Las Vegas. It is made up of fine people, just like this city is made up of fine people. And what a few violent radicals did should not smear the good name of San Jose, California.

The president of the student body of San Jose State College—24,000 strong—sent me a wire and said, "The great majority of our students disapprove of what happened there at San Jose."

So let me put the whole thing in perspective very simply by saying this: Night after night on our television screens we see these evidences of violence, rather than seeing, often, huge crowds like this, or 50,000 in Columbus, or 35,000 in Johnson City, or 20,000 standing in the rain in Asheville, or 35,000 in Longview, Texas.

You may see a little of that, but what makes bigger news are the violent few

throwing rocks, shouting their obscenities at the President or anybody else who happens to be in view.

My friends, let me simply say that on that score, I think young America is getting a bad rap from that kind of thing because, my friends, I think it is well for you to realize that as a result of what we see night after night on our television screens, as a result of the fact that bad news makes most of the news, many Americans are getting the impression that the radical few among you are a majority of American youth today or may be the leaders of American youth tomorrow.

Well, I have news for you. I have been all over this country. I have been in the great States and the smaller States. I have been in the North, in the East, in the West, and the South. I have seen big crowds of adults and I have seen lots of young people.

I can tell you that the radical few that you see on your TV screen night after night, they are not a majority of American youth today and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

Let's separate out the problem. Let us understand. American youth is and deserves our commendation for its idealism, for the fact that they want change, for the fact that they want peace in the world, for the fact that they want a better chance for people that don't have the opportunity that they have.

And for this idealism, they should receive the high marks, and we should be proud of our American youth.

But, my friends, let us recognize that when we talk about being for peace and the rest, we have to separate those things that are right and those things that are wrong in a free society.

I simply want to lay it right on the line, and I lay it on the line to you as clearly as I possibly can.

I say to you here today that those who carry a peace sign in one hand and throw a brick or a bomb with the other are the top hypocrites of our time.

And to the young people of America, let me tell you: Don't you lose faith in your country. You sometimes must get the impression from what you read, maybe what you hear at school, that America abroad is not held up in high regard, that we are considered to be imperialists; and at home, that America is a sick society.

I know different. I have had a very great privilege in these past few months as President of the United States to travel all over this world—to Asia, to Europe, and to all parts of the world. And every place I go, I have been moved by the fact that hundreds of thousands of people come out.

In Communist Yugoslavia and Communist Romania, hundreds of thousands came out and stood in the rain, cheering the President of the United States. And the same was true in Spain, in Ireland, and other countries, and India.

Why? I will tell you why they cheered the President of the United States: not because of who he was but because of the country he represented. They know that the United States of America is the strongest nation in the world. But they know that the United States of America will not use its strength ever to destroy freedom, only to defend it; that we will not use our strength to break the peace, only to keep the peace. And we can be proud of that, that we represent that kind of a country.

And they know something else, too. They know America has problems, but they know that in America there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there

is more progress than in any nation in the whole history of civilization.

Listen to this: I mentioned a moment ago the program that I have recommended, which will provide assistance for every family that needs it in America. Now, the level of that program, what it would provide, the floor for income for every family in need in America—the floor for the poor in America—is higher than the ceiling for three-fourths of the people that live in the world today.

Let's recognize once and for all, America has its faults. But because we are rich, we are able to do things that other countries can only dream about. We can lift the burden of toil from our people, not just a few elite but from all the people of the United States. We can provide opportunity for all.

And with this in mind, let us be proud of our country. Let us be proud of it, and let us answer those who run it down and knock it down and tear it down and express their hate.

I will tell you how to answer them. You don't have to answer them by throwing rocks back. You don't have to answer them by answering with their four-letter epithets.

The way to answer them is for the great silent majority just to stand up and be counted on November 3d.

By your votes on November 3d you can—some of you will vote how I recommend, some will vote otherwise—but by your votes, you will say, in effect, to the people of America, to the people of the world, this is what we believe.

And I leave this final message with you: As the President of the United States, I would not urge anyone to vote anything other than his convictions. But I have made some promises to the American people. I want to keep those promises. I need help. I need Bill Raggio.

And as I make those promises, and in keeping those promises, I want to tell you what I see for America.

A vote for Bill Raggio and for support for the programs that I have pledged to the American people will mean that we can achieve these great goals in our time: We can achieve prosperity without war. We can have progress without inflation. We can stop the wave of crime and have respect for law and order and justice in America.

And we can have what everybody wants, peace for a generation for America and the whole world. That is what we are fighting for. That is what I ask you to vote for.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. in the Las Vegas Convention Center.

422 Statement in Support of the Republican Candidate for the United States Senate in Utah. *October* 31, 1970

AMERICA needs Laurence Burton in the United States Senate in the 1970's. Laurence Burton will speak strongly for Utah and for the Nation on the issues of fiscal responsibility, controlling inflation, combating crime and drugs, and achieving peace with honor.

I know Laurence Burton well, and I have great respect for his wisdom and his judgment. He speaks with integrity and

independence. In his work with the important Public Land Law Review Commission, he showed an intelligent understanding of a matter of keen interest to the people of Utah. He has won the trust and confidence of his colleagues in the House of Representatives. In the Senate, he will command the attention of his colleagues and also of the members of the administration. He is a statesman who will do what he sees to be right for the people of Utah and of all the United States.

As America moves into the 1970's, we need men like Laurence Burton to lead us. I need Laurence Burton to help carry out the programs Utah voted for in 1968. Utah needs Laurence Burton to strengthen its voice in the Nation's Capital, and to speak effectively and firmly for what Utah wants.

NOTE: The statement was released at Salt Lake City, Utah.

423 Remarks in Salt Lake City, Utah. *October* 31, 1970

Senator Bennett, President Tanner, President Smith, all of the distinguished guests here on the platform, and all of the distinguished members of this audience in this historic room, and all of you listening on television and radio tonight:

This is, as you perhaps are aware, the last appearance that I will be making during the campaign of 1970, and I am very honored—I am very honored that it could take place in this historic room that has, for me, so many memories and which has meant so much, not only to the people of this area, and those of this faith, but to all of America.

I am honored because I remember the meetings that I have attended here previously, and I can tell you that having been here previously, and being particularly impressed by the fact that I was allowed to speak here as a candidate on two previous occasions, I am particularly honored to stand here for the first time as the President of the United States.

I would like to pay my respects, too, to those who have preceded me on the program, to the magnificent Tabernacle Choir. I was so honored that they came to our inauguration. And I hope they sing another number at the conclusion of my speech. I am going to quit a little early so they can have the time.

And also, I want to pay my respects, too, to a very, very great American, David Kennedy, a man, who incidentally, is one who has contributed enormously to this administration, a man who is sound, a man who is strong, a man who is honest and—and I say this emphatically—a man who always tells the truth.

And, of course, to Secretary Romney, who has rendered such enormous service to his country as Governor of Michigan and then as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; and to my longtime friend, Wallace Bennett, who introduced me a moment ago.

He is a tower of strength in the United States Senate for me, I should say—not me personally, but for the policies of our administration, particularly with his great expertise in the field of finance and in business.

I therefore was very honored to be in-

troduced on this occasion by Wallace Bennett.

I have been told that it is accepted in the heat of a campaign that whoever appears here is given the opportunity or the right to speak in somewhat political terms. I intend to use that right. I want to use it responsibly.

I want to use it, however, in the context that I am sure all of you in this great Tabernacle will appreciate and understand, and that all of my friends in Utah will appreciate and understand.

In 1968, when I appeared in this room, I made some promises to the people of Utah and to the people of the United States. Those promises were well known. They were made by a man as a candidate for President of the United States.

When a President makes promises, the people expect him to keep the promises. And they should expect the promises to be kept.

All of you are keenly aware of the fact that the President is a very powerful man. As a matter of fact, because of the wealth of this country and the strength of this country, the President is probably the most powerful man in the world.

But the President of the United States, I should say, has limits on his powers, and one of those limits is that the President, when it comes to keeping the promises that he makes, can only do what the Congress will support him in.

Therefore, the issue is very simple: Where the President makes a promise and the people want him to keep the promise, if the Congress votes with him he keeps the promise; if the Congress votes against him, he cannot keep it. That is the issue. It is a very simple issue in 1970. It is the issue particularly in the races for the United States Senate.

And in speaking of the United States Senate race, I particularly selected to talk about tonight because Utah is one of the key States, and it is one in which, interestingly enough, one of the clearest distinctions and differences occur in the whole country.

Let me be quite precise. Two good men are running for the United States Senate in Utah; two men who want to be the next United States Senator. Two men, however, who are diametrically opposed to each other on a fundamental issue; one, on the great issues which I will now describe, has a record of opposing the President approximately 100 percent of the time. The other does not support the President all the time. The other in his record in the House has not been a rubber stamp. I would not respect him if he were. As a matter of fact, he has voted to override two of my vetoes.

But, on the other hand, on the four great issues that I will mention tonight, he has voted to support the President. So the question before the people of Utah tonight is this: In the next 2 years, do you want the President to keep his promises?

If you want him to keep his promises, do you want to give him a Senator who will vote with him or against him? And Larry Burton will vote with me. That is why I am here, for Larry Burton.

Now to the issues, and let's understand clearly what they are.

The first issue is this: Right here in this great Tabernacle, I remember in 1968 I pledged to the people of Utah and to the people of America that I would work for a lasting peace in the world. I have been trying to keep that pledge. We have made some progress.

Let me tell you what has happened.

This is what I found when I became

President: There were 550,000 Americans in Vietnam with no plans to bring them home; casualties were at 300 a week; we had no peace plan at the conference table. I went to work.

Instead of sending more men to Vietnam, which had been the case for 5 years before I got there, we have been bringing them home by the tens of thousands and they will continue to be brought home.

And then by the strong action that I took in Cambodia, we were able to destroy the enemy's capacity to kill Americans and, as a result, our casualties have been reduced to the lowest in 4½ years, and they are going to continue to go down.

And then, third, and most important, as a result, again, of the success of what we had done previously in destroying the enemy's capabilities, we have presented a peace plan, a very generous peace plan, as it should be: a cease-fire, an exchange of prisoners, a negotiated settlement in which we will accept the result of whatever the people of South Vietnam determine for their future.

Now, here is where we are and here are the differences between the two candidates in the State of Utah on this great issue of Vietnam and peace in the world.

We are on the way to ending the war in Vietnam. The question is how you end it. And there are those who say, "We are on the way, but we should end it faster." They say, "Peace now," or they say, "Why not set a deadline? Why not 6 months from now?"

Let me tell you why. The problem, my friends, is not ending a war. I see plenty of people in this room that will remember that in this century we have been in four wars. We ended World War I. Remember? We ended World War II. We ended the Korean war. And yet, the younger people here should know that never in the history of this century, in this entire century, have the American people had a full generation of peace. That is why I say let's end this war in a way that will discourage the warmakers so that we can have a generation of peace. Let's have that kind of end to the war.

We are doing that. I believe that that is the policy that the American people will support. It is the policy that Larry Burton supports. It is the policy that his opponent opposes.

They honestly disagree. You have to decide.

And then we go to the larger area. If we are going to have peace in the world, it isn't just ending the war in Vietnam. It is a question of working out the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Here I have implemented an era of negotiation as distinguished from confrontation.

There will be, as there have been over the past 2 years, more negotiations with the Soviet Union, particularly in the field of limiting nuclear arms.

And now the very simple question is: How do we negotiate?

I can only say this: Don't send your President to the negotiating table with the Soviet leaders, or don't send his advisers to the negotiating table with the Soviet leaders, in a position of weakness. Let's be sure we negotiate from strength and not from weakness with the Soviet leaders.

And here again, we have a very precise difference between the two candidates. One has consistently supported those appropriations, those measures, which would maintain the strength of the United States, that would build, for example, a

system, an antiballistic missile system, which the Soviets have already, and which would give us a bargaining position as we attempt to negotiate the reduction in nuclear arms. The other opposes it.

My point is this: I know the Soviet leaders. I know them not personally, but I know, certainly, what their attitudes are in such negotiations. And it is vitally important, if we want negotiations to succeed, if we want to reduce this burden of nuclear arms on ourselves and the danger of nuclear war for the years ahead.

Let us see to it that the United States is not weaker than they are at the conference table.

And then, finally, if we are to have peace in the world, the strength of the United States is needed to guarantee it, because remember this about our strength: Our strength is not kept for the purpose of destroying the peace; it is kept for the purpose of keeping the peace. A strong United States that is respected will guarantee peace.

My friends, I will put it very simply: I deeply believe, more deeply than in any other thing I believe in all my life, my political life, my personal life, that we need, that we want for the young people, for all the people of America and the world, a generation of peace.

I think we are on the road to a generation of peace. But I need a man in the United States Senate who will work with Wally Bennett rather than work against him, and with me rather than against me on the policies that are necessary to have a generation of peace. And that is Larry Burton.

Now, let's come down to a precise issue at home. I know the people of Utah are very sophisticated politically. I know that you study these issues and you are extremely interested in all of the nuances.

So I am going to take one that many audiences, frankly, are not particularly interested in because they do not see the enormous importance of it. Let's look at it this way.

The United States has an enormous budget, in the magnitude of around $200 billion, as you know. And we all are interested in—we want better education, we want better housing, we want better welfare for all of our people.

And we are a rich country. We want to do everything that we can for people who need it.

But, on the other hand, I determined when I became President, and I made this promise when I stood right in this place 2 years ago, I promised that instead of putting good money into bad programs, which means you end up with bad money and bad programs, we would reform the institutions of government.

So, I have asked the Congress for a historic program of reform—reform of education, reform of health, reform of housing, and reform of welfare.

Now, I want you to look at welfare as an example of why reform is necessary.

This is what I found when we came in. I found that in the city of New York, for example, in 1966—and listen to this number—there were 600,000 people on welfare. That is more than live in Salt Lake City.

And yet, in just 4 years, there are 1,200,000 people on welfare in New York City. By 1980, there will be 2.5 million people on welfare in New York City unless we change the program.

I will put it very simply to you. When a system makes it more profitable for a man

not to work than to work, when a system encourages a man to desert his family rather than stay with his family, I say it is time to get rid of that system and get another one in its place.

Our program provides for assistance to all those that need it. It does not provide for a guaranteed annual income, because we do not stand for that. It provides for assistance to all needy families.

But it has a work requirement and a work incentive.

I will put it very bluntly: If a man is able to work, if he is trained for a job, and if he is offered a job, and if he refuses to work, that man should not be paid to loaf by a hard-working taxpayer in Utah or any place else in the country.

So there is another very clear difference between your two candidates: One honestly believing we should continue to pour billions of dollars into the old welfare program, and another saying and supporting by his vote, as Wally Bennett does in the Senate, a new program, reforming it, so that we can have work requirement and work incentive, and help for all those that need it.

I say on that issue, again, there is a clear choice. Do you want to support change or do you want to go back to the old way or continue it?

Now we come to the third great issue. The third great issue involves peace at home. We have heard some discussion of that tonight, and I am going to discuss one aspect of that a little later in my remarks, but I want to tell you what I found when I came into office almost 2 years ago.

I found that crime had gone up in the previous 8 years, 158 percent in this country. And that included everything—organized crime, street crime, drugs and narcotics, and obscenity and pornography flowing into the homes of our children.

And the reason it had gone up, one of the major reasons, was an attitude of permissiveness—permissiveness in the courts, permissiveness in high places in the Congress, in the Senate, permissiveness, even, in some of the educational institutions, and I must say some of the churches.

That had to change. So, I pledged in the campaign, I remember pledging it standing right in this place. I remember saying that if I were elected President I would appoint stronger judges. I remember saying that I would appoint a stronger Attorney General of the United States who would not be permissive. And I remember saying that I would ask for stronger laws.

I tried to keep the promises. I have appointed a stronger Attorney General. I have asked for stronger judges.

And here we come to a difference between the two candidates again. When those judges have come up for consideration, delay, delay, delay has occurred. And finally two have been rejected. And yet those judges were two men who were absolutely opposed to the permissiveness of the past.

I say we need judges on every court in this land who will recognize that the time has come to strengthen the peace forces as against the criminal forces in this country. The laws were debated for 18 months before any of the laws came to my desk for signature just before the election time.

What we need are men in the House and men in the Senate who, not just in the 2 months before election, but all year round, talk and work and fight for the kind of laws and the kind of men that will see that the wave of crime does not be-

come the wave of the future.

Mention has been made of the fact that there was in San Jose, my home State, 2 days ago, a rather ugly incident—you remember it; you probably saw it on television—an incident in which there were 3,000 people inside the hall listening to the President of the United States, the Governor of California, and the senior Senator from California, and 1,000 ugly demonstrators outside shouting their four-letter obscenities at those who went in, terrorizing the people that were going in, throwing bricks and rocks and chains at the cars that went by, damaging the Presidential limousine, breaking windows in the press buses and in the police cars.

And after that incident, the question is: What does it mean?

I will tell you what it does not mean. Don't blame the people of San Jose. I heard from the mayor of San Jose. I heard from the president of the student body of San Jose State College. And they pointed out that the very few that were there did not represent what the people of San Jose thought or the people of that university thought.

But, my friends, what it does mean, and what we have to recognize, is this: These people were carrying signs saying "Peace," and we are all for peace. But I say that those who carry a "Peace" sign in one hand and who throw a bomb or a brick with the other hand are the super hypocrites of our time.

But, my friends, don't get the wrong impression. Don't let what those violent few do give you a bad impression of all of American youth. Oh, I know on television night after night you see what the bad young people do, and not enough about what the good ones are doing.

Let me say, my friends, if you were to just look at television and read the newspaper accounts, you might gain the impression that the radical few among our youth are a majority of American youth today and may be the leaders tomorrow.

Well, I have news for you. I have been around this country. The violent and radical few are neither a majority of youth today, and they will not be the leaders of America tomorrow.

I say to you, I believe in American youth. You should believe in American youth. The great majority, to their great credit, they are idealistic. They care. They want peace, just as we all want peace. They want a better life for all people. They are concerned about people that don't have the chance that they have had, and this is to their credit.

And they also recognize this fundamental point: They believe in change. They want change. And all younger generations should. But they realize that we have to have peaceful change. And that in our society, a society that provides for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence or lawlessness.

And to the young people today, could I say to you: Don't you lose your faith in America. You may get the impression that this is a sick country. You may get the impression that America has a foreign policy that is imperialistic. But I have traveled around this world and I can tell you, my friends, what I find.

When I find hundreds of thousands of people on the streets in a Communist city like Bucharest, Romania; when I find hundreds of thousands in the street in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, as well as in the free countries, the others that I visited, just let

me say these people are out cheering. What are they cheering? Not the President of the United States as an individual. They are cheering the United States of America and what we stand for—not because we are rich and not because we are strong, but because this is a good country.

The United States of America is the strongest nation in the world, but everyone abroad knows that we do not threaten the peace or the freedom of any other country.

And they all know abroad that the United States of America—in this great, good country—it has faults; it has problems. But there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more progress than in any country in the world.

My friends, we must recognize, as we look at America's faults, that we are very, very fortunate to live in this country, to enjoy it.

One hundred and ten years ago, in one of the most tragic incidents in American history, after the bloody raid at Harper's Ferry, John Brown was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. He was taken to the gallows in a wagon, and the coffin was right by him on the wagon.

As he was going through the countryside, and as he looked out at the Virginia countryside, speaking to no one in particular, he was heard to say, "This is a beautiful country."

If John Brown, at that time, with his own death imminent, and with a terrible civil war just to come—if he could say that, let us, with all the problems that America has—let us truly recognize today, this is a beautiful country, and we in America are so fortunate that we have in our powers, through our votes, in a free election, to make America an even more beautiful country in the future for our children.

I understand that we now have to leave to go back to our home in California. And I wonder if I could just say one word in a very personal vein to those in this Tabernacle with regard to one aspect of our work that is completely without partisanship and has no political considerations whatever in the usual sense.

As you know, we have instituted a custom of having worship services in the White House, and we have taken a little heat for that, as you do for making any new breakthrough or new decision. We have done it because I felt it was important to bring to the Nation's Capital representatives of various faiths, and most have been represented, but particularly to bring right to the White House, where the President, members of the Cabinet, the members of the diplomatic corps, the Members of the Congress, Democrat and Republican, could be reminded of the fact that while this Nation is the strongest nation in the world and the richest nation in the world, that all the wealth and the strength in the world is as nothing unless the spirit of America is sound and good.

And I do not know of any group in America—and I would say this not only here, but in other places in this country—who have contributed more to that strong, moral leadership and high moral standards, the spirit that has kept America going through bad times as well as good times—no group has done more than those who are members of this church.

I want to thank you for what you have done for the spirit of America. And how-

ever the outcome of elections, if you can continue to emphasize those spiritual values, I am sure America is going to go ahead and do very well.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:32 p.m. in the Mormon Tabernacle.

Joseph Fielding Smith was president and N. Eldon Tanner was second counselor of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

424 Remarks to Reporters on Departure From Salt Lake City, Utah. *October* 31, 1970

I WANTED to make a brief statement because the question was raised—and you can all cover it—about one of these Halloween rumors.

I have found, in three States that I have visited, and this always happens in campaigns, the Halloween fear tactic being used by some of the opposition.

First, in California, they told 3,000 workers in Mountain View, California, that the Ames laboratory was going to close.

It was an absolutely false statement. There have never been any plans to close it. There has never been any discussion of it. It was made up out of the whole cloth.

Then when I got to Nevada, I found today from Mr. Raggio [1] that his opponent had indicated that we intended to close down or sharply restrict the use of the Nevada test center.

Exactly the contrary is the case in Nevada. As everybody knows, I am for the antiballistic missile system and for a strong defense, and we are going to have more use for the Nevada test center rather than less. So I reassured the people there.

But I think perhaps the most shocking thing was when I learned here from one of the people over at the fence said that somebody came by door to door and was telling people that were at the Hill Air Force Base that that was going to be closed immediately after the election.

I checked into it. There is absolutely no truth whatever in that rumor. It is another one of the scare tactics of the opposition. The Hill Air Force Base is going to be maintained, and those who engage in this kind of tactic, I think, owe an apology to the families, to the workers that they have frightened, and, frankly, an apology to their opponents for making such charges.

I understand hard campaigning. We should campaign on the issues. But the idea of going around and trying to scare families and scare workers that bases are going to be closed when they are not going to be closed is, in my view, absolutely unconscionable. It is the worst kind of fear campaigning and it isn't even worthy of Halloween.

[1] William J. Raggio, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Nevada.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 p.m. at the Salt Lake City International Airport.

425 Remarks About the 1970 Elections. *November* 1, 1970

I WOULD LIKE to talk to you for a moment about one of the most important decisions you will be making in your life, a decision that will affect your future and the future of America: your vote on November 3d. It is customary as we get close to an election to speak of voting Republican or voting Democratic.

But the issues this year are too important to speak in partisan terms.

What we must consider is what is best for America. When I was elected President 2 years ago, I promised that I would work to end the war in Vietnam and win a just peace in the world, that I would work to stop the rise in crime in America, to stop the rise in inflation, and to bring about a period of reform in which we could have progress and prosperity and full employment in America, but without war.

We have made progress in all these fields, but not enough. The President of the United States is a very powerful man, but he can't do the job alone. I need the help of the Congress, more help than I have had. I need your help, your help in electing men to the House and the Senate who will work with the President, rather than against the President, for these great goals.

For example, in Vietnam we have been bringing men home. We have reduced casualties. We have a peace offer on the table. We are ending the war. We are ending it in a way that will discourage aggression and win a just peace.

We need men in the House and the Senate who will support the President in this great objective.

And here at home, in the fight against crime, we need laws, we need judges, and we need men in the House and the Senate who will speak out on this subject and who will vote and speak out, not just at election time but all year round.

In the fight against inflation, we need men who will have the courage to vote against a spending program that might benefit a few people, but that would raise prices for all the people. And we need men who will vote for our historic and very imaginative programs of reform, which will lead to what we all want: that progress and prosperity without war.

There is one final note I would like to leave with you as we approach this election: In recent weeks and in recent months, you have seen on your television screens some of our young people engaging in violence, trying to shout down speakers, and engaging in activities that you disapprove of. And some may get the impression that that is a majority of young America, or that they are the leaders of the future.

Well, I can assure you that I have traveled all over this country, and that violent few are not the majority of young Americans, and they are not going to be the leaders of the future.

I am proud of the great majority of our young Americans today.

They want change, but they believe in peaceful change, as you do.

I finally want to say what you can do to answer those who do engage in violence, who do engage in activities that you disapprove of.

Don't answer in kind. It is time for the

great silent majority to stand up and be counted, and the way you can be counted is by voting on November 3d. I urge you to vote for those men who are candidates for the House and the Senate who will support the President, rather than vote against him on these great issues which I have described tonight.

But, however you vote, I can assure you, you have my respect and my very best wishes.

NOTE: The President's remarks were videotaped on Tuesday, October 27, 1970, for broadcast at the halftime of regionally televised professional football games on Sunday, November 1, 1970, on time purchased by the Republican National Committee.

426 Statement About Assaults on Police Officers and Directive to the Attorney General. *November* 1, 1970

I AM deeply concerned with the growing problem of assaults on police officers. We have seen shooting of officers as they sat in their patrol cars. We have seen bombs planted and booby traps set for investigating officers. We have seen unarmed police officers shot at their desks in police stations.

I have discussed this problem with Attorney General Mitchell, Director Hoover, and Chief Wilson of the District of Columbia Police Department. I have also discussed it with many individual police officers including the wounded officers whom I recently visited in Kansas City. I have also obtained the views of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, which recently passed resolutions unanimously calling for Federal help.

The Attorney General had a lengthy meeting on Friday with the chief law enforcement officers of 13 State and local bodies representative of law enforcement throughout the Nation. The purpose of the meeting was to examine what can be done at the Federal level to deter attacks on policemen.

On the basis of my own study and consultations, and on the basis of the recommendations I have received from Friday's meeting, I have concluded that the availability of Federal assistance will have a deterring effect and will tend to reduce the number of assaults on police officers. Therefore, I am today directing the Attorney General to take immediate action to make all appropriate investigative resources of the Department of Justice available to work jointly with State or local police when requested in any case involving an assault upon a police officer.

PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE

The increasing number of assaults on law enforcement officers is a matter of deep public concern. Members of a local police force, who daily risk their lives to protect the citizens of their community, are entitled to all the protection that can reasonably be provided.

I therefore direct you to make available all appropriate investigative resources of the Department of Justice to work jointly with State or local police when requested in any case involving an assault upon a police officer.

NOTE: The statement and the text of the directive were released at San Clemente, Calif.

427 Exchange With Reporter About the Election on Arriving at Riverside, California. *November* 2, 1970

REPORTER. Mr. President, do you have any comments on the election tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think that this is the time for everybody to be thinking about the decision they are going to make. I have completed my campaigning. I am delighted to have a chance to visit Riverside and see my mother's oldest sister, my Aunt Edith, who is now living in Riverside. She has been ill for some time.

I am very pleased, too, to see this political interest over here. I must say, of course, I have my definite ideas about the congressional race here, as well as the senatorial race and gubernatorial race. I think Vic Veysey is one of the most outstanding candidates I have met and I am delighted that he has got a lot of supporters here. This looks like a good sign for him. I will just put it this way: I predict he is going to win.

NOTE: The exchange of remarks took place at 10:30 a.m. at Riverside Airport.

Victor V. Veysey was the Republican candidate for the United States House of Representatives from the 38th Congressional District.

428 Remarks to Students at the John Adams Elementary School in Riverside, California. *November* 2, 1970

IF I could have your attention for just a moment, when we arrived at the airport just a moment ago at Riverside, your principal, Mr. [John] Allen, said that school would be closing at 3 o'clock and asked if on the way over to see my aunt—who is 90 years of age, incidentally, and my mother's oldest sister—asked if we would stop by your school.

It is something I don't get a chance to do very often, but I want to say how very happy I am to be here at this school and to tell you that you can be very proud of your State, of your country.

I also want to say something about your teachers, your principal, and the others.

How many like your teachers? Everyone?

You had better say that; they are standing right back of you.

All of you have been studying, I know, a great deal about the world as well as America, a lot more than we did when I was in school. And that means that education in America is better today than it was many years ago. I have had an opportunity to see all of the world. As a matter of fact, I have been now to 74 countries, in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and, of course, in Europe.

And there are many wonderful people in other countries, and many very proud countries. But I think all of you should know that we in the United States—and I can say this to young people with all of your future ahead of you—we in the United States can feel very fortunate that we live in America. This is a great country, and it is a very good country.

What will really bring this home to you: The other day I was in Yugoslavia and also in Romania—these are countries with

very different systems from ours, Communist systems—but 350,000 people came out in the rain, and they cheered, and they cheered because they realize that America is a country that is strong, but that we threaten no other country, and that there is more freedom, there is more opportunity, there is more hope in America than any place in the world.

Let me say this country is not perfect. We have lots of problems. You have been hearing about the problems in an election campaign. But I can assure you that your chance to grow up and, in the years ahead, to change America for the better—that is something that in most of the world young people don't have.

So I simply want to say that I am very happy to speak to all of the people in this school, to tell you that you are fortunate to be going to a fine school, to have these dedicated people as your teachers; the principal who graduated from L.A. State, I understand, in 1958.

I think we ought to give a hand to all the teachers and the principal. How about that?

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 10:40 a.m.

429 Statement on Signing a Bill Extending Authorization of Four Federal Health Assistance Programs. *November* 2, 1970

I HAVE signed H.R. 17570, which extends the authorizations of four major programs of Federal assistance for the planning, organization, and delivery of health services. These programs are:

(1) Regional Medical Programs
(2) Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services (the Partnership for Health program)
(3) Health Services Research and Development
(4) National Health Surveys and Studies

Now that I have signed this bill, I herewith advise the Congress that—in the interest of fiscal responsibility—I will limit the appropriation requests under its authorization to the amounts that are later determined to be necessary for carrying out its purposes.

The bill, which continues for 3 years authorizations for various necessary medical programs, authorizes spending far in excess of any realistic estimate of the funds which will be available. Such authorizations can only raise false hopes; or, if the sums authorized were actually appropriated, lead us down the road of fiscal irresponsibility. The Congress and the country should know that I will not follow the latter path, but I will use all available efforts to ensure that appropriations follow needs.

It is disappointing that the Congress, while continuing the authority to carry out these health programs, still insists on perpetuating separate categories in the Regional Medical Programs, and fails to adopt the other administration proposed reforms in our national health care delivery system.

Only when these reforms are approved

and instituted will we be able to organize our resources for a more effective delivery of health services.

NOTE: The statement was released at San Clemente, Calif.

As enacted, H.R. 17570 is Public Law 91–515 (84 Stat. 1297), approved October 30, 1970.

430 Statement on the Death of Richard Cardinal Cushing. *November* 2, 1970

TODAY not only Boston but the Nation, not only Catholics but citizens of every faith mourn the death of Richard Cardinal Cushing.

Just as all of us drew strength and inspiration from his life, so too do we grieve this loss. But we are comforted by the knowledge that he lived so fully and sought so persistently to serve the spiritual needs and social well-being of others. His name will always evoke for us a spirit of ecumenism, of human dignity, justice, and brotherhood among men and nations.

NOTE: The statement was posted for the press in San Clemente, Calif.

Cardinal Cushing died at his home in Boston at the age of 75. He was the Archbishop of Boston from September 25, 1944, until his retirement on September 8, 1970.

431 Exchange With Reporters on Election Day. *November* 3, 1970

Q. Would you have any comment on the elections today, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Only that I hope that the voters get out all across the country in large numbers. We have heard a great deal in the country about this group and that group trying to speak for the American people. Now is the chance for the American people to speak for themselves. But they can only speak for themselves if a great number get out.

So, this is the day for the majority to speak, whatever the majority is.

The only reports I have had from the East indicate that there is snow in some of the Midwestern States. You probably have heard that. There is snow in Illinois and Minnesota, of course, and also Ohio. I hope that the weather doesn't hold down the vote, because we want a big vote. We want this to be a majority vote and not a vote by those that simply have some special cause to vote for.

Q. Mr. President, you had a famous prediction in '66. Would you have one for us this morning?

THE PRESIDENT. In '66, I was out a great deal, as you know. In fact, I was out for 2 months of campaigning. This year, while we have gone to 22 States, as you know, I did it in the space of, actually, 8 days of campaigning, 3 of which were on Saturday.

Consequently, in such a fast-paced campaign, without the chance to stop at each place and talk to the leaders, to get the feel, I don't think an individual can make a professional prediction.

As a matter of fact, I think one of the reasons that predictions have been so bad lately in American politics, and also in British politics, is that there is a tendency for somebody to go in for 24 hours and say, "That is the way people are going to vote."

The reason my '66 predictions were pretty good was that I really knew the country. I got a feel of the country, a feel of the men and the people in State after State and city after city, and then I made the prediction about 2 weeks before, and it was on the nose. I was lucky, too.

If you remember, I predicted 40 Congressmen, three Senators, six Governors, and 550 State legislators, and it was right on the nose.

This year I think we will do better than the general off year party.

As you know, the off year tradition is that the party in power that has the Presidency loses Senators, Congressmen, and Governors. We will do better than that. How much better will depend on what has happened.

But I won't make a prediction on the numbers at this time.

Incidentally, that is rather a subtle suggestion to all the members of the press, the pollsters, and all the rest, that before making predictions, it is very important to go into the State or the city or the area, and get a real feel of the people. Because your first impression, the impression from a rally, the impression from just seeing somebody here or there, may give you a superficial view; whereas, in this case, there are major issues that seem to be the issues, and then maybe other issues underneath.

An individual really can't predict very effectively unless he gets in there and gets it in depth.

Now, that doesn't mean that those that have made the rather substantial predictions for our candidates not doing well are going to be all proved to be wrong. I am only going to suggest, however, that if they got in, they might find out something different.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:00 a.m. at the San Clemente Fire House, San Clemente, Calif. Preceding his remarks he thanked firemen who had extinguished a minor blaze at the President's residence in San Clemente on October 29, 1970.

The transcript of a news briefing on the 1970 elections by Robert H. Finch, Counsellor to the President, Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, and Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, was released on the same day.

432 Remarks to Reporters on the Results of the 1970 Elections. *November* 4, 1970

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen:

As is usually the case in an off year election, I note that both parties are making claims of victory. Chairman O'Brien,[1] with justification, points to the fact that in State races his party picked up several governorships. On the other hand, we are very happy to see that in the two biggest States, California and New York, Governor Reagan and Governor Rockefeller won overwhelming victories.

[1] Lawrence F. O'Brien, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

In the national races, which you ladies and gentlemen have been covering, and in which I have been campaigning, I perhaps think the best analysis of that can be given by quoting what [columnist] Walter Lippmann had to say after an election in which the results were somewhat parallel to this in 1962. He said then that according to the rules of the political game, as it has been played in this country for the last 50 years, when the party in power loses little or anything in an off year election, it has to be called a victory.

Consequently, I would call this a victory by that standard. First, as far as the House is concerned, the loss appears now to be nine, as compared with the average of 40 since the year 1870, or an average of 36 in the last 50 years. And this means that in the House we will still have the support that we have had previously for our policies in the foreign and the national security areas, which are of such vital importance.

The most important result of the election from the standpoint of the administration, and I think from the standpoint of the world and the Nation, is in the Senate.

The gain was two. It possibly may be three, depending upon how the count comes out in Indiana.

But far more significant than the gain of two or three is something that you ladies and gentlemen will remember when I pointed out that the reason I was campaigning so hard over the country was that, in the past 2 years, the Senate has been so evenly divided that a majority of one determined the big votes on foreign policy and national defense, and that I felt it was important to have more than a majority of one in support of the administration's policies in foreign policy and national defense.

We have increased our majority now to a working majority. We have a working majority in both the House and the Senate for national defense and also for foreign policy; a working majority of four in the Senate, which means that in terms of the President's ability to conduct foreign policy, to make decisions that he considers and that his administration considers are important to the future of the country and to the cause of peace generally, that he can speak with a much stronger voice in the world than was previously the case.

The results of this election, as far as the Senate is concerned, will not go unnoticed abroad. They enormously strengthen our hand at home, and I believe they will contribute to the goal that I have been talking about: our desire to end the war in Vietnam with a just peace, and to conduct our foreign policy generally and our defense policy in a way that we can win a full generation of peace.

In terms of the people who have run generally around the country, I have been getting off a few notes this morning, making a few calls. I, naturally, have congratulated the winners, particularly where we have campaigned for them. I sent a few notes to those who lost, too.

I do want to say, speaking on television and radio, to all the winners, Democrats and Republicans, my congratulations, and to all the losers, my condolences, Democrat and Republican.

This, like all campaigns, was hard fought, and I know how hard it is for the candidate to lose, and it is very hard for his family.

I think they will come out, however,

stronger men as a result of the loss, if they just don't let the loss get them down.

One little personal note with regard to the election. I pointed out yesterday that this was the first vote for a couple that has been very close to our family for the last 6 years, Manolo and Fina Sanchez, who are refugees from Cuba.

Mrs. Sanchez told me just before she voted that she didn't sleep all night. She said she felt that having the chance to vote was the greatest thrill that she had ever had in her life. And she summed it up simply by saying, "Just think, my vote is just as important as that of the President of the United States."

I hope all the American people realize that now the majority has spoken, the real majority in this country. There have been hard-fought races. It has been a hard-fought campaign.

But particularly in the field of foreign policy and national defense policy, I am most grateful to the American people, to that majority that has spoken, not in a partisan sense but simply in the sense that I have tried to present to the country.

I believe that our hand has been strengthened. I believe the chances to win a full generation of peace have been increased as a result of the fact that the President can now speak with a stronger voice because he will have stronger backing in the United States Senate than previously was the case.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. at the Western White House, San Clemente, Calif.

433 Statement About the Death of General Charles de Gaulle of France. *November* 10, 1970

THE PASSING of General Charles de Gaulle reminds us of the qualities that make men and nations great. His was the quality of character that enables men to surmount all obstacles, to call up reserves of courage, to turn adversity into triumph. His was the quality of vision that could see the grand sweep of history at a time when others focused on the events of the moment. He provided inspiration to an age in danger of being overwhelmed by the commonplace and, therefore, his passing is a loss not only for the French Nation but for all mankind.

NOTE: The statement was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

General de Gaulle, President of France from 1959 to 1969, died on November 9, 1970, of a heart attack in his home in Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises, France, at the age of 79.

434 Letter to President Pompidou of France on the Death of General de Gaulle. *November* 10, 1970

I WAS deeply shocked and grieved at the passing of General de Gaulle. This country knew General de Gaulle as a steadfast ally in war and a true friend in peace. Greatness knows no national boundaries, and therefore France's loss is the loss of mankind. The people of France and you, Mr. President, have the heartfelt sym-

pathy of all Americans in your hour of mourning.

RICHARD NIXON

[President Georges Pompidou, Elysée Palace, France]

NOTE: The letter was released at Key Biscayne, Fla.

435 Remarks on Arrival at Paris for Memorial Services for General de Gaulle. *November* 12, 1970

I WISH to convey to all the people of France, and particularly to Madame de Gaulle and General de Gaulle's family, the condolences of all of the people of the United States on this very sad occasion.

General de Gaulle is gone, but France lives because of what he did. And his life is an example, seldom paralleled in history, of triumph over adversity—an example for all to follow in the years ahead.

I feel most fortunate that I had the opportunity of knowing him both officially and personally, and to have had the benefit in the past of his wisdom, of his judgment, and his great vision about the problems of the world. And that opportunity that I have had has been of great benefit to me in the decisions that I have made in the past, and it will continue to be a source of benefit, encouragement, and inspiration in the years ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:49 a.m. at Orly Airport.

The memorial services were held at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris.

436 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Hamer H. Budge as Chairman and Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission. *November* 16, 1970

Dear Hamer:

It is with special regret that I accept your resignation as Chairman and a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission. In the hope that my request will not seriously interfere with your plans for the future, I would, however, ask you to defer your departure until after the present Congress has concluded its work.

The dedication and the outstanding ability which have distinguished your years with the Commission have earned the gratitude of every one of our fellow citizens many times over. Your service has added to the finest traditions of government, and you are leaving to your successors exceptional standards of integrity, keen judgment, and far-seeing concern for the interests of all Americans.

Together with the appreciation of the nation, I want to express my own personal thanks for the splendid job you have done. Knowing you as I do, I am confident that in the years ahead your activities will continue to reflect great credit on our country as on yourself.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Hamer H. Budge, Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D.C. 20549]

NOTE: The President's letter, dated November 13, 1970, and Chairman Budge's letter of resignation, dated November 5, were released by the White House on November 16. Chairman Budge's letter follows:

Dear Mr. President:

After six and one half busy years on the Commission and as this Congress nears adjournment, the time seems appropriate for me to retire. I am, therefore, asking you to accept my resignation.

The Commission's legislative proposals have all been completely presented to the Congress. The backlog of work in its various divisions has been brought under control and its calendar is current.

I feel the Commission has done a great deal in the interest of investors and the markets. I am proud to have been associated with it and its fine staff and have received complete cooperation from my fellow commissioners.

I am deeply appreciative of the confidence you have shown in me and the many courtesies you have extended.

With many thanks, I am

Respectfully,

HAMER H. BUDGE

437 Remarks at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. *November* 17, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I wish to express our very grateful appreciation to the Academy for this presentation that has been made, and it seems that it is most appropriate that the presentation to the President of the United States should be of the first Americans—watercolors by Mr. Whiteside.

As I have received with Mrs. Nixon the guests tonight, I have thought of the past as well as the future in terms of what this organization, this Academy, has contributed to this city, to America, and what it will contribute in the future.

And I am aware of the fact that this is very proudly known as the oldest academy of its kind in the United States and is also very proud of the tradition that it has represented through the years, the fact that this building was, on the 100th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence—was dedicated, and, on that occasion, that those who were present were reminded of the fact that it was something new in the way of architecture, that it tended to keep all that was good in the past but to break new ground for the future.

As I stood in this building and as we received all of you who were so gracious to stand in line so long to give us the opportunity to meet you, it occurred to me that it would be appropriate on this occasion for us all to remind ourselves of our past, a past which this city very proudly represents in so many ways.

All of you are aware of the fact that Philadelphia in the year 1976 will be the major city for the celebration of the Bicentennial. All of you on that occasion, of course, in this building will be celebrating the 100th year of its existence, and on that occasion we will have an opportunity to think of America's past and of what we can do to build a greater future for America.

I would like to say to those assembled here that I realize—and I am going to do a little something not for your image but I hope for your contributions in the future by what I just now say—I realize that those who came through the line are often

asked to make contributions to the endowment for the Academy. And I sometimes wonder if some of you, as you write out your checks, perhaps have doubts as to whether it is worthwhile. I can assure you that it is.

You are not only saving a heritage, saving a heritage which we see here tonight, but you are building for the future, for the generations to come, that great background that particularly our younger Americans need to see, to recognize that this Nation has something more than wealth and something more than power as it reaches the age of 200 years.

We in the White House are very grateful for the fact that you have made available on loan—and not gift, but on loan—the famous Dolley Madison portrait, one of the few items in the White House that dates before the fire of 1814. And we are very grateful, too, for other paintings that have been made available to us.

And so on this occasion, it gives me an opportunity to express appreciation for the way that this Academy has helped to make the White House, which belongs to all the people of America, where over one million and a half people walk through that house every year, it gives them a chance, through what you have done, to see some of the greatness of America's art and of America's past.

Now, to the point of my remarks with regard to this 200th anniversary that you will be celebrating so proudly in Philadelphia, and that other cities around the Nation will be celebrating with you. On that day, America will be, without question, the richest Nation in the world. On that day, America, if it decides it desires to do so, will still be the strongest Nation in the world.

The question on that day that all Americans, however, will want to answer is whether in addition to our strength and our power we have a heritage, a heritage to which we can point with very great pride, which is in the final analysis much more meaningful than wealth or great power.

This Academy is a demonstration of that heritage.

A few months ago, I saw in this great city another indication of it when I attended the Ormandy concert. And I realize that there was great competition as to which city would be selected for the Bicentennial city for the primary celebration. But I think that not only because as a historical fact the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776 in Philadelphia in Independence Hall, but because this city and its dedicated citizens, citizens like yourselves, have through the years had so much feeling about the necessity for a nation not only to be strong, and not only to be powerful, but to have a cultural heritage, to preserve it, to save it, and to pass it on to the generations to come—the fact that you have represented that, that you represent it here, that you represent it in your support of your musical organizations, and in your support of what I understand are the other fine academies of art in the city of Philadelphia.

So I simply want to say to all of you here that, speaking as one representing all of the United States of America, that we are very proud, Mrs. Nixon and I, that we could be here with you for a few moments tonight to be reminded of the greatness of America's cultural past and reminded, too, of the fact that in this city and in many cities across this Nation there

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are people like yourselves who are willing to contribute their time, their effort, their dedication to preserving this great cultural heritage of America.

I congratulate the Academy for what you have done in this program which you are initiating tonight. I wish you well in the future.

And in the year 1976, I hope to be back in one capacity or another to see what you have done then.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:09 p.m.

Mrs. Nixon inaugurated the exhibition entitled "To Save a Heritage" by unveiling three oil paintings which had been restored especially for the occasion. The President and Mrs. Nixon were presented with two watercolors of Indian scenes painted by F. R. Whiteside.

438 Special Message to the Congress Proposing Supplemental Foreign Assistance Appropriations. *November* 18, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In today's world, peace is synonymous with the strength of America and her friends.

Economic and military assistance to free nations willing to defend themselves is central to our new conception of American leadership for the 1970s and is crucial to America's hope of working with other nations to bring about the preconditions for peace in the world.

In my February 1970 Foreign Policy Message, I reported that it was our goal to reduce the level of our direct involvements abroad as the capability of friendly nations to provide for defense of our mutual interests increases. At that time I sought the cooperation of the Congress in this task. The provision of support for our friends is a key element in our national security policy. Such support is essential if our policy is to succeed. This is why I ask today for a supplemental appropriation of economic and military assistance funds.

The first six decades of the Twentieth Century taught us that a stable and tranquil world requires American participation in keeping the peace. For us to abdicate that responsibility would be to magnify the world's instability and turmoil for us as well as for our friends, and American strength remains one pillar of our foreign policy.

The United States is not going to withdraw from the world. But times are changing; for us to fulfill our responsibility now, we must link our efforts more closely with those of our friends to build the foundations of peace.

The decade of the 1960s taught us that it is neither necessary, nor even possible, for the United States to bear the principal burden for the defense or economic progress of all our allies and friends. They are now ready and willing to assume an increasing share of the burden for their own defense, and are developing the strength to do so—but they will continue to need our help as they move toward ultimate self-reliance.

The free world looks to this kind of American leadership in the 1970s. It is an American contribution which will encourage and enable other nations to do their part. It is a role for the United

States in the world which will enlist the support of the American people, and which America can—and must—sustain.

It is in America's national interest to support the growing efforts of our friends. The overwhelming evidence of the last 25 years—from the Marshall Plan to Vietnamization—is that a systematic program that helps other nations harness their own resources for defense and development enables them to take on the primary burden of their own defense.

Helping countries that demonstrate the capability to help themselves enables us to reduce our direct overseas involvement; it eases our budgetary and balance of payments burdens; and it lessens the likelihood of the engagement of American forces.

We are already carrying out this policy. Since I took office, we have already lowered our military presence abroad:

—Already, 68 installations abroad have been closed, and 44 more have been reduced.

—By next spring, under present plans, the total number of American military personnel overseas will be at least 300,000 below the number that were abroad in January of 1969.

But our national security requires that we provide friendly nations the military and economic assistance they need to defend themselves.

The change that the Nixon Doctrine calls for—from bearing the primary responsibility ourselves to enabling our friends to shoulder it much more themselves—is not a simple one to carry out. We must make this change in a way that permits our friends to adjust materially and psychologically to the new form and content of American support.

If we were to shift too quickly, without offsetting with assistance what we are taking away in direct American involvement, we would risk undermining their self-confidence. If we were to change too slowly, bearing too much of the burden ourselves too long, we would risk eroding their incentives for self-reliance.

In either case, we would fail to provide our friends with the means and confidence to help themselves, and we might ultimately face the dilemma of either letting them down or asserting a direct presence ourselves.

In the Middle East, we see how crucial it is to preserve the military balance so that those who are already willing and able to defend themselves can continue to do so. The interest of all nations would be best served by limiting the shipment of arms to that explosive region, but until this objective can be achieved, we must help prevent a shift in the military balance that would undermine the chances for peace.

In the Middle East and elsewhere, we must strike a careful balance. While we must understand the limitations of our assistance, we must never underestimate its critical value in achieving and preserving such balance.

The supplemental program which I submit today will help achieve this balance, by responding to critical needs that have arisen since my original request for 1971 foreign assistance funds.

1. Middle East

Nowhere is our support more necessary or more closely linked with our efforts to achieve peaceful solutions than in the Middle East. Peace will come to the Middle East when all parties feel secure

from the threat of military dominance and recognize that the only permanent way to resolve deepseated differences is by negotiation and never by war.

We must now act to preserve the delicate military balance in this area, which will encourage those negotiations leading to peace.

a. *Israel*

Israel has demonstrated a strong will to survive in freedom. We had hoped that recent agreements and arrangements in the Middle East would lead toward peace and make it unnecessary to provide large amounts of military assistance to any of the belligerents in the area. This hope has not yet been realized.

Continued large scale shipments of military equipment by the Soviet Union are a fact that cannot be denied. The buildup of the surface-to-air missile complex in the cease-fire zone west of the Suez Canal, in disregard of the ceasefire-standstill agreement, requires us to redress the imbalance it has caused.

As authorized by the Defense Procurement Act, *I request that the Congress appropriate $500 million to provide Israel with the credits that will assist her in the financing of purchases of equipment that have been necessary to maintain her defense capability, and to ease the economic strain caused by her expanded military requirements.*

b. *Jordan*

A stable and viable Jordan is essential if that nation is to make a positive contribution toward working out an enduring peace settlement which would serve the interests of all nations in the Middle East. The Jordanian government has recently demonstrated its determination and capacity to resist aggression by forces which oppose a peace settlement and threaten to weaken the stability of that country. But Jordan, which has previously paid for its military equipment, cannot afford to meet this new defense burden, and has asked us for assistance. *I request that the Congress provide $30 million toward meeting Jordan's request.*

c. *Lebanon*

Lebanon, which has also been threatened, has taken a moderate stance and a positive approach in the search for peace. To assist Lebanon to maintain a stable domestic base for responsible engagement in the search for peace, *I request the Congress to appropriate $5 million toward meeting Lebanon's request.*

2. East Asia

In July 1969, on my trip through Asia, I reaffirmed our determination to provide security support, while calling upon countries which receive our assistance to assume the primary responsibility for their own defense. Equally important, I emphasized the need to provide the help essential for such nations to assume this responsibility quickly. While reducing the direct participation of our forces we must help these other countries develop the capability to carry out the increased responsibilities they are assuming.

In Asia, this approach has provided the basis for a major reduction in our military presence as well as major long term budgetary and balance of payments savings. Authorized troop levels have been reduced by:

—165,000 in Vietnam; further reductions of 100,000 will be accomplished by next spring;

—20,000 in Korea;

—6,000 in Thailand; further reductions of 9,800 are in process;

—6,000 in the Philippines.

Let us look at the countries in Asia where our help is required as nations move toward greater self-reliance.

a. *Vietnam*

United States troop withdrawals in Vietnam mean a reduction in the amount of dollars spent by the Department of Defense, and by our soldiers in Vietnam; and these dollars have been an essential factor in that country's economic stability.

Anticipating that Vietnam would require additional funds this year, my budget message suggested that an extra $100 million might be required. *I am now requesting an amount smaller than that—$65 million—but I regard this smaller sum as most important in insuring the success of our Vietnamization program.* It is important because:

—The Vietnamese, with United States encouragement, have recently begun a significant set of economic reforms which can be effective only if the stability of the Vietnamese economy is maintained.

—The Vietnamese economy will bear an increasing burden of defense as United States troops are removed. That burden could create economic disruption to the point that it would jeopardize that nation's stability, thereby threatening the progress of Vietnamization and future troop withdrawals.

b. *Cambodia*

The operations in the Cambodian border sanctuaries in May and June helped assure the continued success of Vietnamization and of our troop withdrawal programs. As we knew at the time would be the case, the operations seriously impaired the enemy's ability to operate in South Vietnam, and contributed to the progress which has reduced our casualties there to the lowest level since 1965. Continuing operations by South Vietnamese and Cambodian forces in the border areas will make possible continued progress.

Cambodia itself has mobilized its own manpower and resources in defense of its independence and neutrality. The Cambodian armed forces have grown from some 40,000 before North Vietnam's invasion in April to more than 150,000 today. It is essential that we supplement Cambodia's own efforts by providing resources which are critically needed to enable it to continue to defend itself. Its ability to do so is a vital element in the continued success of Vietnamization.

Cambodia's needs have been urgent, and as Congress has been informed, I have directed that funds be transferred from other already severely limited programs to meet these critical needs. *I am requesting $100 million to restore funds to such vital programs as those for Taiwan, Greece and Turkey.*

The need for these programs—to support our NATO allies and to assure stability in the Mediterranean and in East Asia—are no less urgent today than when I originally requested the funds to implement them; it was only because of the extraordinary urgency of Cambodia's needs that I directed this temporary transfer.

To meet Cambodia's urgent needs for the remainder of this fiscal year, *I request that the Congress provide $155 million in new funds to be directly allocated to the Cambodian program ($70 million for economic support; and $85 million for*

military assistance). Seventy percent of the military assistance will be for ammunition.

c. *Korea*

I have announced our intentions to reduce by 20,000 the authorized level of United States forces in the Republic of Korea. This has placed a greater defense burden on the Koreans.

Our present assistance to Korea is mostly in the form of operation and maintenance items for their military forces. These items do not help to modernize the Korean force structure as we must do if we are to help Korea improve its own defense capability. *I therefore request authority to transfer to Korea equipment currently being utilized by United States forces scheduled to be withdrawn.*

Additional assistance is required this year as part of Korea's major five-year program to modernize its defense forces and to enable it to effectively meet outside threats as we reduce the level of direct US involvement. These funds are needed now to insure that the needed equipment will be delivered in good time. *I request that the Congress provide $150 million in support of this modernization of South Korea's defense.*

3. Other Programs

There are two additional needs for the military assistance program that have arisen since the Congress considered my request earlier in the year.

First, I directed that the Indonesian program be increased by $13 million from the previous level of $5 million for fiscal year 1971. Indonesia—with its population of over 110 million—occupies a key position for the future peace of Southeast Asia, and has shown a strong determination to resist threats to its security and stability. It is in our interest to support such encouraging developments in a nation which can play a key role in the stability of its entire region.

Second, anticipated recoveries of funds from past years' programs in various parts of the world are not materializing; a shortage of $17 million in these resources is now expected. These funds are needed to continue our assistance programs at necessary levels, and have been recognized as such by the Congress. Any shortfalls in these recoveries therefore would require reductions in already severely limited programs, and must be offset.

I request that this $30 million be restored to the military assistance program.

The funds requested represent a considerable sum. But the growing strength of our friends and their willingness to accept a greater responsibility for their own defense will mean increased effectiveness of our own efforts, and a lessened possibility that our men will have to risk their lives in future conflicts.

At this time, in light of certain extraordinary needs and in order to continue the success of the approach outlined in the Nixon Doctrine, we must provide additional resources to those of our friends whose security is threatened. The expenditures are essential to the support of our national security goals and our foreign policy interests, as we reduce our direct involvement abroad.

We must signal clearly to the world, to those who threaten freedom as well as those who uphold freedom, that where our interests are involved the United States will help those who demonstrate their determination to defend themselves.

Our foreign policy cannot succeed without clear evidence that we will provide such help.

I believe the American people deeply understand the need for secure friends and allies to provide the foundation for a stable peace.

I believe the American people are prepared to accept the costs of assistance to these nations, to reduce the political and economic costs of maintaining a direct United States presence overseas—and thereby to avoid a possible cost of American lives.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
November 18, 1970

439 Remarks Introducing James F. Oates, Jr., Chairman, Jobs for Veterans Program. *November* 24, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

During the next year over 1 million men will be separated from the armed services. As they return to the United States and to civilian life, about a third of them will go back to school; two-thirds of them will be ready to enter the labor market.

It is vitally important, we feel in this administration and I think generally everybody in this country feels, that those who do go to work and want the opportunity to go to work have jobs.

Our indication of the priority we put on this project is the appointment of Mr. James Oates, in charge of the program within the Government and also in charge of a program to mobilize the entire Nation in the private sectors, business, labor unions, and other organizations, so that the jobs will be available for these men who have served the Nation.

I believe that all of us recognize that we owe a debt of gratitude to our young men who have served America during this period, and the way we best pay that debt is to provide them an opportunity for employment, an opportunity that they deserve, an opportunity which I know they will fulfill with very high distinction.

I would like to indicate the reason that I think Mr. Oates is the ideal man to head up this program. He is a man who brings enormous prestige to the position. He will be able to speak to leaders all over the Nation, within Government and out of Government, with great impact. He is a man who has very great organizational ability as demonstrated by his years as chief executive officer of the Equitable Life Assurance company.

But as his own statement to you will indicate at this point, above everything else he has a great deal of enthusiasm. He believes in this program and he will be able to, I think, communicate that enthusiasm to the leaders in Government, the members of the Cabinet and the sub-Cabinet who have responsibilities in this area; to the leaders of business, 900,000 business firms who may be able to offer jobs; to the leaders of labor unions; and to others who might be interested.

Mr. Oates now will make a statement and then will answer your questions on this vitally important program.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Following the President's remarks, Mr. Oates, Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, and Administrator of Veterans Affairs Donald E. Johnson held a news briefing on the program. The transcript of the briefing was released by the White House on the same day.

440 Message to the Congress Transmitting Reports on the Military Incentive Awards Program. *November* 25, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

In September of 1965, the Congress of the United States authorized a new cash awards program for military personnel. This program was designed to provide members of the Armed Forces with an added incentive to reduce military costs and improve military efficiency. In accordance with the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 1124, I am herewith forwarding the reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation concerning cash awards which were made under this program during Fiscal Year 1970.

The most recent report on the Military Awards Program covered the first six months of 1969. The present report and all future reports will cover an entire fiscal year, as is presently the case with the civilian Incentive Awards Program which is run by the Civil Service Commission.

In Fiscal Year 1970—as in earlier years—the Military Awards Program was a great success. Suggestions from military personnel that were adopted during Fiscal Year 1970 saved the government over $166 million—substantially more than in any previous year. Tangible first year benefits derived from such suggestions since the program went into effect in 1965 have now reached a total of more than $439 million. Many benefits and improvements of an intangible nature have also been realized.

Some 205,888 suggestions were submitted by military personnel during the reporting period of which 32,854 were adopted. Cash awards for adopted suggestions totalled $1,979,111. More than 80 percent of the cash awards were paid to enlisted personnel. Payments varied from a minimum of $25 to a maximum which was somewhat more than $1,000.

The reports which I am forwarding from the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Transportation present additional information concerning payments made under the Military Awards Program, along with brief descriptions of some of the more noteworthy suggestions which were presented as a part of this program during Fiscal Year 1970.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
November 25, 1970

441 Remarks on Presenting Medals to Members of a Search and Rescue Mission to Sontay, Vietnam. *November* 25, 1970

Mr. Secretary of Defense, Admiral Moorer, Members of the Congress, and our very special guests today:

Many very great men have been honored in this room, but I can assure you that no President of the United States could be more proud than I am to pay tribute to the men that we honor today.

Theirs was a mission of mercy, an attempt to rescue some of their fellow Americans who were being held captive in North Vietnam under the most barbaric conditions.

When we think of that mission of mercy, we think of the fact that it was carried out with incomparable efficiency; even more important, it was carried out with incomparable bravery.

As the Secretary of Defense and Admiral Moorer will recall, before I gave the final order, I asked some very searching questions. I found that each man who participated in this mission was a volunteer.

I found that each man who participated in this mission knew before he went that there was a 50 percent chance that the mission might not succeed.

And I found that each man who participated in this mission knew that there was a 50 percent chance that he might lose his life.

After learning these things, I asked Admiral Moorer how it was possible to get men to volunteer for such duty. He said to me, "Sir, we could have had thousands to volunteer to go in to help our prisoners of war."

And so today, we think of the fact that we sometimes hear that the young in America have no heroes. This is the answer: When a man is willing to risk his life to rescue one of his fellow men, that is heroism of the highest order.

What these men have done is a message, a message to the prisoners of war still in North Vietnam, to their wives and their loved ones, some of whom are here, that the prisoners of war have not been forgotten and that we will continue to do everything we can at the diplomatic table and in other ways to attempt to bring them back home.

Also, what these men have done is a very special message to America on Thanksgiving eve. We can all be thankful tonight and tomorrow that America has produced such magnificent men.

The Secretary of Defense will read the citations.

[Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird read the following citations:]

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS TO ARTHUR D. SIMONS

Colonel Arthur D. Simons, United States Army, distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism while commanding the ground element of a Joint United States Task Force on an operation deep in North Vietnam on 21 November 1970. With complete disregard for his own personal safety, Colonel Simons voluntarily participated as a member of a Joint Task Force with the humanitarian mission of rescuing United States military personnel held as prisoners of war at the Son Tay Prison Compound approximately twenty nautical miles from Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam. In

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an outstanding display of leadership and personal courage, Colonel Simons led the heloborne force in the rescue effort. On the ground, the search and rescue element was immediately taken under automatic weapons fire by the enemy. While directing and supervising the operation, Colonel Simons continually exposed himself to enemy fire, and on one occasion, personally took under fire enemy personnel in close proximity to his position. The success of the operation was the direct result of Colonel Simons' calm and competent leadership in an extremely hazardous situation. His professional conduct instilled confidence in his men and resulted in an outstanding operation. Colonel Simons' extraordinary heroism was in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflects great credit upon himself and the United States Army.

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS TO TYRONE J. ADDERLY

Sergeant First Class Tyrone J. Adderly, United States Army, distinguished himself by extraordinary heroism and risk of life on 21 November 1970 while serving voluntarily as a member of a Joint United States Task Force with the mission of rescuing American military personnel held as prisoners of war at Son Tay, North Vietnam. While participating in the operation, Sergeant Adderly, a gunner and ground guide for one of the command elements, came under heavy automatic weapons fire as the element approached the enemy complex. With complete disregard for his own life, Sergeant Adderly advanced against the hostile position and neutralized the enemy with highly accurate M-79 grenade fire. As the force moved into the complex, Sergeant Adderly once again came under heavy automatic weapons fire. Unhesitatingly, he assaulted the enemy position and eliminated the threat to the force. His valorous actions contributed greatly to the successful conduct of the assigned mission without the loss of a single American life. Sergeant First Class Adderly's extraordinary heroism was in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflects great credit upon himself and the United States Army.

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE AIR FORCE CROSS TO LE ROY M. WRIGHT

Technical Sergeant LeRoy M. Wright, United States Air Force, displayed extraordinary heroism while serving as a helicopter crew member of a Joint United States Task Force which conducted a rescue operation against the Son Tay Prisoner of War Camp in North Vietnam on 21 November 1970. Although suffering injury to his left foot and ankle during the landing in the prison compound, Sergeant Wright remained with the helicopter until all passengers and crew had exited the aircraft despite the possibility of aircraft explosion. Sergeant Wright then vigorously moved to an exposed area and, with complete disregard for his own life, placed extremely effective covering fire on enemy positions which endangered the operation thus freeing the Army element within the compound to continue its mission. Sergeant Wright then, despite the intense pain of his injury, courageously moved by himself more than 200 meters with the Army element to the extraction landing zone. These actions reflect great credit upon Sergeant Wright and the United States Air Force.

CITATION TO ACCOMPANY THE AWARD OF THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL TO LE ROY J. MANOR

Brigadier General LeRoy J. Manor, United States Air Force, distinguished himself by exceptionally meritorious service to the United States in a duty of great responsibility while serving as the Commander of a Joint United States Task Force on 21 November 1970. General Manor commanded the humanitarian force whose mission was to search for and rescue United States military personnel held as prisoners of war deep within the territory of North Vietnam. He conceived a brilliant tactical plan,

carefully selected and helped train the volunteers with the necessary expertise to carry it out. Over a period of three months, he repeatedly simulated each phase of the operation, thereby insuring its faultless execution. General Manor's brilliant talents of command and supervision resulted in a superbly trained joint task force. The mission was daring in concept and bold in execution. General Manor directed the operation from his command post with the highest degree of professionalism. Despite great hazard, the operation was conducted without the loss of a single American life. The singular efforts and outstanding achievement of General Manor are in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Air Force and reflect great credit upon himself and the United States Air Force.

[The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the ceremony.

And I am sure that some of you would perhaps like personally to congratulate the men who have received these awards, and to meet some of our other special guests, the wives of some of the prisoners of war who are here as our special guests and, of course, the wives of those who have received the awards. They would all, I know, be very happy to meet you.

We thank you for coming, and we're very happy you could be with us on a day that we think is a very proud one for the United States of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, USN, was Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

442 Remarks at a Ceremony Inaugurating the Lighting of the White House. *November* 25, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Nixon and I are very happy to welcome you on this Thanksgiving eve to one of those occasions that comes very seldom in the history of the White House, a significant change in terms of how it will appear to the American people and people all over the world.

A bit of historical reference, perhaps, would be in order.

Seventy years ago—or 80 years ago, I should say—in the Presidency of Benjamin Harrison, electricity first came to the White House. And when Theodore Roosevelt was President, 68 years ago, the White House, for the first time, had some external lights which he planned. Those lights that he planned you perhaps have not noticed, but in recent days they have been removed because a change is going to take place which you will see in just a moment.

No change in the external lighting of the White House has occurred in the past 68 years, and now the change that you will see tonight came as a result of two coincidences.

First, as you know, a lot of mail comes to the White House, to the President and to the First Lady. And the First Lady, also, is one who reads a lot of mail and listens to a lot of people.

Several months ago she reported to me that a number of people who had written to the White House, and some of the visitors—the over a million and a half visitors who come through this house every year—had remarked about the fact that at night Washington is a very beautiful city—that the Washington Monument is lighted,

that the Lincoln Memorial is lighted, and also that the Capitol is lighted.

And the question was asked over and over again by scores of people in letters and personally: Why can't the White House be lighted, because it is such a beautiful house? We would like for all of our people to see it at night as well as in the daytime.

Mrs. Nixon raised that question with me. And I had to give her the same answer that I am presently giving to people in the Cabinet who asked for increases in the budget. I pointed out: Where are we going to get the money?

And now came the coincidence. Mr. Willard Marriott, the chairman of the Inaugural Committee, reported several months ago that there was a surplus after the last inauguration, as sometimes there is, and that it was the custom to ask the First Lady to designate where that surplus might be used.

So Mrs. Nixon made the decision that the surplus from the Inaugural Committee of January 1969 would be given as a gift to the Nation, and the gift to the Nation is the lighting of the White House, the external lighting of the White House.

In a moment, Mrs. Nixon will do the honors of pushing the button that will allow you to see the house as it has been lit.

The reason that it has been kept a secret is that they've been doing their practicing very late at night. But if you've seen a glow from this house at 4 or 5 in the morning, it isn't because it's on fire. It's because they've been trying to light the White House so that we could have the final result of it available tonight, throughout the Thanksgiving and the Christmas season and all the years to come.

I just close with one other historical reference. Once this house is lighted at night, it will be seen by millions of Americans and will be more simply than having the building physically lit, because it will be a symbol of something, I hope, to all Americans and to people around the world.

Woodrow Wilson, speaking at Independence Hall in 1914, expressed the feeling that I deeply share, and that I know most Americans share with me, when he said that "a patriotic American . . . is never so proud of the great Flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty."

And I only hope, as this house now will be lighted for all to see, that, as it appears before us here, it will be now and in the years to come a symbol of hope and liberty to all Americans and to all people throughout the world.

[At this point the United States Marine Corps Band played "America the Beautiful". The President then resumed speaking.]

And now, ladies and gentlemen, we can't invite you all in, but I do want to urge all of you not only to see it from this side but to go around and look at it from the front. I think it's even more beautiful from the front with the lighting.

Thank you very much and a very happy Thanksgiving to everybody who is here.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. on the South Lawn.

443 Statement on Signing the Agricultural Act of 1970. *November* 30, 1970

I HAVE today signed the Agricultural Act of 1970, which agricultural leaders of both parties in Congress and of this administration believe will establish a sound basis for an efficient agricultural economy keyed to opportunity and abundance in the 1970's.

Unlike many major farm bills of the past, this legislation is the product of bipartisan cooperation, with both Republicans and Democrats working together for its passage. This act moves away from the strict control structure of past farm legislation. It is designed to protect and improve farm income, and it gives producers a greater opportunity to expand and improve their farming operations. It also extends Public Law 480, the Food for Peace program; the [National] Wool Act [of 1954]; and several valuable dairy programs.

Under this act, farmers will have the opportunity to move away from frozen acreages on feed grains, wheat, and cotton toward a wider choice of crops. With this greater capability to shift production to meet immediate market needs, farmers can utilize their resources to produce their most favorable crops and make more efficient use of the land. One important result should be broader markets for United States farm products both at home and overseas.

Modern American agriculture makes an indispensable contribution to the health and strength of this country. Only in America do so few farmers and ranchers produce so much, so reasonably, for so many. The improvement and strengthening of the farm economy and the development of our rural areas are primary goals of this administration. Congressional and administration architects of the Agricultural Act of 1970 are convinced that it will be an important step toward these goals.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 18546) is Public Law 91–524 (84 Stat. 1358).

444 Remarks on Presenting the Young American Medals. *December* 3, 1970

Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst, Director Hoover, Members of the House, Members of the Senate, and our very distinguished guests this morning:

This is a very special ceremony that I am always very honored to participate in, in which we have the privilege of making the awards for bravery and service for young Americans.

These awards were set up by the Congress 20 years ago, and I think that all of you would be interested in knowing how the four that have been selected for the top awards today were chosen.

The Governors of the 50 States, out of each State, selects the young people in his State that he believes should qualify for this award, either for bravery or for service, and then at the very highest level within the Justice Department there are selected the top four, two for bravery and two for service.

When we think of these young people, as the citations will be read by the Deputy Attorney General, we realize how fortunate we are in this Nation to have such outstanding young people in America because they are the leaders of America in the future.

We hear too much these days about the very small minority of young Americans who have lost faith in their country. We hear too little about the great majority of young Americans, young Americans who display courage in their daily lives, who are willing to sacrifice in order to save the lives of others and young Americans who are motivated by idealism, who want to do something to make this Nation, their communities, their States better for themselves, but more important, better for other people.

It is in that tradition that these awards have been made for the past 20 years, and, as you hear the citations, I am sure you will be just as proud as I am of these four fine young Americans who represent the very best in American youth.

Mr. Kleindienst.

[Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst read the citations. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the ceremony. And I understand that arrangements have been made for you to have a tour of the White House, as well as the other Capital facilities. We want to thank you again for coming and hope you have a very fine visit here, that your plane rides back are just as smooth as the ones coming down.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. in the Blue Room at the White House.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was a member of the Young American Medals Committee.

The President presented gold medals for bravery in 1968 to the parents of John N. Caruso, Jr., of John's Island, S.C., who lost his life in saving the life of a 10-year-old boy, and to Thomas Dvorscek, 17, of Oak Lawn, Ill., who rescued a 10-year-old girl who had fallen through ice into a small pond; and gold medals for service to Maxine Susan Lazovick, 20, of Bridgeport, Conn., who assisted in local fund-raising drives and did volunteer work with mentally retarded and crippled children, and to Debra Jean Sweet, 19, of Madison, Wis., who helped organize a 30-mile march by 3,000 high school students to raise funds for the poor and worked to improve race relations in the inner city.

An announcement, released by the White House on the same day, containing information on the awards and summaries of the winners' accomplishments is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1619).

445 Message to the Opening Session of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels. *December* 3, 1970

THE MEETING of the North Atlantic Alliance will be one of the most important conferences in the history of the Alliance. This past year has witnessed the completion of a comprehensive review of Alliance defense that can serve as the basis for a common effort throughout this decade. This review testifies to the continuing value of candid consultations based on mutual respect and to the common recognition that the prospects for peace rest primarily on our ability and

willingness to maintain an Alliance sufficiently strong to deter those who might threaten war.

After the most searching consultations, together we have arrived at several fundamental conclusions which will help us maintain NATO's strength while the Alliance seeks to translate the promise of detente into the reality of a just and lasting peace.

—We have reaffirmed flexibility of response as the proper strategy for a defensive Alliance confronted by a formidable mix of potentially hostile force, which is constantly improving.

—We have agreed that NATO's conventional forces must not only be maintained, but in certain key areas strengthened. Given a similar approach by our Allies, the United States will maintain and improve its own forces in Europe and will not reduce them unless there is reciprocal action from our adversaries. We will continue to talk with our NATO Allies with regard to how we can meet our responsibilities together.

—The Allies have agreed to move to transform the recommendations of the study into fact. This should provide NATO with an enhanced capability sufficient to make the strategy of flexible response a more credible factor in the equation of deterrence.

In the process of this review we were heartened by the efforts of several of the Alliance's members to create a new and more equitable sharing of the burdens of the Alliance through a greater effort by our Allies to meet the challenges of NATO defense in the decade of the Seventies. This European initiative gives concrete testimony to the vitality and spirit of the European Allies. NATO has strong support among the American people. Successful efforts to improve European forces and absorb a greater share of the burden will insure continued support.

I welcome the achievements of the Alliance. I am certain we can move from agreed goals to practical action with the same seriousness of purpose.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The message was read by Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

446 Remarks at the Swearing In of William D. Ruckelshaus as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. *December* 4, 1970

Mr. Chief Justice, ladies and gentlemen:

We are gathered here today for a ceremony in which we will have sworn in the first head of a new agency.

And in swearing in Mr. Ruckelshaus, I know that the Attorney General is very sorry to lose him, but the Nation is very fortunate to get him as the first administrator of this vitally important agency.

He is a fair crusader, a crusader for clean air, for clean water, and a better environment for all Americans.

He will have the support, completely, of the White House, of the President, and of this administration in his efforts to provide the programs which will bring clean air, clean water, and a better environment for all Americans.

We are very proud to have had him in the administration in a very distinguished assignment with the Justice Department over the past 2 years, and we are very proud to have him and his fine family here today to be present for this swearing-in ceremony.

I will only say this: An indication of how a man is going to handle himself in a difficult assignment is how he handles himself before the Senate when he is up for confirmation. Having seen Mr. Ruckelshaus take the best shots that could be given by the very constructive critics in the Senate who were trying to be sure that he was qualified for this job, I think we have here the best man for this new job that we could find.

It is in that spirit that I am very proud to have him sworn in as the first head of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Chief Justice Burger is here to administer the oath.

[Following the administration of the oath of office, Mr. Ruckelshaus spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much.

I can only say, Mr. Director, that speaking of clean air, if you can make the air in all of our cities as clean and as beautiful as it is on this particular day in Washington, D.C., you will have accomplished your objective.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:19 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

The remarks of Mr. Ruckelshaus are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1621).

An announcement, released by the White House on November 6, 1970, of the intention to nominate Mr. Ruckelshaus as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1545).

The transcript of a news conference on the nomination by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and Mr. Ruckelshaus, then Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, Department of Justice, was also released on November 6.

447 Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers. *December* 4, 1970

Chairman Keeler, President Gullander, Secretary Stans, Secretary Hodgson, Mr. Postmaster General, all of the distinguished guests in this very distinguished audience:

I have addressed the NAM and its Congress of Industry on several occasions, but there could be no greater honor than to address it as President of the United States on this occasion of your 75th anniversary.

And of all the many times that I have spoken in this magnificent ballroom, I can say that I have never had so many presidents behind me.

I am going to take this occasion tonight to speak to you very seriously about a subject that to many would be dull, but to you who have such an interest in America's future, not just its business future but its future in every way, will be, I am sure, extremely interesting and vital.

Because I have chosen this occasion to report to the whole Nation on this administration's economic strategy. I want to tell you tonight what we found when we took office, what we did about it, what the results of our moves were, and what we are doing now.

When we came into office 22 months

ago, this was what we found:

—532,000 Americans were fighting in Vietnam, with no diplomatic or military plan to bring them home and no economic plan to provide civilian futures for them when they did get home;

—prices were rising, interest rates were rising, monetary and budget policies had produced a serious inflationary crisis.

The challenge was clear: Never before in this Nation's history had we been able to end a war without serious economic dislocation and never before in this Nation's history had we been able to curb a major inflation without a recession. We accepted that challenge.

We acted immediately on both the warfront and the homefront.

Abroad, we implemented a plan that will bring home 265,000 Americans by next May. We brought casualties down to the lowest point in 4 years. We presented a fair and honest plan for peace. We reordered our national priorities: More than a million men have been released from the Armed Forces and from defense plants, and for the first time in 20 years the Federal Government spent more money last year to meet human needs than on defense.

At home, we took action which we thought was needed to combat inflation. We held down Federal spending and balanced the budget; at the same time, the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve was restrictive. By doing what we said we would do, we effectively countered much of the inflationary pressure that had been feeding on itself and endangering the dollar.

In essence, then, we found a war that was surely not ending and an inflation that was surely accelerating. We moved quickly to set a new course that would end the war and curb inflation—both at the same time.

Let me focus now on our economic plan and its results. Keep in mind its two basic elements.

First, we were determined to slow down a runaway inflation in a way that would not bring about a serious recession.

And, next, even before the results of our anti-inflationary action became fully apparent, our plan called for moving the economy up toward its full growth potential, in a way that would not bring about a new round of inflation.

That was the plan and that is the plan. It was, and is, a bold and ambitious plan—to slow down the cost of living as we end the cost of war, to hold down the pain of transition as we build strong and stable foundations for a new prosperity, with new confidence in the purchasing power of the dollar.

Now I want to speak to you and to this Nation with complete candor about the progress we have made and the problems that we still confront.

The inflation psychology when we took office in January of 1969 was more powerful than anyone knew. But the dangerously rising momentum of inflation was arrested by late 1969; the rate of inflation has been moving gradually downward in 1970.

The progress is not as fast as we would want, and we can expect some reverses along the way. But the worst of inflation is over. The lowered rise in the consumer price index, the much lower rise in the wholesale prices, and lower interest rates indicate that there will be a further decline of the rate of inflation during the year ahead.

And now the question is: Have we slowed inflation without a serious decline, as our plan called for? We have—but looking at the problem, we must recognize that the Nation has paid a price for slowing down the rise in prices. The unemployment figures issued today, while they reflect in part the temporary effects of the auto strike, underscore that fact.

Unemployment now is at the level of the first half of the 1960's, before the Vietnam war buildup began. I believe we can and must do better, and that we can and must do better without war.

Businessmen and investors, large and small, have felt a profit squeeze, with corporate profits down 8 percent from 1969. And many working people and investors have been hurt. It offers little solace to know that this has been the least painful transition from war to peace, and from inflation toward stability, in our recent history.

These are not small problems, and people are not statistics. The man looking for a job, the businessman suffering from disappointing sales, the investor who has seen his savings and investments erode—all are Americans with very important human concerns, concerns that particularly affect the President of the United States who has responsibility for this Nation.

The pain of transition from war to peace, from inflation to stability, is real, and it is the business of government, of business, and of labor to help ease that pain as we move ahead.

Having paid the cost of slowing the rise in prices, the workingman and the businessman in this country have earned a new right—the right to reasonable stability and a new steadiness of growth in our economic life.

Let me turn now to the prospects for the next phase of our economic plan. Our objective is to help move our economy up to its full potential of growth and employment while continuing to reduce inflation.

The basic questions are these: What have we been doing to restimulate the economy? What do we intend to do to step up the pace of growth? And what are we all prepared to do to hold down the cost of living as we quicken our economic pulse?

First, this is what has already been done to help the economy resume its growth:

Early in 1970, budget policy turned in a more expansionist direction. It was an orderly and well-timed change. Some of the present deficit is government's way of picking up the check for a slowdown of inflation; much of it is a force working toward orderly stimulation and expansion of the economy at the time that such expansion is needed.

Second, monetary policy has changed over the period of this year. From mid-1969 to February of this year, the money supply grew by only 1 percent a year; since February, the Federal Reserve has permitted the supply of money to grow at an annual rate of 6 percent.

And then, third, as a result of easier credit policies and curbing of inflationary psychology, interest rates are coming down substantially. This sets the stage for new expansion of housing, of State and local government construction, of private capital formation needed for productivity.

The effects of these basic changes in economic policy can already be seen in the strong upsurge in housing starts, the rapid expansion of State and local bond financing, and the strong market for corporate debt financing. Along with unusually large spending potential by consumers,

these signs all point to expansion ahead.

But government has a responsibility to do more than this. This is what we are doing to help the economy along the path that will get us back to full employment as rapidly as possible, while continuing to make progress against inflation.

First, we plan our budget on the basis that it would be balanced if we were at full employment and the economy were producing full tax revenues, not when the economy is below that point. And, consequently, our budget policy will be responsible in holding down inflation, but it will also be responsive in encouraging expansion.

Second, as the economy rises toward full employment, more money will be required to do the Nation's business. The amount of business to be done will rise steadily, and we shall need a rate of expansion of the supply of money and credit to do the job properly. I have been assured by Dr. Arthur Burns that the independent Federal Reserve System will provide fully for the increasing monetary needs of the economy. I am confident that this commitment will be kept.

Third, we look to a continuation of the strong revival of housing construction to be a leading force in the upward movement of the economy. Housing starts have been rising strongly this year. They surged ahead almost 20 percent in the last quarter. The programs of government, which profoundly affect the rate of housing construction, will continue to be directed to assure that the pent-up demand for housing in America is met.

As we take these actions to produce a vigorous and orderly expansion, let's turn to the other side of the coin.

Here is what we are doing to strengthen resistance to inflation at the very same time.

We have arranged for a series of Inflation Alerts and established the National Commission on Productivity to enable labor, business, and the public to cooperate in improving efficiency and cutting costs.

We have also set up procedures to change some government regulations that contribute to higher prices. These are not moves toward controls; on the contrary, these are moves away from the kind of government controls that cause artificial market shortages.

Let me give two examples. The first, the recent increase of 25 cents per barrel in the price of crude oil, was accompanied by increases in prices of gasoline and, later, of jet fuel.

Up to now, State restrictions on production on Federal offshore leases have held down the supply of crude oil.

I have been informed by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness that these State restrictions are not necessary for national security; moreover, they actually interfere with the freedom of our domestic market system.

Consequently, I have today directed the Interior Department to assume complete regulating responsibility for conservation and production of oil and gas on all Federal offshore lands. This means that more oil will be produced on those lands, while maintaining strict environmental standards.

I have also directed that companies importing Canadian oil be permitted to use their overseas allocation for the purchase of more crude oil from Canada.

Taken together, these actions will increase the supply of oil and can be ex-

pected to help restrain the increase of oil and gasoline prices.

Let us look at the other side of the coin—at the wage side—to see where government leadership can help hold down costs and prices.

The problem in the construction industry, for example, illustrates the need for that kind of leadership. When you have an industry in which one out of three negotiations has led to a strike; when major construction wage settlements are more than double the national average for all manufacturing, at a time when many construction workers are out of work, then something is basically wrong with that industry's bargaining process.

What can be done about it?

For one thing, the structure of bargaining must be changed. As it is now, the craft-by-craft, city-by-city pattern only guarantees instability in the construction industry. What is called for is a more consolidated bargaining, on an area or regional scope. What is needed is a bargaining process that will preserve the integrity of each bargaining unit while it provides a new base for stability and fairness.

Consequently, I have directed the Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission to take the initiative in working out these changes with leaders of management and labor. And if the Commission determines that legislation is required to work the problem out, that legislation will be proposed and supported.

In today's economy, about the only thing greater than the problem of the construction industry is the potential of the construction industry. The men who are building this Nation in that industry work in a field with a great future, and one in which the Federal Government—with its expanded housing programs, its highway programs—will be a driving force for growth.

The time is now for the construction trades and the construction industry on the management side to face up to reality—a reality where strikes and costs are limiting its own future. The Federal stake in the construction industry is enormous. Unless the industry wants government to intervene in wage negotiations on Federal projects to protect the public interest, the moment is here for labor and management to make their own reforms in that industry.

If business and labor expect public policy to help stimulate real expansion, then business and labor should be prepared to offer the public some real help in curbing inflation.

In discussing this problem, however, let us recognize that no one industry and no one side of the bargaining table can be made the scapegoat for rising prices. There is blame enough to go around, and the past policies of government bear their full share of the blame for inflation. Recriminations, buckpassing aren't going to help; what is needed now is the firm acceptance of the fact that fighting inflation is everybody's business.

The decisions of business and labor about prices and wages must be formed by the economic facts of life. The most basic of these facts is that we cannot receive more real income than we turn out in real goods and services. When profits and wages are rising faster than productivity, prices will also be rising.

Wage increases which are eaten up by price increases don't help the workingman, and they hurt everyone else. Because of our campaign against inflation, we now have an opportunity to break the vicious circle of wage-price escalation. As you

know, productivity is once again on the rise. As a result, production costs are rising less rapidly.

Government has done its part in our budget and monetary policy to hold the line. Now this is the moment for business and labor to make a special effort to exercise restraint in price and wage decisions.

This is the moment for labor and management to stop freezing into wage settlements and price actions any expectation that inflation will continue in the future at its peak rate of the past. Any wage or price decision that makes the flat and irreversible assumption of a high rate of inflation ahead is against the public interest and against the real interest of the workingman.

This is also the moment, with productivity newly on the rise, for business to take a hard new look at its pricing policies, and to pass along to the consumer its savings in production costs.

Let us look beyond our immediate concerns to the deeper strengths, the longer range goals of the American economy.

Many people see full employment and a stable cost of living as a kind of tradeoff; they say we can have one or the other, but never both at the same time. The best we can hope for, they say, is a "balance of error"—not too much in unemployment at a time when there is not too much inflation.

That may be a stage on the way to our goal, but it is not our goal.

The American people have a right to expect more than that, and I believe that we can do better than that.

Our goal is to achieve a combination of full employment and reasonable price stability. And I am confident that we can and will achieve that goal.

I want to tell you why I am confident.

I have an abiding faith in the power and genius of the American economic system. No businessman can intelligently plan ahead without figuring in the capacity of that economic system to meet the demands made upon it by the American people.

Taking the record of American free enterprise as a guide, the most realistic, businesslike view of the future is this: Our system can deliver full employment, a stable dollar, and truly equal opportunity—and it can do it all at the same time.

I know that many businessmen are concerned when young people—including probably some of your own children—come to you and say, "Business is not for me. I don't want to get in that rat race; I want to help other people."

The paradox is this: Nothing has done more to help people in this country and people in the world than the American private economic system. Not organized charity, not the most active voluntary organizations, not government itself can begin to compare with the benefits to people that flow from that unique combination of management, capital, and labor in America.

Here is a system that has reduced the percentage of poor in this Nation by almost half in the last 10 years; a system in which even those on welfare in the United States receive more real income than 75 percent of the people in this world will see in their lifetime.

Here is a system that provides the workingman with more opportunity, more real income, more leisure time, more personal freedom than any system in the history of man—and provides all of them at the same time.

Here is a system that has made it possible for the United States to distribute

$140 billion in aid to the rest of the world since the end of World War II—a system that makes it possible for us to respond generously to human needs created by an earthquake in Peru, a flood in Romania, a cyclone and tidal wave in Pakistan.[1]

And here is a system that makes possible massive aid to education, vital new programs to improve the health of our people, a wide range of efforts to protect and restore our environment. A strong economy makes us strong enough to better our lives; a strong economy makes us strong enough to defend our freedom.

Our system produces wealth. Now, I realize that "wealth" is a word that is scorned by a lot of people today.

But how could we afford our massive educational system without the wealth produced by the people who make our economy move? Where would we get the resources to care for the poor, to look after the sick, to clean up our air and water, if it were not for the wealth generated by a free economy?

Too many people make the mistake of thinking that because government is the distributor of so much wealth, that government must be the source of the wealth. Nothing could be further from the truth.

You cannot pass a law raising a nation's standard of living. You cannot legislate into being the resources to solve our problems.

On the contrary, the only place you can turn to for the ability to help other people is that place that is so often denounced as the citadel of self-interest—the private enterprise system of America.

The next time you hear somebody running that system down, the next time you hear the product of that system derided as "material" or unworthy of man's highest ideals, remember these things:

A nation with the greatest social goals, with the most perfect political system, but without a strong and free economy, is like a magnificent automobile without an engine.

We in America have the engine; it is something to be proud of, not ashamed of; it gives power to our purpose.

Surely there are many ways for that engine, that system, to be improved. But let us never forget that what is right about our American system enables us to correct what is wrong. The wealth produced by labor, management, and capital gives all of us the power to ennoble our aims, to enrich our own lives, and the lives of our fellow men.

We are not the only people in the world to dream of opportunity with security, growth with stability, freedom with justice. That "American dream," as it is called, is not limited to Americans.

But we in America stand first in the world on the road to achieving that dream, because we have created the system that can take us there.

Without a strong economy, dreams will always remain impossible dreams; but with the wealth that workingmen and businessmen produce, we in America are turning our dreams into reality.

To the young person thinking of entering business tomorrow, as well as to those already managing and working, as so many of you are, in our free economic system today, may I point out that a credo for a new prosperity is emerging.

I believe the American economy is strong and growing stronger, capable of more than doubling the real income of

[1] An announcement and the transcripts of three news briefings on disaster relief efforts in East Pakistan were released by the White House on November 20, 23, 26, and 27, 1970.

each succeeding generation of Americans.

I believe American business will respond to the social as well as the economic demands of the consumer, adding to the dignity and security of work as well as the quality of life.

I believe the greatness of America's economic system will be judged by future generations, not by how big it got but how good it is; not only in the increased value of its investments but in its increased investment in human values.

I believe we will build a new prosperity that will last; not a period of good times between periods of hard times, but a steady prosperity that people can count on and plan for.

I believe that the new prosperity can never be gained at the expense of one group or another, but must be newly shared at every level of our society and among all our people.

And this above all: I believe that only if our economic system remains free can we achieve that combination of full employment and price stability that will be the foundation of something Americans have never had in this century—a new prosperity in a full generation of peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:34 p.m. in the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, N.Y.

W. W. Keeler was chairman of the executive committee and W. P. Gullander was president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

448 Statement Urging Reversal of the Senate's Disapproval of the Supersonic Transport Program. *December* 5, 1970

THE ACTION of the U.S. Senate in disapproving the SST is a devastating mistake, both because of its immediate impact and because it will have profound long-range consequences for this country. I urge both Houses of Congress to reverse this action.

Because of our transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy we are experiencing substantial unemployment in the aerospace industry. The Senate's action means the loss of at least 150,000 jobs in that and other industries.

Another immediate impact results from waste. The SST prototype phase is now 50 percent complete. Halting work now—and destroying a development effort well on its way to completion—would be a waste of nearly $700 million of our national resources. It would be like stopping the construction of a house when it was time to put in the doors. There is another aspect to this waste: It would cost nearly $278 million in contract terminations under the present law to simply close down this project—only slightly less than the $290 million being sought at this time to continue the program.

Most important, taking a longer range view, halting the SST now could well be a mortal blow to our aerospace industry for years to come. The research and development and the accomplishments of this industry have been major factors in giving the United States a superior position in the field of technology. We must not abandon this national advantage now.

Beyond the effects on the aerospace

industry, the SST program will have an extremely important impact on our whole economy. It will have a deep effect on our balance of payments and on the tax revenues coming into our treasury.

I am well aware of the many concerns that have been voiced about the possible effects supersonic transports might have on the environment. I want to reassure the Congress that the two prototype aircraft will in no way affect the environment. As for possible later effects, we have an extensive research project under way to insure against damage. Further progress on the part of the United States in the SST field will give this country a much stronger voice with regard to any long-range effects on the environment than if we permit other nations to take over the entire field. And this they will surely do if we retire from this project now. The SST is an airplane that will be built and flown. This issue is simply which nation will build them.

Throughout the history of aviation, the United States has been first in this field. If the action of the Senate is not reversed, our country will be relegated to second place in an area of technological capability vital to our economy and of profound importance in the future.

I believe that the Senate's unfortunate action can be and should be corrected.

449 Special Message to the Congress Requesting 45-Day Extension of No-Strike Period in Railway Labor-Management Dispute. *December* 7, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

After much effort at settlement through negotiation and mediation, we are confronted with an emergency stemming from a dispute between railway carriers and four unions representing their employees. The unions involved have declared their intention of calling a nationwide strike starting at 12:01 a.m., December 10, 1970.

All existing governmental procedures have been carefully but vainly used to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Negotiations among the parties, based upon the recommendations of the Emergency Board, have progressed during the last 30 days. However, because of the number of parties and the complexity of the issues involved, these negotiations have not resulted in an agreed-upon resolution. At my direction, the Secretary of Labor has sought from the parties a voluntary extension of negotiations without strike or lockout, but he has not been successful.

A nationwide stoppage of rail service would cause hardship to all Americans and harm to the economy, particularly a stoppage at the height of the pre-Christmas season.

It is essential that our railroads continue to operate. Therefore, I recommend that the Congress extend for 45 days the period during which no work stoppage may occur. It is my hope that these additional 45 days will lead to a voluntary negotiated settlement of this dispute.

In requesting an extension to Janu-

ary 23, 1971, I am mindful of the fact that the current Congressional session is fast drawing to a close and there are many other pressing and important matters to be dealt with. Under these circumstances, it would not seem advisable to thrust upon the Congress at this time the consideration of the complicated substantive issues of this dispute.

The fact that some progress has been made in negotiations is encouraging, and it indicates that the parties may be able to resolve their differences. However, if no settlement is reached within this time period, I shall make additional recommendations to the Congress.

I urge that Congress act quickly on my proposal so that a crippling stoppage can be averted, and so that the nation's travelers and shippers can depend on uninterrupted service.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 7, 1970

NOTE: Emergency Board 178, created by Executive Orders 11558 and 11559 on September 18, 1970, to investigate the dispute between railway carriers and four unions representing their employees, submitted its report to the President on November 9.

On September 18 the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the railway labor dispute by W. J. Usery, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Labor-Management Relations, Department of Labor.

450 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the Reenlistment of Five Servicemen. *December* 9, 1970

Secretary Packard, ladies and gentlemen:

This reenlistment ceremony provides an opportunity for me to express appreciation not only to these five fine young Americans who are reenlisting in the armed services of this country, but to the millions of young Americans who have served in our armed services over the years, and particularly in these last very difficult years of service, the four million who have served in Vietnam.

I note that four of these five men have served in Vietnam, and with distinction.

As these five men reenlist, they enter the service at a period when the war in Vietnam is being brought to an end, and we are winning a just peace in that part of the world. They will be serving in the service after that, along with many other young Americans. They will be serving because even when that war is over, if we are to have peace for the generation ahead, we must have the Armed Forces strong enough to keep the peace, so that the United States, as the nation the strongest in the free world, will be respected throughout the world as one strong enough to maintain the peace.

And these men can proudly look to their service in the past, during wartime, as service for their country. But in the future they also can be very proud of the fact that in a period when there is no war, that it is because of the strength they helped to maintain that we are able to have peace in the world. They are part of the peace forces of the United States of America and the peace forces of the world.

And I am very proud today to participate in the ceremony.

Secretary Packard will ask them to take the oath.

I can only say that this is also an indication of another change that is occurring in our Armed Forces, the fact that we are going to be moving from a period of wartime to peacetime, but also a period of the draft to an all-volunteer force.

As we move to that all-volunteer force it is going to be necessary to develop within this country the kind of motivation that these men have indicated by their reenlistment, the fact that they consider serving in the Armed Forces a position and a career that is worthwhile, in which they are serving their country, and one in which they are respected by the whole Nation.

We think their example is a good indication of what the years ahead may hold with regard to moving from a position of an armed force necessarily built on the draft, but then moving to, eventually, the all-volunteer force.

Secretary Packard will now read the oath and the men will take it together.

[David Packard, Deputy Secretary of Defense, administered the oath. The President then resumed speaking.]

We also want to welcome the members of their families who are standing immediately behind each of the men reenlisting.

As they have been told, and as is our custom on such ceremonies, we have a special tour of the White House which is provided for you.

We want you to enjoy your visit to the White House. If you can come back next week, we'll have the Christmas decorations up. You are just a couple of days too early for that.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:01 p.m. in the Blue Room at the White House. The five servicemen honored at the ceremony were: S. Sgt. William L. Howell, USA, Northport, Ala., Sgt. Timothy M. Hughes, USMC, Bay City, Mich., PO Kent R. E. Taylor, USN, Crystal Lake, Ill., S. Sgt. Thomas J. Blazek, USAF, Pittsburgh, Pa., and En3c. John R. Tidwell, USCG, Charleston, S.C.

451 Letter to Bryce N. Harlow Accepting His Resignation as Counsellor to the President. *December* 9, 1970

Dear Bryce:

Although I have known from our previous arrangements that it was due, I still am immensely sorry to receive your letter of resignation. I accept it reluctantly, with a very special sense of loss, and also with heartfelt good wishes to you and Betty for happy and rewarding years ahead. All the good that may befall you will have been richly deserved.

You have served our country selflessly, ably, and with a profound sense of devotion for more than three decades, and have been an active helper to at least four Presidents. Yours has been an exceptionally distinguished service in which you and your family should take great and lasting pride.

I commend especially your service during these past two years, in this Administration. Your keen insights, your leavening wit, your immense capacity for work, your rigorous conscience, all have been assets of great value to the White House and to me personally. You will forever have my warm friendship and my pro-

found respect, both of which have grown steadily over the seventeen years in which we have worked so closely together.

Pat and I will miss having you here on a daily basis, but we both look forward to seeing you and Betty frequently. I appreciate your offer to be of continuing help in the future, and you can be sure that I will turn to you often for the wise advice and perceptive counsel that I have learned to value so highly.

With deep gratitude for all your many contributions, and with warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Bryce N. Harlow, The White House]

NOTE: Mr. Harlow's letter of resignation, dated December 7, 1970, and released along with the President's letter, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Three times we have scheduled my departure from the White House, and now the last extension has expired. As planned, I will return to private employment on December 10.

I am immensely grateful to you for the opportunities for service you have afforded me and for the recognition you have given my efforts. It is extremely difficult to leave now, not so much because of challenges still to be met, for these are forever in the White House as I know from 10 years here—but difficult mainly because I so deeply regret moving from your side after having worked with you in so many ways for so many years in and out of government. I have valued these associations tremendously and will miss them sorely.

Back in private life, still in Washington, I stand ready at all times to be as helpful as you will allow me to be, for I believe totally in what you are striving to do for our country, I remain eager to assist in that cause, and I find inspiration in the intensity of your personal integrity and commitment.

You and Mrs. Nixon have our devoted support and our prayers for your success and fulfillment in making possible a better life for all our countrymen.

Sincerely,

BRYCE N. HARLOW
Counsellor to the President

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

452 Memorandum on the Appointment of Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee. *December* 9, 1970

Memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

I have appointed the Secretary of Commerce, Maurice H. Stans, as Chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee, and the Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, as Vice-Chairman.

The Savings Bonds program is, as you know, one of our most useful tools in the management of the public debt, and serves as an important stabilizing force in the economy. Thus it plays a key role in implementing the policies and programs of the government in the fiscal area.

The program has also made a major contribution to the financial security of individuals, providing a safe and convenient way of accumulating reserves for the future while at the same time offering citizens the opportunity of direct participation in their country's financial affairs.

It is entirely appropriate that employees of the Federal government take leadership in the purchase of Savings Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan. As participants in the operations of the government, they

have a special stake in seeing that our programs are soundly financed, as well as in setting an example for the public at large in the purchase of these shares in our country's future.

Thus the members of the Interdepartmental Savings Bonds Committee have a special responsibility to see that the Departments and Agencies which they head achieve and maintain a high record of employee participation in the Payroll Savings Plan. Under their leadership and encouragement I am certain that employees will respond with enthusiasm and that thus together we may attain a new high level of participation.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was posted for the press.

453 Statement on Signing Bill Providing for a Temporary Prohibition of Strikes or Lockouts in the Railway Labor-Management Dispute. *December* 10, 1970

TO STOP a crippling national railroad strike, which would work severe hardship on millions of Americans and impede an orderly economic expansion, I am signing this bill. I expect, and the Nation will expect, that those who may have left their jobs prior to tonight's congressional enactment will immediately return to work and their leaders return to the bargaining table.

Monday evening I proposed legislation intended to continue operation of the railroads while the free collective bargaining process went on. But Congress went beyond my request and imposed a settlement. It selected one portion of the Emergency Board's recommendations, raising wages, without adopting a balancing portion that would increase productivity and cut back the inflationary effect of the pay increases.

Productivity improvements such as those contained in the Board's report are absolutely essential to combat the rise in prices.

Despite all the talk in Congress of the need to persuade business and labor to curb inflation, when the chips were down a majority of the Congress voted to increase wages sharply without increasing productivity—in plain words, to speed up the rise in costs and prices.

This kind of action, under the pressure of a strike deadline which was not met, would not have been necessary if the Congress had passed the reform of the Railway Labor Act that I proposed 10 months ago. Congress has not held a single day of hearings on the proposed emergency public interest protection act. With the results of this neglect again apparent, I again urge the Congress to make the reforms so badly needed.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.J. Res. 1413) is Public Law 91-541 (84 Stat. 1407).

The transcripts of two news briefings by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson on the railway labor-management dispute were released on December 9 and 10, 1970.

On December 10, the White House also released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary Hodgson and Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe on Executive Order 11572, providing for the use of transportation priorities and allocations during the current railroad strike.

454 The President's News Conference of *December* 10, 1970

THE PRESIDENT. Won't you be seated, please.

QUESTIONS

U.S. POLICY ON VIETNAM

[1.] Miss Thomas [Helen Thomas, United Press International] has the first question tonight.

Q. Mr. President, a question about Vietnam. Our recent air strikes have raised speculation that our policy of not bombing North Vietnam may be undergoing a subtle change.

What is our policy? Also, despite the rejection by the Saigon Government and the Vietcong, do you plan to propose a unilateral cease-fire from Christmas through Tet in a bid for peace?

THE PRESIDENT. Let me answer the second part of the question first. We are prepared to have cease-fires on a limited basis over the holiday seasons. As you know, the North Vietnamese have turned down any extended cease-fire over the holiday season out of hand. We, of course, could not have any extended cease-fire, unilaterally, because that would be very dangerous for our forces.

If it's a brief cease-fire, we will do it; if it's extended, we will not.

With regard to the second part of your question, the bombing of North Vietnam, you may recall that a few weeks ago there was bombing of installations in North Vietnam after the North Vietnamese had fired on some of our unarmed reconnaissance planes.

Now, there's been, I note, some speculation in the press, and also some charges from North Vietnam, that there is no understanding that reconnaissance planes are to fly over North Vietnam since the bombing halt was announced.

I want to be very sure that that understanding is clear. First, President Johnson said there was such an understanding at the time of the bombing halt; Secretary Clifford did, and Ambassador Vance[1] did.

But if there is any misunderstanding, I want to indicate the understanding of this President with regard to the flying of reconnaissance planes over North Vietnam: I must insist that there be continued reconnaissance over North Vietnam because, as we are withdrawing our forces, I have to see whether or not there is any chance of a strike against those forces that remain, and we have to watch for the buildup.

If our planes are fired upon, I will not only order that they return the fire, but I will order that the missile site be destroyed and that the military complex around that site which supports it also be destroyed by bombing. That is my understanding.

Beyond that, there is another understanding with regard to the bombing of North Vietnam which at a number of these press conferences and in my speech on November 3d [1969] and in four televised speeches to the Nation last year, I have stated. I restate it again tonight. At a time when we are withdrawing from South Vietnam, it is vitally important that

[1] Clark M. Clifford, Secretary of Defense, 1968 to 1969, and Cyrus R. Vance, deputy head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris peace talks on Vietnam, 1968 to 1969.

the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief, take the action that is necessary to protect our remaining forces, because the number of our ground combat forces is going down very, very steadily.

Now if, as a result of my conclusion that the North Vietnamese, by their infiltration, threaten our remaining forces, if they thereby develop a capacity and proceed possibly to use that capacity to increase the level of fighting in South Vietnam, then I will order the bombing of military sites in North Vietnam, the passes that lead from North Vietnam into South Vietnam, the military complexes, the military supply lines. That will be the reaction that I shall take.

I trust that that is not necessary. But let there be no misunderstanding with regard to this President's understanding about either reconnaissance flights or about a step-up of the activities.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET AND ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

[2.] Mr. Cormier [Frank Cormier, Associated Press].

Q. Are you contemplating any further changes in your Cabinet? And if so, why change the lineup at halftime or, depending on what happens in '72, at the end of the first quarter?

THE PRESIDENT. It seems we are in the football season pretty genuinely tonight.

First, with regard to changes in the Cabinet, one has already been made for reasons that I have already indicated.

As far as other changes, I have none to announce tonight. I will announce tonight, however, two, I think, important additions to the administration. First, Mr. Rumsfeld is coming into the White House as a Counsellor to the President on a full-time basis, and Mr. Frank Carlucci [2] will take over as the Director of OEO. He is his deputy and has done an outstanding job in that particular position, and I believe in promoting a man who has done such a job to the top spot.

Mr. George Bush, the Congressman who was defeated in his bid for the United States Senate, I talked to yesterday, and I am very happy to report that he has agreed to take a top position in the administration. That will be announced tomorrow at Mr. Ziegler's 11 o'clock conference. Mr. Bush will be here.

I don't mean that we didn't want to give you the break, Mr. Cormier, but all of the arrangements haven't quite been finished.

ACTIONS OF FBI DIRECTOR HOOVER

[3.] Mr. Rather [Dan Rather, CBS News].

Q. Mr. President, as a lawyer, and as his immediate superior, do you approve of the following actions of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover: One, accusations which were made public accusing two men of conspiring to kidnap a Government official and/or blow up Government buildings as an antiwar action before any formal charges have been made and a trial could be arranged for those gentlemen, and continuing to call the late Martin Luther King a liar?

Do you approve of those actions?

THE PRESIDENT. I have often been

[2] On December 11, 1970, the White House released two announcements, one on the appointment of Mr. Rumsfeld and the other on the nomination of Mr. Carlucci.

asked about my opinion of Mr. Hoover. I believe that he has rendered very great service to this country. I generally approve of the actions that he has taken. I am not going to go into any of the specific actions that you may be asking about tonight with regard to the testimony, for example, that you referred to.

The Justice Department is looking into that testimony that Mr. Hoover has given and will take appropriate action if the facts justify it.

FORMER INTERIOR SECRETARY HICKEL

[4.] Mr. Jarriel [Tom Jarriel, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, considering the rather broad national interest in some of former Secretary Hickel's views, I wonder if you would elaborate for us exactly what he did to lose your confidence and what you expect the new Interior Secretary to do that Mr. Hickel failed to do?

THE PRESIDENT. The problem of confidence where you have a Cabinet team or a board of directors is something that can't really be described that precisely. There are numbers of things that occur that determine whether or not that confidence is going to continue to exist.

In this instance, I thought that when I appointed Mr. Hickel that we would have that mutual confidence that is essential between a President and a Cabinet officer.

There were some certain things that happened during the course of his stewardship in which I think I lost confidence in him, and perhaps he lost confidence in me.

Under the circumstances, I thought a change was right. I have great admiration for him. I think he rendered sincere service. I wish him the very best.

Mr. Kaplow [Herbert Kaplow, NBC News].

Oh, you weren't ready?

Q. Not yet.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP AND DIVISIONS IN THE COUNTRY

[5.] THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Semple [Robert B. Semple, Jr., New York Times].

I just didn't want to discriminate against the other network.

Q. Mr. President, another question about confidence, if I may, involving you: There seems to be a feeling in some quarters, not just among blacks and students but also among some of your natural Republican allies, some voters, and certainly, as you may have noticed, some columnists, that you have yet to convey a sufficiently sharp and clear sense of direction, vision, and leadership on many matters to end the divisions in this country as you said you hoped to do 2 years ago and as your own Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest has urged you to do.

Do you recognize this as a problem for yourself and for the country, and if so, what can you do about it and what will you do about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Semple, it is, of course, a problem. But I should emphasize that divisions in this country are never going to end. There's always going to be a generation gap and there are always going to be differences between the races and between the religions.

The problem is trying to mute those differences, to mitigate them to the greatest extent possible, and to develop a dialogue. I think we have made some progress in that respect, not as much as I would like.

I am concerned about our relations with youth. I do believe that as we make progress in bringing the war in Vietnam to a close as we are making it—I was glad to note, for example, that the casualties this week were down to 27, which was a fourth of what they were a year ago and an eighth of what they were 2 years ago. One is too many, but that's an improvement. As we end the war, I think that will help some with youth, as the Scranton committee did indicate.

In the other areas, I trust we can give that sense of direction that you refer to, and I particularly hope I can give it to the columnists. I want them to have a sense of direction, too.

PARIS PEACE TALKS

[6.] Mr. Horner [Garnett D. Horner, Washington Evening Star].

Q. Mr. President, does what you said a while ago about the bombing of North Vietnam and the indications we have had from other officials of probably more raids to try to free American prisoners—does all that mean that you have abandoned hope for the Paris peace talks reaching a negotiated settlement?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all. We are continuing those talks. As you note today Ambassador Bruce made an offer which refined the offer we had made earlier of a complete exchange of all prisoners of war.

He offered to exchange on the part of both the United States and South Vietnam 8,200 North Vietnamese that we have prisoner for approximately 800 Americans and other allied prisoners that they have. That is a 10 to 1 ratio, but we are willing to do that.

Their failure to accept that offer will pinpoint something that is pretty generally getting known around the world, and that is that this nation is an international outlaw, that it does not adhere to the rules of international conduct.

But we are going to continue the negotiations as long as they are willing to negotiate and as long as there is some hope to make progress on the prisoner issue or on a cease-fire and an earlier end to the war than the Vietnamization process will inevitably bring.

SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you have had at least two reports on the supersonic transport prepared at your direction. Both of those reports have been kept secret. Now a group of conservationists and others are in court asking that one of these reports be made public, and the Attorney General is arguing against this, trying to keep this document kept secret.

I am wondering if you could tell us why the public should not know what is in that report in view of the fact that you support the continuing expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars.

THE PRESIDENT. I have no objection to the substance of reports being made public. The problem here is that when reports are prepared for the President, they are supposed to be held in confidence and some of those who participate in the making of those reports have that assurance.

Now, with regard to the SST, I have satisfied myself, after long deliberation and considering both of these reports, that the arguments with regard to the environment could be met, that this prototype should be built.

What is involved here is not just 150,000 jobs which will be lost if we don't build it, not just the fact that billions of

dollars in foreign exchange will be lost if we do not build it; but what is lost here is the fact that the United States of America, which has been first in the world in commercial aviation from the time of the Wright brothers, decides not just to be second but not even to show.

Now not out of any sense of jingoism but because this plane is going to be built, because it's going to bring, for example, Asia, not only Japan but China, in the last third of this century 3 hours from the West Coast to Asia—I think the United States should build it, and I believe that we can answer the arguments of the conservationists.

PRESIDENTIAL NEWS CONFERENCES

[8.] Mr. Kaplow.

Q. Mr. President, a year or so ago you told us you thought you ought to have a news conference when there was a public interest, not just in your interest or in the press'.

Do you or do you not feel that sufficient public interest developed to justify a news conference before the 4 months between the last one and this one tonight?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Kaplow, I have noted with interest that several members of the press corps have indicated a desire for more news conferences. And let me be quite candid as to what I feel about this.

Incidentally, I was prepared for this question.

First, I believe that I have a responsibility to the members of the press. I go by that press building of yours about 11:30 at night from the EOB [Executive Office Building], and I see most of you still working there. I, as President, have a responsibility to help you do your job. But I, as President, also have a primary responsibility to do my job.

My job is, among other things, to inform the American people. One of the ways to inform them is through a press conference like this. Another way is through making reports to the Nation, as I did on several occasions about the war in Southeast Asia. Another is an interview, an hour's interview with the three anchormen of the three networks, which mainly dealt, as you may recall, on Southeast Asia.

I feel that all of these are useful ways to inform the American people. I think the American people are entitled to see the President and to hear his views directly and not to see him only through the press. And I think any member of the press would agree with that.

However, I would certainly be open to suggestions from members of the press as to how we could make better use of the news conferences without dominating the television too much, because I would recall to you that one network early this summer decided that it would be necessary to give opposition to the President's policy—opponents to the President's policy—equal time because he was on television too much.

So, consequently, the televised press conference perhaps should be limited. Perhaps we need more conferences in the office; perhaps more one-on-one; perhaps more—some have suggested a television conference in which instead of the anchormen we have three of the top columnists. But you make the vote. I won't select them.

U.S. FORCES IN CAMBODIA

[9.] Mr. Scali [John A. Scali, ABC News].

56-087—71——73

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Rogers assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today that there is no present intention of ever using American ground forces in Cambodia. Can you foresee any circumstances whatever under which we would use ground troops in Cambodia?

THE PRESIDENT. None whatever.

ECONOMIC POLICIES

[10.] Mrs. Dickerson [Nancy H. Dickerson, NBC News].

Q. With unemployment and inflation rising, do you think it's fair to say that your economic policies have not worked, and do you plan any quick changes?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe our economic policies are working. First, we have cooled off the inflation. It is beginning to recede, the rate of inflation.

Second, we are now moving into the second half of our plan of expanding our fiscal policy and that, together with an expanded monetary supply, we believe will move the economy up.

I should point out, too, that when we speak of the problem we have to keep it in context. It is interesting to note that the unemployment for this year will come out at 4.9 percent. When we look at that figure, a rate of 4.9 percent, we see that that is lower than any peacetime year in the sixties. In 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, unemployment was always over 5 percent.

Now, in answering the question that way, I want to say I am not satisfied that that is as good as we can do. I believe that we can have a lower rate of unemployment than 5 percent without war, which is—the only time we had a lower rate of unemployment in the sixties was at a time that we had it with war.

That is our goal. I think we can achieve it.

RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SUBURBAN HOUSING

[11.] Q. Mr. President, concerning Governor Romney's plan, to what extent should the Federal Government use its leverage to promote racial integration in suburban housing?

THE PRESIDENT. Only to the extent that the law requires—in two cases, as a result of acts passed by the Congress that the Federal Government not provide aid to housing or to urban renewal where a community has a policy of discrimination and has taken no steps to remove it.

On the other hand, I can assure you that it is not the policy of this Government to use the power of the Federal Government or Federal funds in any other way, in ways not required by the law for forced integration of the suburbs.

I believe that forced integration of the suburbs is not in the national interest.

PRESIDENTIAL COMMENTS AND PRETRIAL PUBLICITY

[12.] Q. Mr. President, at a previous news conference you said that what happened at Mylai was a massacre. On another occasion, you said that Charles Manson is guilty. On another occasion, you mentioned Angela Davis by name and then said that those responsible for such acts of terror will be brought to justice.

My question concerns the problem of pretrial publicity and the fact that it could jeopardize a defendant's rights at a trial. How do you reconcile your comments with your status as a lawyer?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that's a legiti-

mate criticism. I think sometimes we lawyers, even like doctors who try to prescribe for themselves, may make mistakes. And I think that kind of comment probably is unjustified.

Let's go to the left now [*turning to reporters on his left*].

THE 1970 AND 1972 ELECTIONS

[13.] Mr. Warren [Lucian C. Warren, Buffalo Evening News].

Q. Mr. President, in retrospect, do you think that the Republican emphasis on the law and order issue paid dividends? And in the future, looking to '72, what do you think will be the big issue then?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Warren, I really expected a lot more questions on the 1970 elections than we have had tonight.

But let me answer that one by saying, first, that I feel that it is my responsibility as President to do everything that I can to work for the election of men who will help support me in keeping the pledges that I made to the American people when I ran for President. I did everything that I could in 1970 to the best of my ability to meet that responsibility.

And after the election I commented upon the election and gave my views on it, views which differed from some of those here in this room.

Having done that, however, it is now my responsibility, now that the people have spoken, to work with those men and those women elected by the people in 1970.

And I can only hope that in the year 1971 Democrats and Republicans will work with the President in a policy to bring an end to the war, in bringing our economy ahead, in holding down inflation, in moving on such great programs as the health program, which will be one of the highest priority programs I will submit.

Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. President, to follow up on the 1970 campaign, in light of what has generally been considered the purge of Senator Goodell of New York, is it likely that you and the administration will support third-party candidates in other States against Republican nominees who may disagree with some major points of your policies?

THE PRESIDENT. Under no circumstances.

CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS ON THE SONTAY RAID

[14.] Q. Mr. President, on a related matter involving the Congress, sir, you have been charged repeatedly that you do not consult enough with Members of Congress, and the most recent example was the raid on Sontay.

I wonder if you might specifically answer the charge to why you did not consult with Members of Congress as the raid was occurring or immediately thereafter when all the men were safe.

THE PRESIDENT. The reason that we did not consult with the Members of Congress as the raid was occurring, or before, was, of course, because of the high risk involved of the men who were participating.

As far as the information was concerned afterwards, there was a period of time in which it was felt that the full information should be given to the country at a later time.

I believe that when we look at the record here, all of the information with regard to the raid has been completely put out; there has been no attempt to with-

hold anything. It was a very brave attempt. I am very proud of the men who participated in it. I regret that it did not succeed. But I think that it gave hope to the men who were there. And I think it also gave a great deal of hope to their wives who are here.

PRESIDENTIAL INFLUENCE ON WAGES AND PRICES

[15.] Mr. Lisagor [Peter Lisagor, Chicago Daily News].

Q. Mr. President, back to the economy for a moment. At your first news conference, you ruled out exhorting, to use your words, labor and management to follow certain guidelines, saying that they would follow their organizations' desires in any case. Now, since then you have taken some small steps toward bringing Presidential influence to bear on wages and prices through the Inflation Alert and the steps you took the other night in your NAM speech.

In the light of that, do you consider your initial remarks about wage-price guidelines a mistake in controlling inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lisagor, I consider that at the time I made the first statement it would not have been proper for me as President of the United States to urge labor and management to restrain their price increases and their wage demands at a time that Government was the major culprit in contributing to inflation.

But now that Government has done its part in holding down the budget, in a restrictive monetary policy, now it is time for labor and management to quit betting on inflation and to start help fighting inflation. I think it is a question of timeliness.

SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE CARIBBEAN

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that United States security is threatened at all by Soviet military activity in the Caribbean, including the submarine base in Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not.

MIDDLE EAST POLICY

[17.] Q. Mr. President, sir, does it remain United States policy in the Middle East that Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab territories excepting what Secretary Rogers called insubstantial alterations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the policy is based basically on the '67 U.N. resolution. Now that's a matter for negotiation, and to be more precise than that I do not think would be helpful at this time. I would only say that the cease-fire should continue; that I trust that we get the legislation through for the supplemental, not only there but for Southeast Asia, so that we can keep the balance of power in that part of the world, so that the parties involved on both sides will be willing to negotiate, and that eventually they start talking.

AID TO CAMBODIA

[18.] Q. Mr. President, how do you plan to keep your quarter billion dollar aid program for Cambodia from escalating into a guarantee of the survival of the Cambodian Government?

THE PRESIDENT. The quarter billion dollar aid program for Cambodia is, in my opinion, probably the best investment in foreign assistance that the United States has made in my political lifetime.

The Cambodians, a people, 7 million

only, neutralists previously, untrained, are tying down 40,000 trained North Vietnamese regulars. If those North Vietnamese weren't in Cambodia, they'd be over killing Americans. That investment of $250 million in small arms of aid to Cambodia so that they can defend themselves against a foreign aggressor—this is no civil war, it has no aspect of a civil war—the dollars we send to Cambodia saves American lives and enables us to bring Americans home. And I only hope the Congress approves it.

THE TRADE BILL

[19.] Q. Mr. President, you said in July that you would veto any trade bill that came to you that went beyond what you yourself had asked for in the way of quotas, import quotas, and you had asked only for textile import quotas.

Is that still your position now?

THE PRESIDENT. I stated my position on the trade bill, as you may recall, in a letter to the Senate leadership. I believe that the kind of a bill that we should have is one that is limited to textile quotas.

I believe that the addition of shoes, for example, or a basket clause which might require the addition of other items, would lose us more jobs than it would save, while the textile quotas will save jobs and, insofar as any actions we have with the Japanese, will not lose some. That's the reason for my position.

SCRANTON COMMISSION REPORT ON CAMPUS UNREST

[20.] Q. Mr. President, the Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest was mentioned earlier. And that report was turned in quite some long time ago, and we haven't had your description of it, although I think Vice President Agnew has called it "pablum for permissiveness."

How do you describe it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have read it, and it is certainly not pablum. Of course, they didn't have pablum when I was a baby. So, I wouldn't know what it tasted like. But I can only say that I have read the Scranton committee report. I have written to Governor Scranton. In fact, the letter went off last night or early this morning.

And it will be released as soon as he informs Mr. Ziegler that he has received it, and that states my views in detail on the report.

U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

[21.] Q. Are you concerned, Mr. President, that there may be any serious deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations as reflected in the progress of the SALT talks, and the Big Four Berlin talks?

THE PRESIDENT. I have noted the speculation to the effect that U.S.-Soviet relations—sometimes they're warmer and sometimes they're cooler. I would only suggest that U.S.-Soviet relations are going to continue to be difficult, but the significant thing is that we are negotiating and not confronting. We are talking at SALT. We are very far apart because our vital interests are involved, but we are talking, and our vital interests, the interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States, require that we have some limitation on arms, both because of the cost and because of the danger of a nuclear confrontation.

And so it is with Berlin, so it is with the Mideast. I am not suggesting that we are going to find easy agreement, because we

are two great powers that are going to continue to be competitive for our lifetime. But I believe that we must continue on the path of negotiation, and in my long talk with Mr. Gromyko,[3] I think there are some other areas where we can negotiate.

THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

[22.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment on the emergence of some Democratic aspirants to the Presidency in '72 and the speculation that you might be a one-term President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I will let them speculate about the one-term Presidency.

U.S. POLICY ON MAINLAND CHINA

[23.] Q. Mr. President, since the United Nations vote on China, have you found it expedient for the United States to review our policy towards Mainland China?

THE PRESIDENT. No, our policy wouldn't be based on expediency. It would be based on principle. We have no plans to change our policy with regard to the admission of Red China to the United Nations at this time. However, we are going to continue the initiative that I have begun, an initiative of relaxing trade restrictions and travel restrictions and attempting to open channels of communication with Communist China, having in mind the fact that looking long toward the future we must have some communication and eventually relations with Communist China.

[3] The President met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko on October 22, 1970, at the White House.

THE LITHUANIAN DEFECTOR

[24.] Q. Could you tell us your personal view on the defector problem, this Lithuanian who was beaten on the Coast Guard cutter?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I have already indicated, I was, as an American, outraged and shocked that this could happen. I regret that the procedures of the Coast Guard informing the State Department and the State Department informing the White House were not adequate to bring the matter to my attention. I can assure you it will never happen again. The United States of America for 190 years has had a proud tradition of providing opportunities for refugees and guaranteeing their safety, and we are going to meet that tradition.

THE VIETNAM WAR

[25.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned several times tonight *when* we bring the war to a close. Is the war going to be over by 1972, for example? How many Americans are going to be in Vietnam by '72?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to indicate the rate of withdrawal of Americans as long as we are still negotiating in Paris. Indicating the rate of withdrawal, indicating when the Vietnamization program will be concluded, would completely destroy any reason to continue the Paris negotiations. The Paris negotiations have not produced results. We do not have great hopes for them at this time. But we are going to continue to try in that line, and as long as we are negotiating there I am not going to indicate a withdrawal schedule.

DISSENT AND PARTY UNITY

[26.] Q. Mr. President, in the light of the firing of Secretary Hickel and the Goodell case, could you tell us how much dissent you will tolerate in your administration and in the Republican Party?

THE PRESIDENT. I have always felt that it was very important for a party that was basically a minority party to be as united as it possibly could be, particularly as we go into a national election.

And I can only say, as I implied rather strongly in answer to an earlier question, that I personally expect to support all of those Republicans who may be running for the United States Senate in 1972 if they want my support, and some of them are, as you know, members of what is called the liberal wing of the party. But they are Republicans. We welcome them. We want them. We need both.

MR. CORMIER. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE TRADE BILL AND TEXTILE TALKS WITH THE JAPANESE

[27.] Q. On the trade bill again, sir, do you feel that you could approve——

THE PRESIDENT. He was up first.

Q. Thank you, sir. Do you feel you could approve it in the form that's been approved by the Senate Finance Committee? And also, on a related issue, sir, do you feel there's any progress being made in the textile talks with the Japanese?

THE PRESIDENT. Some progress is being made. It is not as hopeless today as it was yesterday, for example. But I am not satisfied with the progress.

As far as the form is concerned, I do not want to say what I will do about the bill as long as it is still before the Senate. I have indicated clearly the kind of bill I want. It should be limited to the textile quotas. It should be limited also in terms of the basket clause and the other items because—I emphasize this point: The key question is jobs, and it is all well and good to apply a quota that is going to save jobs in America, but it doesn't make sense if it is going to cost us more jobs in America because of cutting down the exports that we make abroad.

I guess Mr. Cormier says that is all we have.

CHRISTMAS PARTY FOR THE PRESS

[28.] I want to say in conclusion that Mrs. Nixon told me I had to make the last statement tonight. I understand I am to invite all the members of the White House press corps and your families to the annual Christmas party on the 23d of December. And she says there are some new lights that all the children will like to see.

Thank you.

Frank Cormier, Associated Press: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Nixon's twelfth news conference was held at 7 p.m. on Thursday, December 10, 1970, in the East Room at the White House. The news conference was broadcast live on radio and television.

455 Letter to Senate Majority and Minority Leaders Urging New Trade Legislation. *December* 10, 1970

THE TRADE legislation before the Senate has portentous implications for the health of our economy and the vitality of trade among nations.

I vigorously reaffirm my original proposals contained in HR 14870. I also urge enactment of quotas on textile imports, in view of our inability to reach negotiated agreements with the major foreign suppliers to deal with this problem, and authorization to create Domestic International Sales Corporations to promote U.S. exports.

The legislation now pending as reported by the Senate Finance Committee goes far beyond these proposals in some important respects and falls far short in others. These changes could have not only harmful short-term consequences within our country, but also, in the long term, they could trigger international trade practices destructive of the economy of the entire free world.

The bill would place quotas on shoe imports. It would invite import restrictions on numerous additional products because the escape clause in the present law has been loosened excessively. It would place import restrictions on several additional specific products. It does not include authority to abolish the American Selling Price system. It does not include the Domestic International Sales Corporations.

The well being of the United States requires new trade legislation. I must urge, therefore, that the Senate examine these matters with great care in an endeavor to put this legislation into acceptable form. I would hope that such legislation could be passed in this session of Congress.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Mike Mansfield, Senate Majority Leader, and the Honorable Hugh Scott, Senate Minority Leader, was posted for the press.

456 Letter Accepting the Resignation of Charles W. Yost as United States Representative to the United Nations. *December* 11, 1970

Dear Charlie:

Two years ago when you agreed to return to public life as this nation's Permanent Representative to the United Nations I felt that your appointment was among the best that I was making in forming my Administration. Your performance during these 2 years has more than confirmed that judgment.

Your performance at the United Nations has been a source of great strength to the foreign policy of the United States and has been characterized by the highest degree of professionalism. You have understood, and have brought others to understand, the full dimensions of the contribution which the United Nations can make and must make to a world of peace and justice. Your entire career has exemplified the best American traditions of

public service. At the United Nations you have been the embodiment of the oldest American tradition, that of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

I count upon being able to benefit in the future as I have in the past from the wisdom and prudence which you have so unselfishly contributed to the counsels of your nation for forty years.

I am grateful to you, and accept your resignation with regret and with the warmest personal best wishes.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Charles Yost, United States Representative to the United Nations, New York, New York]

NOTE: Ambassador Yost's letter of resignation, released along with the President's letter, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to submit my resignation as Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, to take effect upon my successor's assumption of the office.

I have greatly appreciated the opportunity to serve my Government in this capacity, and hope that during my tenure I have been able to express the continuing commitment of the American people to the United Nations and their desire to make it a more effective instrument for maintaining the security of nations and the peace of the world.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES W. YOST

[The President, The White House]

457 Remarks on the Selection of Congressman Bush as United States Representative to the United Nations. *December* 11, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I would like at this time to express the appreciation of this Nation for the distinguished service that has been rendered for so many years in so many posts, and particularly over the past 2 years in the post of Ambassador to the United Nations, of Ambassador Charles Yost.

He has had the complete confidence of the Secretary of State and myself in that position. And he has handled the problems, many difficult problems in the United Nations with great distinction; and we are most grateful in this Government, and the Nation, I am sure, is most grateful that we have been represented by a man of such competence and such ability.

Early in the summer Ambassador Yost spoke to the Secretary of State and to me about his desire to complete his service at the United Nations at the end of the present General Assembly session, which I understand will be his ninth General Assembly session.

At that time the Secretary of State and I began explorations and conversations with regard to a possible successor, conversations that we thought were off the record.

However, as you do know, there has been a great deal of speculation about who the successor would be. The reason that several names have come up is that we have found it difficult to find a man that we thought could fill the shoes of Ambassador Yost and who would represent this country in the vigorous, effective way that he has represented it.

We now believe we have found that

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man. He has the Secretary's full support. He has my support. He has also Ambassador Yost's approval. And that is Congressman George Bush. His distinguished service in the House, his years of experience before that in activities in private enterprise, which took him abroad to many countries, and, most important, his enormous interest in the United Nations, his support of the United Nations and its objectives, not only its peacekeeping objectives, but also its objectives in the field of the environment and all of the others that will be so exciting in the next decade—these are the qualities that led us to the conclusion that he was the best man who could now go to this very important post.

In taking this post, he, like Ambassador Yost, will be a member of the President's Cabinet, will meet with the Cabinet whenever his duties will allow.

A word about the timing: Ambassador Yost will continue in this assignment through this Assembly session and should a Security Council session develop in January, he of course will continue in the assignment then.

I will submit Congressman Bush's name to the new Senate on January 20th for confirmation. In the meantime, we have a period of transition here which is vitally important and to the extent that his duties in the House will allow, Congressman Bush will go to New York and spend time with Ambassador Yost and others in our U.N. Mission in developing the information and the background that he will need in taking over these responsibilities when we eventually work out the date when Ambassador Yost will finally leave and the new Ambassador will take his place.

One final thing: I have discussed this morning with Ambassador Yost and the Secretary of State my desire to have Ambassador Yost remain in Government service in another diplomatic post or other diplomatic posts. At least he has indicated that he will take that under consideration, but no decisions have been made.

But we feel at this time that we have been very fortunate to have had the services of one of America's most distinguished career ambassadors—the highest rank that an ambassador can have—as Ambassador to the U.N., and I can only say to his successor, Congressman Bush, that he has big shoes to fill, but that I am sure that he will meet that challenge.

Ambassador Yost, would you like to say a word here?

[Following Ambassador Yost's remarks, the President resumed speaking.]

And now I will ask Congressman Bush to say a word.

Ladies and gentlemen, there will be no questions at this particular occasion because, as you know our custom, we know the Senate is quite jealous of its right to ask the first questions of anybody who is to be confirmed by the Senate.

So Congressman, you can speak now and answer questions when you get to the Senate.

He will be going to the Senate in a different capacity than he thought. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. The remarks of Ambassador Yost and Representative Bush are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1658).

On the same day, the White House released biographical information on Representative Bush.

458 Letter to the Chairman, President's Commission on Campus Unrest, on the Commission's Report. *December* 12, 1970

Dear Bill:

As you will recall, when you submitted the major report of the Commission on Campus Unrest on September 26, I was leaving for Europe. Even though I did not have time to study the document then, I wanted it released. For it is as much or more addressed to students, professors and academic administrators, and to the public generally, as to the Federal Government. The new academic year was beginning, and there was good reason to hope your report could help set the tone for the year.

I have now had the opportunity to study the report, along with your other findings, including the survey results released November 5. I should like to state formally at this time what I stated informally in September. You, the members of the Commission, and its staff have my personal thanks for the considerable time and energy you invested in this task.

Publication of the document causes us to reflect again on the importance of higher education in our national life. A greater proportion of Americans now enjoy the opportunity for advanced education than has ever been reached by any people in history.

At the same time that we have asked our colleges and universities to educate increasing numbers of Americans, we have asked them to assume other burdens along the frontiers of our society's endeavors. Our entire society benefits from their free pursuit of the truth. As our colleges and universities celebrate the life of the mind and the advancement of knowledge, they simultaneously provide invaluable assistance to the countless tasks which our people undertake. Because we entrust our institutions of higher learning with all these tasks, we are immeasurably in their debt.

Yet today these institutions are in danger of losing their health and vitality as centers of learning. Thus, your emphatic condemnation and rejection of the use of violence as a means of effecting change—on or off campus—is welcome.

Your firm position that the Government itself cannot, and should not, assume responsibility for maintaining order on campus is also welcome. In my ninth week in office, I wrote that the policy of this administration was to avoid direct involvement of the Federal Government in the institutional affairs of a college campus. Academic freedom is the cornerstone of the American educational system. Consistent with that belief, I have opposed Federal legislation that would terminate institutional aid to colleges where disruption or violence occurs. Nothing would deliver greater power into the hands of the militant few than Federal attempts to punish institutions for the deeds of a minority.

Responsibility for maintaining a peaceful and open climate for learning in an academic community does not rest with the Federal Government—it rests squarely with the members of that academic community themselves.

In your report you have clearly avoided the cliche that the only way to end campus

violence is to solve once and for all the social problems that beset our nation. That thought parallels my own—expressed last September—in a speech at Kansas State University:

> To attempt to blame Government for all the woes of the university is rather the fashion these days. But, really, it is to seek an excuse, not a reason, for their troubles.
>
> . . . If the war were to end today, if the environment were cleaned up tomorrow morning, and all the other problems for which Government has the responsibility were solved tomorrow afternoon—the moral and spiritual crisis in the universities would still exist.

Removing the causes of legitimate dissent has in my lifetime been one of the constant endeavors of the American Government. It remains the business of this administration. Though optimistic about our capacities to redress just grievances, I am not so utopian as to believe all will be redressed in this administration, or even in our lifetime. And so, in this democratic society, we shall always have and shall always need dissent.

Because the American college is the seedbed of so much of that dissent; because the American university has such a vital role to play in educating future leaders to find the answers we did not—the universities must be protected; they must be preserved.

As high officials in this administration have already noted, your studies of the history of student protest provide us with a valuable perspective. First, they reflect the complex nature of the causes of student unrest. Secondly, they remind us that student disruption is not a problem confined to this administration, or to this past decade, or even to this society alone. Every free society on earth—to one degree or another—faces similar crises on its campuses.

One point of departure I would draw to your analysis of the "youth culture." I have seen personally thousands, indeed tens of thousands, of young people who do not in the slightest conform to the predominant description of students and young people in this report. I believe your survey corroborates my observation.

Perhaps there is considerable truth in the contention that just as the "youth culture" you describe has adherents in *our* generation, so also, the traditional culture of American life has millions of adherents within the younger generation—and neither generation is monolithic. The new generation contains alienated young men of passion and idealism who march in protest against our efforts in southeast Asia; it also contains young men of passion and idealism willing to risk their lives in an effort to rescue a handful of comrades-in-arms in a North Vietnamese prison camp.

One cannot draw up an indictment of an entire generation—young or old—just as one cannot draw an indictment of one segment or race of our diverse people. History has surely taught us the falseness and injustice of that.

This younger generation which contains the tiny minority of violence prone that you rightly condemn, contains as well millions of others; students, soldiers and workers, the vast majority of whom represent the hope of this country.

The call for tolerance expressed in your

report echoes sentiments of my own; again expressed at Kansas State:

> Those decencies, those self-restraints, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and feelings of one another, the willingness to listen to somebody else, without trying to shout him down, those patterns of mutual respect for the rights and the feelings of one another—these are what we must preserve if freedom itself is to be preserved.

The ideas of the younger generation, the individuals within the younger generation, must not be condemned by anyone out of hand on the irrelevant grounds of the cut of their clothes or the length of their hair. But also, young people must make corresponding efforts to recognize that the achievements of their parents' generation—the ending of the depression without resort to the odious alternative of dictatorship, the defeat of totalitarian imperialism across two oceans, the tremendous strides of the last two decades toward full citizenship for all Americans; the containment of new aggression abroad, and the provision of more abundance and more freedom for more people than in any other society on Earth—these are not the achievements of a generation of men and women lacking either in idealism or courage, or greatness.

Too often, age is made an artificial barrier between Americans. When it is, it should be ignored or swept aside. No generation holds a monopoly on wisdom or virtue—and each generation has made or will make historic contributions to the greatness and goodness of America.

In these times, one cannot often enough emphasize the need for individual responsibility and individual accountability. That is one of the basic underpinnings of a democratic system. And society cannot abide, cannot accept, the cynical contention of those who absolve themselves of responsibility for disruptive and violent actions—on the grounds that society somehow has not measured up to their ideals.

Responsibility for disruption of a university campus rests squarely on the shoulders of the disrupters—and those among their elders in the faculty and the larger community who encourage or condone disruption.

Students must indeed accept responsibility for presenting valid ideas in a reasonable and persuasive manner. By being self-critical, responsive to legitimate grievances, and ready to change, colleges and universities can remove conditions that give rise to student protest. Law enforcement officers should use only the minimum force necessary in dealing with disorders when they arise. A human life—the life of a student, soldier, or police officer—is a precious thing, and the taking of a life can be justified only as a necessary and last resort.

The recommendations you make for university reform are properly the concern of the campus community, and I will comment on them only to this extent.

Your reassertion of the truth that colleges and universities are first and foremost centers of teaching and learning, research and scholarship—not political instrumentalities—is timely. A thought

drawn from the writings of Professor Kenneth Keniston is worth repeating:

> The main task of the university is to maintain a climate in which, among other things, the critical spirit can flourish. If individual universities as organizations were to align themselves officially with specifically political positions, their ability to defend the critical function would be undermined. Acting as a lobby or pressure group for some particular judgment or proposal, a university in effect closes its doors to those whose critical sense leads them to disagree.

On the other hand, political involvement of the *members* of the university community is quite another matter. They enjoy the identical rights of political action as all Americans; and, like other Americans they should be encouraged to exercise those rights.

Students comprise four percent of the national population. They have the right to be heard—both collectively and as individuals.

Yet, no single group within a democratic society has a superior right to be heeded; and no single group has the right to use physical coercion, disruption or violence to achieve its political end or social objectives. The legitimacy and justice of causes should be judged on forcefulness of the reason and logic and evidence marshalled in its behalf—not on the forcefulness of the tactics employed to advance it. As often as not, the raucous voice of dissent can be wrong—and the quiet voice of disagreement can be right.

If there is an area in which I would wish that the report could be expanded, it would be through addition of an analysis of that great majority of colleges and universities—subject to identical internal pressures, subject to the same outside cultural and political forces—where students, faculties and administrators have guided their institutions, with the maintenance of academic freedom and a minimum of disruption and disorder, through the troubled times of the last decade. There is much to be praised and emulated in these private and public institutions. There is much we can learn from these educators and their successes.

The recommendations you make to universities for controlling disorders will have value for them but they are properly the concern of the campus community and I will not comment on them here.

Your call for responsiveness in our colleges and universities needs constantly to be underscored. Just as they should be responsive to legitimate demands and grievances of students and faculties; so also, they have an obligation to be responsive to the hard-working men and women, who may never have had an opportunity for a college education—but whose tax dollars helped enable them to become the great institutions they are today.

You point out the enormous influence the Federal Government has on higher education. As I stated in my Message on Higher Education sent to the Congress in March, 1970:

> For three decades now the Federal Government has been hiring universities to do work it wanted done. In far the greatest measure, this work has been in the national interest, and the Nation is in the debt of those universities that have so brilliantly performed it. But the time has come for the Federal Gov-

ernment to help academic communities to pursue excellence and reform in fields of their own choosing as well, and by means of their own choice.

I take it your analysis would very much support the establishment of a National Foundation for Higher Education which I have proposed for the purpose of moving away from narrowly defined categorical aid programs which, whatever their original intent, have increasingly come to be seen as restrictive and undesirable.

I welcome the Commission's support of the student aid provisions of the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970, which was proposed in my message. If enacted, this proposal would profoundly change the access of low-income students to higher education. It is a fundamental social reform long past due. Again, I refer to the March 1970 Message:

> No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money. That has long been a great American goal; I propose that we achieve it now.
>
> Something is basically unequal about opportunity for higher education when a young person whose family earns more than $15,000 a year is nine times more likely to attend college than a young person whose family earns less than $3,000.

The chapter on the Black Student Movement is a useful statement in this context; and one I read with interest. You point out that while Black College enrollment has doubled in recent years, contrary to widespread impressions, the proportion of Black students to white students who attend college has not substantially increased. I share the Commission's concern over this. Our student assistance proposals will provide benefits to cover one million additional students besides those now receiving aid, and many of these will be Black and Spanish-surnamed. In addition, before the start of this academic year, we directed an additional $30 million to the traditionally Black colleges, bringing their share of Federal aid to education to 3 percent where they enroll but 2 percent of the nation's college students.

You have made a number of specific recommendations to the Federal Government. I have asked my cabinet to review these recommendations and to report their views directly to me. Secretary Laird is reviewing the suggestions and recommendations pertaining to the National Guard and the Reserve Officer Training Corps. Attorney General Mitchell is reviewing the many suggestions pertaining to law enforcement activities within his jurisdiction and the special reports on Kent State and Jackson State. Secretaries Hodgson and Richardson are reviewing the recommendations for expanding opportunities for youth employment and social participation.

In the final section on the role of the Government in relation to campus unrest you have addressed yourself to the proper role of the Presidency in attempting to heal the divisive wounds which have from time to time been visible in this nation. Both of us, I am sure, regret the distorted press accounts of this section of the report.

Throughout my public life I have come to know the immense moral authority of the Presidency. During these past twenty-two months I have tried to exercise that authority to bring an end to violence and

bitterness; and I have sought to use the power of this office to advance the cause of peace abroad and social justice at home. These are matters upon which every President answers daily to his conscience and quadrennially to his judge—the American people.

On the matter of campus disorders, I have already addressed myself at length and in depth to this critical subject—as a private citizen and as President. Few domestic issues have consumed more of my attention, interest and concern while in office. The appointment of this Presidential commission to study the matter is but one measure of that concern.

In dealing with the issues of importance to students enumerated by the Commission, this administration has sought to terminate poverty through a national Family Assistance Program; we have sought to expand educational opportunity for all our young people through a revised student assistance program; we are seeking to equalize—and one day remove—the burdens of the draft upon young people; we are making strides in equal employment opportunity; we have made new advances against America's ancient injustice—discrimination. We have reordered the nation's priorities. We have redirected American foreign policy. We have diminished America's involvement in the Asian war and sought to end that war in a way that will justify the sacrifices of this generation of young Americans, and prevent similar sacrifices by their younger brothers of the next generation.

We have sought to bring Americans together in national agreements, by a national commitment to the basic underlying principles of a free society—to new recognition of the fundamental truth that the preservation of a democratic system of government is far more important than any single immediate reform that could conceivably issue from that system.

The task of the Presidency is to respect the opinions of the electorate, to seek the truth, and to lead the nation. Thus, for example, I would have to say that an effort "to convince all Americans of the need to confront candidly the serious and continuing problems of the nation," is a matter far more complex than might at first seem the case. That complexity begins with the fact that there are widely divergent views within our society as to just what our problems are. The views implicit in the Commission's report range from observations that would doubtless be accepted by a great portion of the nation to conclusions that may be shared by only a small minority. This does not make any of them wrong, or right. Nor should the Commission have refrained from expressing them. To the contrary: I said on the occasion of receiving the report that I was sure it would be controversial given the moment and importance of the issue.

Every President in our lifetime has taken office with large segments of our people in vigorous opposition to his person, his policies, and his programs. That opposition is an inevitable but natural barrier to the capacity of a President to lead all the people in the direction and to the goals he deems right and fitting for the nation.

Those in opposition to a President's foreign or domestic policies have a right to make that opposition known through every legitimate means in a democratic system. But no minority, no matter how

united, how vocal, or how articulate, has veto power over a President's decision to do what he believes is right in the nation's interest.

With regard to the setting of national priorities, and the allocation of national resources, the views of students and all citizens, and the suggestions of your Commission are welcome—but final determination in these matters must rightly rest with the elected representatives of all the American people. The thought of Dr. Sidney Hook is here appropriate:

> The history of American higher education is a history of change. Violence has never played an appreciable role in that history. It need not play a role today if it is recognized that the primary function of higher education is the quest for knowledge, wisdom and vision, not the conquest of political power; that the university is not responsible for the existence of war, poverty and other evils; and that the solution of these and allied problems lies in the hands of the democratic citizenry and not of a privileged elite.

Moral authority in a great and diverse nation such as ours does not reside in the Presidency alone. There are thousands upon thousands of individuals—clergy, teachers, public officials, scholars, writers—to whom segments of the nation look for moral, intellectual and political leadership.

Over the decade of disorders just ended some of these leaders of the national community have spoken or acted with forthrightness and courage, on and off the campus, unequivocally condemning violence and disruption as instruments of change and reaffirming the principles upon which continuance of a free society depends.

High in that category I would place the Vice President of the United States. History will look favorably I believe upon these men and women. It may well look severely upon those others—on and off campus—who for whatever reason refused or failed to speak out forthrightly against the inequities visited upon the academic community.

Yet I think we can all agree that the task of the nation, no less than that of the higher education community, is to regain its strength and its confidence, and to retain its independence. There is no higher priority in the concerns of the national government.

The work of the Commission has expanded our understanding of what has been happening. Other individuals have also thought deeply on the same subject. I have received reports and letters from many of them and I expect to consider these informed views and to share them with others who share our concern for higher education. As the survival and strength of our public and private educational institutions is so critical to our national future, necessary public and political discussion of the issue will surely continue—and indeed be advanced by your report.

I commend it particularly to the consideration of the White House Conference on Youth, because the report is the concern of all young people, not just students alone.

Quite beyond our agreements and differences, I write to assure you that the report is now receiving and will continue

to receive the closest attention within the administration. I trust this will be true in the nation at large.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable William W. Scranton, 704 Northeastern National Bank Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania 18503]

NOTE: The letter was dated December 10, 1970, and released December 12, 1970.

The transcript of a news briefing on the Commission by William W. Scranton and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Robert H. Finch was released June 18, 1970, and is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 783).

On September 26, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the Commission's report by Counsellors to the President Daniel P. Moynihan and Robert H. Finch.

459 Remarks at the Opening Session of the White House Conference on Children. *December* 13, 1970

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, all of the delegates to this Conference:

Before I begin my prepared text, I would like to express my deep appreciation to all of you who have come to this Conference, and also for the very special entrance that was arranged on this occasion.

One of the great privileges for the President of the United States, of course, is to hear "Hail to the Chief." I have heard it many times since I became President almost 2 years ago. I have never heard it played better than by the East Atlanta School from over here, an elementary school.

Speaking as one that played a very poor second violin in a high school orchestra, I appreciate all of the work and the talent that is represented therein by the leader who was able to develop those talents.

I am very proud tonight to share with six of my predecessors, starting with Theodore Roosevelt and, most recently, Dwight Eisenhower, the honor of convening a White House Conference on Children. And I take very special pleasure in welcoming all of you here.

Our concern at this Conference is with the well-being of 55 million individual human beings who happen to be children under the age of 14, and who represent one-fourth of all the people in America.

Now when I refer to them as 55 million individual human beings, I mean to put the emphasis precisely on that—on the fact that nothing is so intensely personal as the private world of a child; nothing so removed from the statistical abstractions of a chart or a computer.

In talking about our children, we are talking about our world and about its future, but in the most special, the most human, the most individual sense of anything we do or consider.

The refreshing little flower emblem that has been used as the symbol of this Conference is a reminder to us of one very simple and very basic truth: that the world of the child is different and very special, and full of promise and very much alive.

It also reminds us that whether we speak of a community of 200 people or of 200 million, the important thing to remember

is that no two are alike.

I am sure some of you have heard the little television commercial, a musical one, that has the little ditty that goes: "No one else in the whole human race is exactly like you."

Because of this, what is right for one child may be all wrong for another.

Here in Washington, in government, we have a tendency to think about things in the mass, about cities of more than a million or less than a million, of people over 65 or those under 21, or about whole school systems or health delivery systems.

Just yesterday, I spent a great part of the day working on next year's Federal budget, on billions for this and billions for that, and how perhaps $100 million could be saved here in order to do something we want to do someplace else; trying to balance the needs and hopes of dozens of Government departments and agencies that operate thousands of programs involving millions of people. And sometimes, after a day like that, I find myself reflecting on both the necessity and then the impersonality of it all. Budgets have to be made and they have to be followed because that is the way the real world operates. And governments have to deal with great masses of people because this is the way governments operate.

But how far removed this can get us from the perspective of the individual person. How great a tendency there is in government to lose track of people as people, to get so wrapped up in charts and projections and columns of numbers that we lose sight of what ultimately it is all about.

If there is one thought more than any other that I would like to leave with you, all of the 4,000 delegates to this Conference, it is this: to remember that what matters is one person, one child, unlike any other, with his own hopes and his own dreams and his own fears, who lives at the center of his own separate and very personal world.

I am sure that each one of you is here taking part in this great Conference because you do care not only about children in the mass but about the child. I hope you will help us in government to keep the focus on that one child.

One of the special glories of America is that we are a nation of individuals and individualists. We produce people, not automatons. We recognize diversity not as an evil but as a virtue. We turn not to one institution alone but to many to perform the great tasks of achieving a better life for all.

We recognize, of course, a role for government, for the church, the home, the school, the voluntary agencies that are so distinctive a feature of American life. And we do know that this is a case in which individual cooks, and additional cooks, do enrich the broth.

There is, of course, the large and vital role government must play in insuring the best possible opportunity for the child.

Tonight I would like to speak briefly to you about just one Government program, a Federal Government program presently being considered by the United States Senate, which I believe particularly deserves your support.

The great issue concerning family and child welfare in the United States is the issue of family income.

For generations, social thinkers have argued that there is such a thing as a minimum necessary family income, and that no family should be required to sub-

sist on less. It is a simple idea, but very profound in its consequences.

On August 11, 1969, over a year ago, I proposed that for the first time in America's history we in this great, rich country establish a floor under the income of every American family with children. We called it the family assistance plan. It has, in turn, been called by others the most important piece of domestic legislation to be introduced in Congress in two generations.

In terms of its consequences for children, I think it can be fairly said to be the most important piece of social legislation in the history of this Nation. I am sure you know the story of the legislation. In April, it passed the House of Representatives by almost 2 to 1. Then it became mired down in the Senate. It is still stuck there, but it is not lost. There is still an opportunity for the 91st Congress to change the world of American children by enacting family assistance.

In these closing days of that Congress, I want to emphasize once again unequivocally my personal support for welfare reform this year, and to urge your support for welfare reform this year.

In the last 10 years alone—listen to this—the number of children on welfare in America has tripled to more than 6 million. Think of it—6 million children—6 million children caught up in an unfair and tragic system that rewards people for not working instead of providing the incentives for self-support and independence; that drives families apart, instead of bringing them together; that brings welfare snoopers into their homes, that robs them of pride and destroys dignity. I believe we should change that.

The welfare system has become a consuming, monstrous, inhuman outrage against the community, against the family, against the individual, and most of all against the very children—it has become an outrage most of all against the very children who are our concern, your concern, in this great Conference, the children it is meant to help.

We have taken long strides—not enough, but long strides—toward ending racial segregation in America. But welfare segregation can be almost as insidious.

Think what it means to a sensitive child.

Let me give you one example. My daughter Tricia does tutoring at an inner-city school here in Washington. She tells me of her deep concern each day to see the welfare children herded into an auditorium for a free lunch, while the others bring their lunches and eat in the classroom.

Now we have to find ways of ending this sort of separation. The point is not the quality of the lunch. As a matter of fact, she tells me that the free lunch is probably nutritionally better than the ones the others bring from home.

The point is the stigmatizing by separation of the welfare children as welfare children.

I remember back in the Depression years—and if this dates me, if you can remember, you can remember, too—of the 1930's, how deeply I felt about the plight of those people my own age who used to come into my father's store when they couldn't pay the bill, because their fathers were out of work, and how this seemed to separate them from others in our school.

None of us had any money in those days, but those in families where there were no jobs and there was nothing but

the little that relief then offered suffered from more than simply going without. What they suffered was a hurt to their pride that many carried with them for the rest of their lives.

I also remember my older brother. He had tuberculosis for 5 years. The hospital, the doctor bills were more than we could afford.

In the 5 years before he died, my mother never bought a new dress. We were poor by today's standards, and I suppose we were poor even by Depression standards.

But the wonder of it was that we didn't know it. Somehow my mother and father, with their love, their pride, their courage, and their self-sacrifice, were able to create a spirit of self-respect in our family so that we had no sense of being inferior to others who had more.

Today's welfare child is not so fortunate. His family may have enough to get by on, and, as a matter of fact, they may have even more in a material sense than many of us had in those Depression years. But no matter how much pride and courage his parents have, he knows they are poor and he can feel that soul-stifling patronizing attitude that follows the dole.

Perhaps he watches while a caseworker—a caseworker who himself is trapped in a system that wastes on policing talents that could be used for helping—he watches while this caseworker is forced by the system to poke around in the child's apartment, checking on how the money is spent, or whether his mother might be hiding his father in the closet.

This sort of indignity is hard enough on the mother. It is enough of a blow to her pride and to her self-respect. But think of what it must mean to a sensitive child.

We have a chance now to give that child a chance—a chance to grow up without having his schoolmates throw in his face the fact that he is on welfare and without making him feel that he is therefore something less than other children.

Our task is not only to lift people out of poverty but from the standpoint of the child our task is to erase the stigma of welfare and illegitimacy and apartness, and to restore pride and dignity and self-respect for every child in America.

I don't contend before this sophisticated audience of critics that our family assistance plan is perfect. Secretary Richardson, who has been before the Senate, will be able to answer questions that you may put to him because he has been before a very, very critical body.

But I am only going to suggest this: In this confused, complex, and intensely human area no perfect program is possible, and certainly none is possible that will please everybody. But this is a good program, and a program immensely better than what we have now, and vastly important to the future of this country—and especially to the neediest of our children. It is time to get rid of the present welfare program and get a new one, and now is the time to do it.

For the United States Senate to adjourn without enacting this measure would be a tragedy of missed opportunity for America and particularly for the children of America.

I dwelt at some length on family assistance because of its vital and even historic importance and because now is the time for Senate decision.

This represents, as I indicated, one of the things the Federal Government can

do to give children a better opportunity.

There are others: our programs for the right to read, our emphasis on the first 5 years of life through the new Office of Child Development in the Department of HEW, on education reform, on food and nutrition, many others where we are trying to meet what I believe is a great responsibility that rests on the Federal Government.

I know in this Conference you will have many new ideas for things we in Government, Federal Government, might do.

We shall do our best to meet our responsibility in those areas where the Federal Government can best do what needs to be done. But I would also stress that equally and often more important is what States and communities do, and the school, the church, the family, the mass media, voluntary organizations, each of us as individuals. For the child is not raised by government; the child is raised by his family. His character is shaped by those people he encounters in his daily life.

I think especially of the millions of Americans who give their time, their energy, and their heart to volunteer activities working with children. You know them in your communities—thousands, hundreds of thousands all over America.

Before becoming President, I served as national chairman of the Boys' Clubs of America. I saw from the inside the wonderful work organizations like the Boys' Clubs and others do, and also the spirit and the dedication of the people who make them possible. There are churches and service organizations, hundreds, thousands of organizations all across America, helping. They can help more.

And most important, these volunteer organizations can do what government cannot do: they can give heart and inspire hope, and they can address themselves not simply to children as a group but to that one special, precious child.

Before closing tonight, I would like to leave with you a few very personal reflections from perspective of the office I hold.

A President of the United States always thinks about the legacy that he would like to leave the country from the years he serves in this office. And I think often about that in terms of what I can leave for America's children.

I know that the first thing I would like to do for them is to bring peace to America and to the world. And here I speak not just of ending the war, but of ending it in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace, so that theirs, at last, can be what we have not yet had in this century—a generation of peace.

I speak not only of the absence of war, but also of a peace in which we can have an open world in which all the peoples of the world will have a chance to know one another, to communicate with one another, to respect one another.

The second thing that as President I would like to leave for America's children is a strong, productive, and creative economy—one that can provide every family with a floor under its income higher than what is now the ceiling for most of the world's peoples.

I want to leave them an economy that provides jobs for all with equal and full opportunity, jobs producing not for war but producing for peace.

And beyond this, I want, as you want, America's children in the last generation of this century to have the best education, the best health, the best housing that any children have had anywhere, anytime.

I want them to enjoy clean air and clean water and open spaces, to restore the heritage of nature that is rightfully theirs.

Although we will always have differences here in America, because this is a very diverse country, I hope that government can help achieve a better understanding among the generations, the races, the religions, among those with different values and different life styles.

I would like to do all this, do it in a climate of freedom.

I want this generation of children to develop a new sense of patriotism.

Edmund Burke pointed out that patriotism translated literally means love of country. And he went on further to say that for us to love our country, our country must be lovely.

We do love our country—most of us—but we know it has many unlovely features. I want young Americans to learn to love America, not because it is the richest country, or the strongest, or merely because they were born here, but because America is truly a good country and becoming better, because it is truly a lovely country.

I am convinced that in my term as President we've made some progress towards these goals that I've outlined, and I think that we, by the end, will have made more progress. But even if all these goals could be fully achieved, it still would not meet our duty to our children.

No matter what government does for people, no matter what we provide in the way of income, housing, or food, we still have not reached the essential element as far as a full and meaningful life is concerned, because what is most important is that every person in this country must be able to feel that he counts.

We have got to let 55 million very young Americans, as well as those a little older perhaps, know that what they do matters, that their ideas count, that the country needs their thoughts, their creativity, their contributions.

I recall Dr. Walter Judd [1] once said that he loved his daughter very much, and that when she asked him to help her with her arithmetic, he really could do it much better than she could, the easiest thing for him to do would be simply to do it for her. But because he loved her, he would not do it for her. He helped her learn to do it herself.

While this Conference will and should make recommendations as to what government can do for children, about how we can make life better for them, let us remember that what is most important is to provide the opportunity for each of our children to participate, for each child.

It is not just a matter of what more government is going to do for him, but how his own life is going to be enriched so that he can do something for his fellow man.

A sense of dignity, a sense of identity, of pride, of self-respect—these no government can provide. Government can help to create better conditions. It can help remove obstacles to the child's development. It can mobilize research and provide resources. It can offer advice and guidance. But all these only help to make success possible.

The love, the understanding, the compassion, the human concern that touch

[1] Dr. Walter H. Judd, noted lecturer, physician, and missionary, and Member of Congress from Minnesota from 1943 to 1962.

the child and make him what he can become—these are provided by people, people like you.

In the way we shape the character of the next generation, we test our own character as a people. In the rigor and the realism with which we approach the needs of the next generation, of each and every child in that generation, we test our devotion to humanity and our belief in ourselves.

I am confident we will meet those tests. And I am grateful, very grateful, to all of you here for the concern you have shown, the dedication you have demonstrated, in helping us to do so.

Your recommendations at the conclusion of your Conference on Friday will receive the most careful consideration by the various agencies to which they will be referred and by the President of the United States, not only because we in this administration respect your view but also because we share your concern. We share your concern about our Nation's children, our children. We share your concern that our children should receive the best that America can give them.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, having concluded my formal remarks, I would like to give you a very special invitation and explain the nature of it.

When I learned about this Conference, I suggested to your Chairman, Steve Hess, that Mrs. Nixon and I would like to receive all of the delegates to the Conference at the White House. He said, "There are 4,000."

I checked with our staff to see whether that would be possible, and they figured out that based on an experience over the past 2 years of moving receiving lines as fast as we possibly could, it would take 6 hours and 18 minutes to get 4,000 people through the line.

I said we couldn't do that because I thought the people at the end of the line might get tired by the end of 6 hours and 18 minutes.

But I do think you should know that tomorrow the Christmas decorations at the White House will be completed. Those who have seen them think they are the most beautiful that they have ever seen.

We have various nights blocked out. Monday night is the Congress; Tuesday night is the Congress; Thursday night are the diplomatic children, and so forth.

But Wednesday night belongs to you.

We have arranged for a special tour. Mr. Hess and his staff will arrange the buses and all the other various means of transportation that are needed to get you there.

We have arranged a special tour of the White House to see the Christmas lights and we hope that some members of our family can be there at least part of the time to greet some of you who are here.

Thank you very much. We wish you the very best.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:32 p.m. at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington. In his opening remarks he referred to Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, Mayor Walter E. Washington of the District of Columbia, and Stephen Hess, Chairman of the Conference. An advance text of the President's remarks was released on the same day.

On June 11, 1970, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Mr. Hess on preparations for the White House Conferences on Children and Youth.

Two White House announcements containing information on the forums and task forces constituting the Conferences were released on August 26 and 31.

460 Remarks on Plans To Nominate Secretary Kennedy as Ambassador-at-Large and Governor Connally as Secretary of the Treasury. *December* 14, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

Would you please be seated? Again I must say I am sorry we don't have more chairs in this room.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have asked to see you today for the purpose of making an announcement with regard to the Secretary of the Treasury and, also, with regard to the appointment of Ambassador-at-Large, which will be described in just a moment.

When Secretary Kennedy agreed to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury, he asked that at the end of 2 years he have the opportunity to leave that position and then perhaps consider another position.

We have been having discussions over the past few days—discussions, of course, on a confidential basis—as to what his plans should be, and discussions with regard to his successor.

Secretary Kennedy has agreed to stay on as Secretary of the Treasury through the budget period and until February 1, or whenever the date will be that his successor is confirmed.

It is very important, of course, that his successor in the meantime be immediately designated so that he can participate in the budget decisions, or at least in the process, and be informed of that, and so that there will be no break in the continuity.

Consequently, today I am announcing that the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary Kennedy, will resign from that position effective February 1, and I will announce the man who will be designated as Secretary of the Treasury, who will serve and work with the Secretary in the transition period. I will not send the name of the designee to this Congress but to the next Congress when it returns, as I understand, on January 20.

Secretary Kennedy has served this Nation in a selfless and, in my view, admirable and completely devoted way. It seemed to me when we first came in we were having an international monetary crisis about every month. That situation has changed. He has brought stability to our relations internationally, and he has been the top adviser to the President in the field of economic and financial policy.

I am sorry to see him leave as Secretary of the Treasury. His policies are ones that have guided us to this point. His policies are the ones we build on for the future. We are, however, not going to lose him in the Cabinet. He will remain as a member of the President's Cabinet, and the position that he will have in the Government will be in the State Department as Ambassador-at-Large. This position is extremely important in the international field where finance is concerned because we have problems arising with the Common Market; we have problems of multilateral financing.

As you know, the new foreign aid proposals that I have made are ones that will be greatly expanding the multilateral agencies in which the United States participates. Our Ambassador-at-Large will fill a very necessary role in that field as well as in many others.

The Secretary of State is enthusiastic-

ally for the designation of Secretary Kennedy in this position, because the State Department has primary responsibilities in the field of international economic policy, and to have a former Secretary of the Treasury in the position of Ambassador-at-Large is, according to the Secretary of State, something that he had never hoped we could have, but that we now have. Secretary Kennedy will be Ambassador and a member of the President's Cabinet after the first of February.

Now, having made that announcement, I would like to have Secretary Rogers please step down——[*Laughter*]

SECRETARY ROGERS. This has no significance, does it? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. ——and I would like to ask Governor John Connally please to step on the rostrum.

The man that I have asked to serve as Secretary of the Treasury is the former Governor of Texas, John Connally. I have learned to know John Connally over the past 18 months very well. He has been a member of the Ash Council [1] that has made revolutionary recommendations with regard to the reorganization of the Federal Government.

As a result of his work on that Council, we have not only gotten good recommendations but what is most important, we have been able to get a number of them through the Congress. With his support, particularly the fact that he was able to work effectively on the Democratic side of the aisle, as well as on the Republican side of the aisle, we were able to get through proposals that some thought could not be obtained.

[1] The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, under the chairmanship of Roy L. Ash.

In naming him as the new Secretary of the Treasury, I have done so for several reasons:

One, because of the confidence that I have developed in his judgment and his ability and his devotion to this country in these past 18 months working with him on the Ash Council; two, because his experience as Governor of Texas for three terms, one of the major States, gives him special qualifications in the field of revenue sharing, an area in which we are to have some new programs in our new budget, as Secretary Kennedy, of course, is quite aware; and, three, because Governor Connally in the field of finance, while he is not a banker, has a great deal of experience.

He is the head partner of one of the great law firms of the Nation. He is on the board of a number of financial institutions. He is familiar not only with the problems of finance in this country but also has traveled widely abroad and has great experience which he will bring to this position.

Above all, I think what this appointment signifies is something quite fundamental and quite important to this country at this time. We have a Republican President. We have a Democratic Congress. The problems that we face at home and abroad, whether it is a strong national defense, a strong foreign policy, or a strong economy are not Republican problems or Democratic problems. They are American problems.

We need to approach those problems in a bipartisan spirit. John Connally brings into this Cabinet at the very highest level the viewpoint of a very great American, in my opinion, but also he brings the viewpoint of a leading member of the Demo-

cratic Party. It means that we will be able to present our programs both at home and abroad, not simply as partisan programs but as programs that both Democrats and Republicans, we believe, can support.

For these reasons, we all believe, we in our Cabinet family, that former Governor Connally will serve admirably in the position of the Secretary of the Treasury and will also render very great service in the broader capacity of making sure that in this critical period in both foreign and domestic policy we have not a partisan but a bipartisan approach to the Nation's problems.

Governor, I can only say to you as I have said to every other designee when I present him, you can speak now to the press, but don't answer any questions because the Senate wants to ask you the questions.

[At this point Mr. Connally spoke. The President then resumed speaking.]

Now, ladies and gentlemen, Secretary Kennedy will have no problems in confirmation. He has been down that road already. However, he, I know, would like to make a statement, or I would like for him to make a statement, about his new position and anything he would like to say about his successor as Secretary of the Treasury.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

The remarks of Mr. Connally and Secretary Kennedy are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1688).

461 Remarks on Signing Bill Restoring the Blue Lake Lands in New Mexico to the Taos Pueblo Indians. *December* 15, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome all of you here on this very special occasion during the Christmas season, and particularly our guests from the western part of the United States who have come from a long way to be with us.

We are here for a bill signing ceremony that has very special significance—the Taos-Blue Lake bill. It is a bill that has bipartisan support. Both Democrats and Republicans joined together to get it through the Congress so that the President could have the honor of signing it today.

And it is a bill which could be interpreted particularly in the Christmas season as one where a gift was being made by the United States to the Indian population of the United States.

That is not the case.

This is a bill that represents justice, because in 1906 an injustice was done in which land involved in this bill, 48,000 acres, was taken from the Indians involved, the Taos Pueblo Indians. And now, after all those years, the Congress of the United States returns that land to whom it belongs.

This bill also involves respect for religion. Those of us who know something about the background of the first Americans realize that long before any organized religion came to the United States, for 700 years the Taos Pueblo Indians worshiped in this place.

We restore this place of worship to them for all the years to come.

And finally, this bill indicates a new direction in Indian affairs in this country, a new direction in which we will have the cooperation of both Democrats and Republicans, one in which there will be more of an attitude of cooperation rather than paternalism, one of self-determination rather than termination, one of mutual respect.

I can only say that in signing the bill I trust that this will mark one of those periods in American history where, after a very, very long time, and at times a very sad history of injustice, that we started on a new road—a new road which leads us to justice in the treatment of those who were the first Americans, of our working together for the better nation that we want this great and good country of ours to become.

So I think that in this Christmas season to sign this particular bill which, as I said, might be interpreted as a gift in the Christmas season but actually simply is the rectifying of an injustice, I can't think of anything more appropriate or any action that could make me more proud as President of the United States.

[At this point Juan de Jesus Romero, 90-year-old Cacique (religious leader) of the Taos Pueblo Indians, spoke. Following his remarks the President resumed speaking.]

Now I will sign the Blue Lake bill. We will have replicas of the signing pen for all the people attending the ceremony.

There are quite a few I see here, but being Christmas we have 70 available. But the one that I sign it with, I will present—I think you would all agree, it should go appropriately, rather than to one of the sponsoring Senators who are here, it should go to the spiritual leader of the Taos Pueblo Indians, Mr. Romero.

Ladies and gentlemen, if you will be seated just a moment, I would like to say in conclusion that after the ceremony is over, I understand there are some refreshments available in one of the rooms next door here. You are invited to stay and enjoy some coffee and some of the White House pastries, which they tell me are very good. I am not allowed to have them myself.

Also, I would like to say that I go from here to another ceremony. I will mention it because it seems to me appropriate to put the two ceremonies that I participate in today as President of the United States in their proper perspective.

Today the United States passes $1 trillion in terms of its national economy. That was undreamed of even 25 years ago. And, of course, undreamed of 190 years ago when this was a small country of 3 million people and 13 States, and very, very poor and very, very weak. We are the richest nation in the history of the world and will remain so.

That $1 trillion shows one side of the strength of America. But today, in the eloquent comments of Mr. Romero, we saw another side, a side that money cannot measure—eloquence, a deep spiritual quality, and the strength that the Indian people, the first Americans have given to America generally in their contribution to this Nation.

I have often spoken of the fact that one of the men that influenced me the most in my college career happened to be my football coach, who was an American Indian. Not because he taught me to play football—I never made the team—but because he had character, strong, indom-

itable character, and in those Depression years he got into everybody that was on that squad.

I want you to know that to have these eloquent remarks today on this occasion shows us that our Indian people, who are a small part of America in numbers, have made an enormous contribution because they have given great character to so many parts of our country. We are grateful for that.

On this occasion, as we look at that $1 trillion, we want to remember that the Indians in the United States of America have contributed something that no trillion dollars could ever possibly estimate.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 471) is Public Law 91–550 (84 Stat. 1437).

A White House announcement, released on the same day, summarizing the bill's provisions is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1690).

Cacique Romero spoke in Tiwa, the language of the Taos Pueblo people. His remarks, as translated by his interpreter, Council Secretary Paul Bernal, follow:

As I am the Indian, my sons and daughters, I want to express myself in my native language to you because the life that I live belongs to the American people, and the American people that live the life, it belongs to the Indian people of this country.

The Blue Lake lies within 48,000 acres. My responsibility for the American people and the country are here in America. I have exercised within my Indian power and my spiritual way to do exactly what I have been told by the forefathers beyond my times.

My responsibilities include all America and its people, and what we have in this good country of ours, like our great father here, the President of the United States, is with us this morning, and my responsibility is to include in my prayers and my daily talks in my spiritual way, include it, because I do believe there is peace within and among ourselves, and we have to find that peace and this is why we are gathered here today.

My dear sons and daughters, we are a foundation with Mother Nature. Mother Nature gives us the opportunity to walk on her blanket, a beautiful blanket that is spread for us to walk in front of destiny, and the sun gives us the light that we will be able to find our destiny when we walk with Mother Nature, and all the great ecology that we have in this country is meant for you and I to enjoy. And that is the way I feel and that is the way I do and that is the way I consider you and include you in my daily prayers.

In telling you the truth I go to Blue Lake with my little package of worship, with the thing that I have to give and offer to the spiritual way, to give thanksgiving of every day of my life for what we have in this country, because this is important and I know myself when I do this it will be included in all the walks, in all the lives of this country.

A new day begins not only for the American Indian, but for all the Americans in this country. The President of the United States is the greatest father that we have. In the decision that he is making including us, we will be able to have a part in this great country of ours.

We have to have a brotherhood; we have to have a relationship; we have to have an understanding. We have to have an understanding that we can get along in this country to do the work, what we are responsible for, us as the leaders of this country.

And this responsibility is more than the material things that we are able to call for, but to protect the life and to protect what in this America is really beautiful, peace, honesty, truth, understanding, consideration. All this I am asking, to restore these feelings back to the Indian people, especially, of this country, who have been a little bit put on the side during the decades.

We cannot look for a living god. We are witness every day and we are receiving the blessing from the sun every day to give us the light and give us comfort. We have been receiving at night the moon to give us the blessing, for us to be rested and we can be able to

work the next day. Mother Nature has given us food and strength and opportunity for us to walk in the direction of our desire, whichever way we want to go.

Understanding, in concluding my statement to you, to the father of this country, the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, I want to thank you. I want to thank each and every one of the American public who are present here and not present, who are away from the White House. We want to thank them. We want them to know that we are appreciating very much.

We want you to know that we are thankful, and we are going to have to celebrate the gift, like the President said a Christmas gift, by the restoring of the Indian native title, by the effort of this White House and the nicest people who have been with us—Congressman Haley, [Senator] Barry Goldwater, Senator Griffin, and Senator Harris and LaDonna Harris,[1] and other people, who have sacrificed along with the Taos Pueblo cause, to find a place for the Indian people of this country.

We wish you a Merry Christmas.

We are going to enjoy from here on out a happy New Year every year. And thank you very much.

[1] President of Americans for Indian Opportunity, Inc., and wife of Senator Harris.

462 Remarks at a Ceremony Marking Attainment of a Trillion Dollar Gross National Product. *December* 15, 1970

Secretary Stans, members of the Cabinet, and all of our distinguished guests today from the Department of Commerce and the other agencies of Government:

I am, of course, very honored to be here on this occasion in which we pass a milestone, the first trillion dollar economy for the United States and, of course, the first trillion dollar economy for any nation in the history of the world.

It is fascinating to watch that clock. Paul McCracken told me that it is moving at the rate of $2,000 a second. And we can think how much that is going to mean if we just keep it moving and perhaps even move it faster in the years ahead.

The Secretary has well stated what that means to the American people, that it means something more than simply the material production which a trillion dollars—which none of us really can comprehend—would ordinarily contemplate.

I would like to put it in terms that I think in this particular season of the year we would all appreciate more. A trillion dollars of the economy means a lot of business, a lot of factories, a lot of production, a lot of jobs. But, in a sense, it is a material concept. I know that particularly at the Christmas season we do not like to think simply of material things.

Yes, we want to see the department stores sell more. I hope and I hear from some quarters this could be the biggest Christmas season ever, and I trust that it is. But I think at this season of the year we think, also, of other concepts, and particularly spiritual and ideological concepts.

For example, many people that I talk to, when they hear discussions about our economy and what are we going to do about business and the fact that our economy is the richest and the strongest in the world, raise the question: Well, isn't the real objective of society to have better education? Isn't the real objective to concentrate on better health? And isn't the

real objective to have better housing?

Or putting it another way, why don't we think more in terms of what we do for people rather than in terms of business producing more and more billions and finally a trillion dollars a year?

As the Secretary well pointed out, though, our ability to do things for people, to do things for people in the United States and to do things for people around the world, depends upon this enormously productive American economy.

I have often told the story of a trip I took around the world in 1953 when I met with one of the most idealistic leaders in the whole world in an Asian country. He took me into his room where he had all of his economic charts and showed me what his plans were over the 5 years for raising the standard of living of the people of his very poor country to a level higher than any of them had ever had—very low by our standards but still very high—and also of what his plans were in terms of education, in terms of housing, and all these other things.

None of that ever came about. The reason was that his method for doing it was simply to have the parliament in that country pass the law setting up those minimums, and then some way that would become a fact.

We all know that we can pass laws setting up minimum standards for education, for housing, for health, even for income for families with children. But unless we produce the wealth, all of those great dreams, those idealistic plans for doing things for people, aren't going to mean anything at all.

It is a fraud on the people to tell them, "We are going to pass laws that are going to raise your standards of living," unless we have this robust, strong, private enterprise economy of ours, which is the wonder of the world, producing the wealth, over $1 trillion a year at the present time.

I would simply like to point out that on Sunday night this week I was able to go before the White House Conference on Children and for the first time in the history of those conferences that go back through 70 years of this country, to the time of Theodore Roosevelt—and, of course, for the first time in the history of America—I, as President of the United States, was able to endorse a program that will provide a minimum income for all families with children in America. And that minimum income, a floor for the income of all families with children in America, is higher than the ceiling that three-fourths of the people in this world will ever know.

I was able to do that because of that trillion dollar economy.

A President of the United States couldn't have made that promise even 10 years ago. He couldn't have advocated such a program possibly even 5 years ago. It would not have been one that would have been any more viable than the plans of my friend in Asia 20 years ago about his country, where simply by passing a law they were going to raise the standards for education, housing, and income for an impoverished people.

So as we look at America at this Christmas season, I think rather than apologizing for our great, strong private enterprise economy, we should recognize that we are very fortunate to have it.

Oh, it has faults, but let us recognize that its faults and the faults of this system, which is so often criticized in this country, can be cured and can be corrected because of the strength that we have. The programs for the environment,

the programs of a minimum income for every family with children in America, the programs costing billions of dollars for education, and a new program of health that I will be submitting to the Congress when the new Congress comes in—all of these otherwise would simply be politicians' promises that could never be fulfilled if it weren't for the fact that the American people were producing in their private capacities at the rate of a trillion dollars a year.

That is the way to look at it. Don't look at it simply in terms of a great group of selfish people, money grubbing, not wanting to help other people.

Let us recognize, because of the strength of this American economy, we can do things in America that no other country in the world can do.

We can offer a minimum income for families with children that no other country in the world can offer because they don't have the kind of income that we have. We can offer programs of education and housing, health, all of these other fields that help people that no other country in the world can equal because of the productivity of the American economy.

It is a strong economy. It is something that I can point to with pride, not because Government did it—Government played a part of the role—but because as we look at that trillion dollars we must remember that five out of every six of those dollars were the result not of what Government did, big as our Government is, but what a people did in their private capacities.

So five-sixths of that trillion dollars is produced by the people of the United States in a climate of freedom which the Government of the United States has the responsibility to create and maintain.

And in this Christmas season, let us be thankful for many things: Be thankful for the freedom we have in America. Be thankful that as a result of our moving forward on the economic side that we can now turn more to the quality of life and not just to its quantity. And be thankful for the fact that because we are so very rich, because we are so very productive, America can do so many things that are very good.

This is a wealthy country. It is a very strong country. It is a very great country. But our capacity to be a good country also depends upon this fantastic ability to produce, represented by a trillion dollars a year.

Thank you.

I made a record then for speaking. I have made a lot of speeches in my life, but the Secretary just informed me that I talked $5 million worth.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:13 p.m. in the Department of Commerce Auditorium.

463 Memorandum About Jobs for Veterans. *December* 15, 1970

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

I am calling upon American business, organized labor, veterans organizations, and state and local governments to lend their support to a national effort—Jobs

for Veterans—designed to provide maximum employment opportunities for veterans.

Each veteran deserves the opportunity to find his place in our economic system. Jobs for Veterans is a nationwide effort to highlight the veteran and to make effective use of the talents and skills he has acquired in the military service.

I expect the Departments and Agencies of the Executive Branch to lead the way in this important effort and to support the program fully within their areas of responsibility.

I have appointed Mr. James F. Oates, Jr. as National Chairman of Jobs for Veterans and I have asked him to cooperate with you to insure that the resources of the Federal Government are utilized to the fullest extent possible.

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The memorandum was posted for the press.

464 Letter to James Keogh Accepting His Resignation as Special Assistant to the President. *December* 16, 1970

Dear Jim:

Although I have known for some time of your planned return to private life, it is nevertheless with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation effective December 31, and see you prepare to leave my staff. My feelings, I know, are shared by all of your White House colleagues.

Your steady hand and wise counsel have been of enormous help in setting the course of the Administration during these first two critical years, and I know that the dedication you have brought to your work has been inspired by a profound sense of service to the Administration, to the nation and to its people.

Although you will be missed here at the White House, I am confident that the integrity and the high degree of professionalism you exhibited within the Administration will continue to serve you, your country and your chosen field of journalism well.

Throughout the many years that we have known one another, your support and encouragement have meant a great deal to me. I appreciate the "venerable wish" from our common ancestors, and would only add that whenever the road has risen to meet me, it has done so largely through the dedication of good friends like yourself. And when the wind has been at my back, I often have found a calm, reasoned and experienced editor's good judgment behind it.

Pat joins me in the hope that you and Verna will also find this venerable wish fulfilled in the years ahead, and that the knowledge that you have served your country with such distinction will contribute to making them both happy and satisfying.

With deep gratitude, and with warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable James Keogh, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter of acceptance was dated December 9, 1970, and released December 16, 1970.

Mr. Keogh's letter of resignation, dated

56-087—71——75

December 1, 1970, and released with the President's letter, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Now that we are nearing the end of the first two years of your Administration, the time has come for me to make official the intention about my future which I indicated to you informally some time ago. And so I submit to you my resignation as your Special Assistant, effective December 31, 1970.

It has been one of the great experiences of my life to have served on your staff since you were nominated for the Presidency in August, 1968. I only hope that I have been able to contribute something of value to help you carry the enormous burdens which you are called upon to bear.

My course now is charted on the principle that—if he can—a man should generally work at what he knows best. Holding that view, I feel that I should now return to private life to devote my attention to journalism, my profession of 30 years.

As I leave your official family, I will take with me the profound hope that you will be able to achieve in your Presidency the basic goals which I know you so fervently seek: real progress toward a more fulfilled life for all Americans and, indeed, for all people.

Borrowing a venerable wish from your ancestors—and mine—I say may the road rise up to meet you and may the wind be always at your back.

Sincerely,

JIM KEOGH

[The President, The White House]

465 Christmas Message to Hospitalized Veterans. *December* 16, 1970

MY FAMILY joins me in wishing all our hospitalized veterans and those who care for them a very happy Christmas.

May this season of giving be particularly satisfying for you who have given so much to all of us. May you derive comfort and courage from your very special gift to the American people: your sacrifices in the cause of peace and freedom.

It is a gift that we can never fully return. But because of it, we are free to worship the Prince of Peace in this holy season; and we are nearer to the peace on earth we seek.

Our thoughts will be with you—as will our prayers and our enduring thanks.

NOTE: The message was posted for the press.

466 Remarks at the Lighting of the Nation's Christmas Tree. *December* 16, 1970

I KNOW we want to express our very grateful appreciation to the Mormon Choir and to the Friends University Symphonic Choir for their participation and particularly under the rather adverse weather conditions which I know are very hard for those of you here in the audience.

As I was preparing my Christmas message to the Nation, it occurred to me that when we light the national Christmas tree, we do so not only as a Nation but really as a family, a family of more than 200 million members.

This week and next week millions of trees all over America will be lighted just as we light this tree today. And all over America families will be gathering together.

At Christmas I think we all think of things like Currier and Ives prints, of snow and Santa Claus, of love and laughter and homecoming. For this is part of the spirit of Christmas. It speaks to something deep and eternal in the human spirit, a yearning for hope, a celebration of life, a wish to put aside all the care and the discord that press in upon us so much of the rest of the year, a wish to let "the better angels of our nature" sing a little and to sing along with them.

The spirit of Christmas is joyous, because it is the spirit of peace—a spirit of loving, of giving, of caring, and letting the light of life shine through.

I received a Christmas card the other day—and thousands of Christmas cards come to the President of the United States and his family—but this one particularly I remember from a lady in California. She wrote something on it. Let me read what she wrote:

"During this Christmas season and throughout the new year, all Americans would like to have peace in the world, peace in our homes, and especially peace in our hearts"—peace in the world, peace in our homes, and peace in our hearts.

In the Christmas season, we do find peace in our hearts. We find it because this is a time for celebrating the simple things and the personal things, the things that mean so much to us in human terms. We celebrate the love that unites a family and the little acts of kindness, the touch of a hand, the words of comfort, the extra care that a mother takes as she bakes a Christmas pie.

And we think of the poor and the needy and the lonely, and we think of them not as problems, but as people with problems, and we try to help.

And in the act of giving we discover once again how good it feels to give. We find peace in our hearts that way.

As families gather together and those who have been away come home, we discover once again the joys of sharing. We remember the past Christmases. We remember the little incidents of our childhood and how important the little things can be, the mending of a broken toy, the happiness of a grandfather at the sight of his grandchild's smile, and, together again, we find peace in our families.

And then in this larger family, this national family that we call America, of which all of us are a part, we find ourselves drawn together. We find that in the spirit of Christmas, in the spirit of peace, we can put aside what divides us and rediscover what really unites us—the concern for one another, the love of liberty and justice, the knowledge that we are a great Nation because we are a great and diverse people.

We are a national family of many different outlooks and many different hopes and many different problems. But what holds us together is that we respect one another, that we care about one another so that we draw strength from our differences as we address our problems.

Just the other evening when I opened the White House Conference on Children, I recalled something that Edmund Burke once said. What patriotism really means is love of country. And Burke reminded us that for us to love our country, our country must be lovely.

I want young Americans to learn to love America, not because it is the richest country in the world, and it is, and not because it is the strongest country in the world or merely because you happen to

have been born here, but I want young Americans and all Americans to love America because this is a good country, and because we can, in our making it better, and because it therefore is truly a lovely country.

This, I think, is the spirit of the American family, knowing that there is much to be done, striving together to do it, and knowing that at heart, in the human sense of heart, this is a lovely country.

In this spirit, we can find peace in our larger family.

And our greatest hope in this Christmas season and in all seasons is, of course, peace in the whole world. We can be grateful in this Christmas season that already we have been able to bring 200,000 men back from Vietnam, more coming home. We can look forward with assurance to an end of that war. And as we look around the world, we see that there are still many other danger spots. And there are also many other threats to the peace of the world.

But because of the progress that we have made over the past 2 years, as I stand here before you, the American people, in this Christmas season, I believe that I can confidently say that we now have the best chance since the end of World War II to build what we have not had in this whole century, a full generation of peace.

As we look forward to that great hope of a generation of peace, we think especially of our children, and at Christmas we think especially of our children.

And as we light this great tree, and as millions of other trees are lighted in homes across the land, we do so in a spirit of peace and love and gathering together.

And as the lights go on, we know that these lights will reflect the light in the eyes of millions of children and the light of hope that stirs in millions of hearts, for the true light of Christmas is not the light on the tree. It is the light in the eyes of a child.

And now we come to the big moment we have all been waiting for. We are going to light the tree, and because this is a very big tree, I understand that I am going to have some help to light it.

And I am going to go down here in the audience and pick out one of the children to help me press the button to light the tree. I see we have lots of volunteers.

Now, we picked this boy out. He is the smallest boy here. But he can do this, I know, very well. And his name is Andre.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:42 p.m. at the 17th annual Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse near the White House. The national community Christmas tree, a 78-foot white spruce from the Black Hills of South Dakota, was lighted with the help of Andre Proctor, age 5, of Washington, D.C.

The President's remarks were broadcast live on television.

467 Veto of the Employment and Manpower Bill. *December* 16, 1970

To the Senate of the United States:

It is with reluctance that I return to the Congress without my approval the Employment and Manpower Act of 1970 [S. 3867]. Despite concerted efforts made by the administration to achieve constructive legislation, the bill sent to me for signature does not achieve the reforms

necessary to establish a manpower program that will serve the needs of the nation or the individual job seeker. I cannot accept this legislation which only perpetuates and extends the deficiencies in our manpower programs.

This Administration sent a manpower reform proposal to the Congress in August of 1969. That bill would have pulled together the present unrelated, narrowly targeted manpower training programs and would have made it possible for State and local governments to develop comprehensive programs that are closely adjusted to the needs of local communities and the individual worker. It would have reformed the present program structure which has proven to be almost impossible for communities to understand or to administer effectively.

The House of Representatives passed a bill which adopted many of the structural reform features I felt to be essential. It would have permitted the flexible use of manpower funds in the light of local requirements. It would have afforded the cities and States a responsible role in the planning and administration of manpower programs. In addition, the House-passed bill provided for transitional public employment that would be linked to training and other efforts to expand job opportunities in the labor market at large. Despite reservations about some of the House's bill provisions, this administration endorsed it, and I would have signed it.

The Senate adopted a bill which we found completely unacceptable because it ignored the lessons of the last decade and would create a national manpower program that would relegate large numbers of workers to permanent, subsidized employment. Such a program would limit, not expand individual opportunity. The administration vigorously expressed its view on the Senate bill on several occasions. The outcome of the Conference—unfortunately for the nation—reflects what one leading House conferee has called "a near abandonment of the House-approved bill and a complete abandonment of crucial principles relating to the public service employment provisions."

The Conference bill provides that as much as 44 percent of the total funding in the bill go for dead-end jobs in the public sector. Moreover, there is no requirement that these public sector jobs be linked to training or the prospect of other employment opportunities. W.P.A.-type jobs are not the answer for the men and women who have them, for government which is less efficient as a result, or for the taxpayers who must foot the bill. Such a program represents a reversion to the remedies that were tried thirty-five years ago. Surely it is an inappropriate and ineffective response to the problems of the seventies.

The Conference bill raises the number of narrow purpose program categories from 14 to 22, whereas the administration's proposal would have established a single, broadly defined manpower program. These narrow categorical programs would continue to hamstring the efforts of communities to adjust to change in their local needs. In dealing with manpower problems, the Federal Government should help, but it should not always prescribe.

I said at my news conference last week that I believe our economic policies are working. Inflation is receding. The economy is moving up. I am not satisfied with the present overall unemployment

rate (5.8 percent), even though the unemployment rate for the heads of families is much lower (3 percent). The administration is taking measures to expand economic activity and job opportunities. Our main objective is to achieve a stable growth while actively reducing unemployment.

Transitional and short-term public service employment can be a useful component of the nation's manpower policies. This administration agreed to such a program provision in the House-passed bill and, in fact, this Administration has initiated a similar public service careers program under existing law. But public employment that is not linked to real jobs, or which does not try to equip the individual for changes in the labor market, is not a solution. I cannot accept a bill which so fully embraces this self-defeating concept.

The manpower reform bill which this administration sent to the Congress is one of three key parts in a program of fundamental reform. The other aspects are revenue sharing and reform of the welfare system. To date the Congress has completed action on only the manpower part of that program, and has done so in a way that will only make the situation worse.

Today, I reaffirm my administration's intention to continue pressing with all the resources at our command for all aspects of the reform program we have proposed—the Family Assistance Plan, revenue sharing and sound manpower reform. The next opportunity for action on this program will come very soon in the Senate, in the vote on the Family Assistance Plan. Once again, I urge the Senate to approve without further delay this long overdue reform.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 16, 1970

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson on the President's veto message.

On December 21, 1970, the Senate sustained the President's veto.

468 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Edward Heath of Great Britain. *December* 17, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister:

I have welcomed you before to Washington, D.C., and to this house, but it is a special privilege to welcome you for the first time as Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Our countries have a special relationship which we often refer to. That relationship can be described in terms of a common language, of our adherence to the common law, and of the various institutions of government which we share in common.

Today, as we meet for our talks and as we meet again tomorrow, we shall be thinking of those common bonds. But what really makes our relationship special is something far more significant and far more profound. It is the dedication of our two nations and of our two peoples to great principles of justice, progress, freedom, opportunity, and peace for ourselves

and for other people throughout the world.

We have fought together in two great wars in this century for those principles. And today, as we meet, we shall be speaking of how we can work together for those principles to prevail, not only in our own nations but throughout the world.

As this Christmas season is with us, I think it is most appropriate that we are meeting, because no greater cause could be served than for our two nations, which do have a special relationship for the reasons that I have mentioned, and which do have this common dedication to these great principles, that our two nations should work together and be rededicated anew to achieving a goal that people in this world have never had in this century, a full generation of peace.

I am sure our talks will contribute toward that end.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Heath was given a formal welcome with full military honors.

See also Item 470.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President:

May I thank you on behalf of my colleagues and myself for the very warm welcome which you have given us this morning.

I am delighted to be here in the United States as Prime Minister of Great Britain, to have come to a country which I have now known well for more than 30 years, since the time I first came here when I was a student.

Mr. President, we have all admired the courage of the American people, which has done so much to maintain freedom across the world. We have all been grateful to the generosity of the American people, which has done so much to help to rebuild Europe and bring prosperity to other people.

We have, I believe, between our two countries and our two peoples, what matters most of all, and that is a natural relationship, which has now grown up over many years and which is the basis for our work together.

We were delighted to be able to welcome you to Chequers in a very natural way, in a very natural setting, and just to have talks together.

These 2 days will enable us both to discuss a wide range of affairs of mutual interest to us.

Naturally, we shall also be discussing, amongst them, Europe, our common interests in the Western Alliance, and Britain's policies towards Europe.

I see nothing incompatible, nor do my colleagues, in the application of Britain to become a member of the European Economic Community and, thus, to create a wider unity in our own continent.

Indeed, I believe that if the application is successful, it will be to the benefit, not only of Europe and Britain in Europe, but of the United States and the Atlantic Alliance and the whole free world.

And as you have so rightly said at this Christmas time, we think above all of peace, and what we can do to contribute towards it, to establish it on a solid basis. And we think, too, of those who are less fortunate in the world and what we, as industrially developed nations, can do to bring them a more prosperous and a happier life than they have had hitherto.

And so, Mr. President, I am greatly looking forward to the talks which we are going to have today, which will, I believe, consolidate that happy relationship which exists between our countries, if I may say so, between you and myself, because we have known each other also over many years, both in and out of office, and I believe the talks which we are now going to have will greatly help the work which both of us have in hand for the good of our own countries, for the Western World, for freedom, and for prosperity.

469 Remarks to the United States Department of Agriculture Corn Blight Conference at Beltsville, Maryland. *December* 17, 1970

Mr. Secretary, and all of the distinguished guests here at Beltsville:

In checking the record I found that this is the first visit that a President of the United States has made to Beltsville since President Eisenhower was here in 1954. And consequently, I feel particularly privileged to have the opportunity to see this very famous agricultural research installation and also to meet, at the same time, with a group of distinguished farm leaders from across the Nation on a subject of enormous importance, not only to the people of the United States in terms of corn and its production—and we know what that means—but also, in terms of what it will do for people throughout the world who might have a similar problem and where we, of course, have been so generous in sharing our knowledge with others in terms of helping them with their agricultural problems.

I am going to take, I understand, a brief tour of the facility after our remarks here. But I thought that this particular occasion was one that gave me an opportunity to say some things that I have been wanting to say to leaders in the agricultural community about the Department of Agriculture, about our Secretary of Agriculture and his colleagues, and also about the American farmer, the agricultural community generally, and what we in America, all of us, owe to American agriculture.

First, with regard to the Secretary of Agriculture, he has spoken generously about the support he has had from the President and the White House on the policies that he has recommended. When he took this position I told him that it was very difficult to be a popular Secretary of Agriculture. I told him that Congressmen and Senators, Democrats and Republicans, for years got elected by running against the Secretary of Agriculture; and that I hoped he avoided that.

Now, there are many interpretations of the last elections, but I don't know of anybody that ran against Secretary Hardin. So, I congratulate him on that particular point.

I want to say, too, though, that when I did appoint him, I wanted a man who would speak for the farmers and for American agriculture to the White House rather than the other way around. He has done that. Beneath that very pleasant and disarming exterior of his is a very strong and persuasive and determined mind. And in these matters that come before us and the high decisions that have to be made at the White House with the legislative leaders, with the Cabinet, on the budget and other matters, I can assure you that agriculture has a very strong advocate.

I have appreciated that fact, because I do not want those who simply are there to parrot the views that we may have developed in advance. I want somebody there that will represent this community and represent it well. He has done that.

I don't mean to suggest by that that all of the decisions that we have made in this administration meet with unanimous approval by the leaders of American agriculture. I found that when we were trying

to develop a farm bill this year that it was very difficult to find any common ground of agreement.

There were certainly no partisan lines that divided Democrats from Republicans on agricultural issues. As you know, generally speaking, it's a question of the corn people and the wheat people and the cotton people and the peanut people and the people that don't have subsidies and the people that do and so on down the line.

And so the problem is to find a piece of farm legislation that is in the best interests of American agriculture and, at the same time, will serve the interests of the country generally.

This farm bill,[1] I would have to candidly admit, did not meet with as much approval from all of the various agricultural organizations as I would like. And I read the publications. I know what some have been saying about the farm legislation. The Secretary has told me a little about it, too.

I do want you to know, however, we do think it's an improvement. We do think that it's a good start in the right direction. We hope that you will work with us in implementing the new farm legislation, and we're open to new suggestions as to how we can do better in the future. This is said to you quite candidly and quite honestly, for a reason that I will now develop with regard to what the American people owe to American agriculture generally.

Some of you may have noted that in a recent speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in New York I referred to a new Commission on Productivity that we have set up in the United States. This Commission has not received as much publicity as some more spectacular organizations of that type might receive, but it is a very high-powered group, high-powered in the sense that it has representatives of labor, of management, of the general public, from the scientific community, and it comes from all over the United States.

That Commission has had several meetings since I established it several months ago. And as I sat there with these top leaders of American industry and American labor and the American academic community—American agriculture was also represented—a very significant point was made, not only in the first meeting but in the second and in the third. On every occasion, it is this: That that area of the American economy that has had the greatest growth in productivity and that has the highest productivity per man-hour, anyway you want to rate it, is American agriculture.

The point being made that we think of industry, and this is a great industrial country; we think of services, and we do have many areas where we have led the world in the field of services—but whether it's in the field of industry or the field of services, there is nothing in the United States that even approaches the growth in productivity of American agriculture.

This is a great record. It's a record that is due, of course, to the fact that we have had good people on the land, farmers. A farmer these days, of course, is much more than a farmer. He's a scientist, and he's a technician, he's a businessman, he's a man who knows how to market, he has to be one who can be able to handle this complex business that we call agribusiness in many parts of the country. But we also owe a very great debt to those

[1] See Item 443.

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in the Department of Agriculture, those that have given their lives to this area of research, this area of developing the capability to produce more from the land and to produce it at less cost and with less people.

And so, once I heard this particular fact brought home, that American agriculture was that area of the American economy that had had the greatest growth in productivity and that was the most productive area of any part of this Nation, I then checked a little further. And I had been hearing and some of you have been reading, not in the agricultural press, but in the press generally, about the costs of our farm program.

And so I found that when we checked to see the percentage of family income that goes into food, that at the present time, the American housewife pays a smaller percentage of her family income for food in America than she's ever paid in our history; and second, that the American housewife in this country, that is by far the best fed country in the world in terms of what the American people have available on their table and in their stores and through their markets—but in spite of that fact, that the American housewife today pays a smaller percentage of her family income for food than the housewife in any other country of the world.

What does this mean? Well, it means that despite all the problems that we hear about American agriculture, and despite the condemnation we hear of farm programs, that American agriculture, and particularly the American farmer, must be doing something right. It means also that the Nation owes American agriculture a very great debt, a very great debt which perhaps has not been adequately reflected in agricultural income.

I am not happy about the fact that agricultural income has not been at the rates that it should have been over these past few years. I think that the farmer, as I said during the campaign of 1968 and in campaigns before that, deserves a fair share of the Nation's increasing wealth and its increasing productivity, due to the fact that American agriculture is so productive.

But I do think that it is important that, representing all of the American people in this Christmas season, that I am able to say to the farmers of America, through this very distinguished group, that we are aware of the great debt that we owe to the farmers. We are aware of the great debt we owe to agriculture. We are aware of the great debt that we owe to all of those who work in this particular field.

We are the best fed people, but at the lowest cost, the lowest percentage of our income, of any country in the world. And for that, we are most grateful.

That brings me finally to another point that particularly occurs since I met today with the British Prime Minister. And we talked about problems around the world. And one of the problems we discussed was the problem of hunger in the world. We have problems of hunger in this country, as you are aware, and there are problems of hunger in all countries, rich and poor, around the world.

But the problems of hunger in this country, of course, are, in terms of magnitude, nothing compared to what the problems are in countries that simply do not have the enormous productivity that we have.

And so, as we look around the world, and as we think of the future of the world and what's going to happen, we realize how much American agriculture can con-

tribute. I speak not simply of those foods that we may export to other countries—and we're very interested in those export markets. And believe me, nobody's fighting as hard for those markets as Cliff Hardin is fighting. After he returns from each trip, he goes over to the State Department and then he comes to the White House. And sometimes he wins, I might say. We hope that he wins a little more often in the future. But, be that as it may, I think that we should recognize that in terms of the long-range prospect, that American agriculture is doing more, far more, than simply seeing to it that we in America have the benefit of an enormously rich society in terms of what we can put on our tables at Christmastime or Thanksgiving or, for that matter, any day of the week—we owe it to the productivity of American agriculture. But also, in terms of the future of the world, what we have learned in America and the knowledge that we are able to share with other people may make a difference in these next 10, 15, 25 years, a difference as to whether millions of people all over the world will grow up without enough to eat at all or whether they may have a better chance, not as good a chance as our people have, but at least a better chance than they would otherwise have to survive.

And I leave on that particular note. I leave on it because I think it is well for us in this Christmas season to recognize that this is one time of the year when we naturally think of our own private concerns and the problems that we have of meeting our family budgets and the like, but also it is a time when we think of what we can do and what we are doing to help other people, to help other people in the United States, and what we are doing to help other people in this world, to make it a more peaceful world, to make it a better world, to make it a world in which children don't go hungry, not here, not anyplace else.

That's an ideal people could never dream of before. It is an ideal that perhaps we can reach for now. But if we can reach for it, we will be standing on a little bit higher plateau, perhaps a considerably higher plateau from which to reach, because American agriculture has built that plateau, built it by its productivity, by its devotion, by its dedication in developing the most productive economy in terms of agriculture ever in the history of the world, let alone the history of the United States.

And so, I express my deep appreciation to the representatives of agriculture for coming to this particular meeting, dealing with this problem, which is only a small part of the problem in a way, a small part of the problem, but symbolizes it all.

There was a time, I suppose not 10, maybe not 25 years ago, we should say, there was a time 25 years ago when corn blight came we might not have had enough in storage to take up the slack, but beyond that, we might not have developed the capability to deal with the problem.

But now we not only have the amount in storage to take up the gap, but we also, as I understand, due to the enormous facilities of research and the brains and the overtime and the genius that have gone into it, we are finding an answer to this problem.

And that means that in the future we will be able to deal with it more effectively. It means, also, we can share this knowledge with other people throughout the world.

So with that, thank you to all the farm-

ers of America and through you, to the farmers of America, thank you for making it possible for us in America to have a much better table on Christmas Day for that Christmas dinner or that Christmas lunch, whichever it happens to be, and to have it at lower cost in terms of our total income than we've ever had it before and at lower cost in terms of our total income than any other people in the world can enjoy.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:32 p.m. to some 100 representatives of farm organizations attending the conference at the Agricultural Research Center.

470 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Heath of Great Britain. *December* 17, 1970

Mr. Prime Minister and our very distinguished guests this evening:

George Bernard Shaw once wrote that Great Britain and the United States were two countries separated by a common language. On this particular occasion, it is always customary to speak of the special relationship which exists between Great Britain and the United States, a relationship which—we referred to this morning—grows out not of simply the fact that we share a common language, although we may speak it a bit differently, but that we also have the traditions of the common law and other institutions that we have adhered to together.

But in this particular instance, I should point out that we are very fortunate that the special relationship is one that goes beyond simply semantics. It is based on something more than language and law and history and tradition. It's based on the fact that our two countries have interests in the world, interests in progress and peace and justice, all of those very simple words but which have such great meaning, which are similar and common and that we work together to achieve those interests.

Also, it is, for me, a very special privilege tonight to point out that apart from the special relationship which exists between our two countries for the reasons that I have mentioned, there is a special relationship which exists because of the personal relationship I have been fortunate to have had with the Prime Minister, our very distinguished honored guest tonight.

I have known him for almost 20 years, which is a long time in politics or in world affairs. I have known him when I've been out of office and he's been out of office. And as he pointed out this morning, now for the first time, we are both in office and together.

I should point out, too, that as we receive him tonight in this Christmas season at this dinner, that over the past 2 years, almost 2 years, that we have had dinners here in this State Dining Room, we have had many distinguished guests, but the Prime Minister is the first guest that I have received in the White House who was here as a guest almost a year ago, or over a year ago, when he was out of office and is now being received as a guest when he is the head of government.

And I can only say, having recounted that, that at least he's moving in the right direction.

The only painting in this room is the

very famous painting of Lincoln over the fireplace. And there are so many stories and anecdotes from the Lincoln period that could be appropriate tonight, but one in particular that I think should be recounted before proposing the toast of the evening.

During the War Between the States, when the Union had an embargo on the South, the textile mills in Britain suffered greatly. And the workers of Manchester sent a message to Lincoln indicating their support of what he was trying to do.

Lincoln wrote to them in his own hand a message in return in which he said, as I recall, that whatever happened in the future and whatever catastrophe might occur in either our country or theirs, that of one thing we could be sure, that the peace and friendship between our two nations would be perpetual.

He said that and wrote that 100 years ago. There is no question tonight that when we speak of peace and friendship between Great Britain and the United States that it will be perpetual as it has been throughout this century.

The only question is how that peace and that friendship, along with the peace and friendship that we enjoy with so many of our other friends in the world who share common interests, how that can be used to achieve a greater peace and a greater friendship for all the nations of the world, a goal far away it seems at times, but a goal which we all constantly strive to achieve.

And I can only say that because of the very great respect that I have and my colleagues in this Government have for the Prime Minister, his leadership, and for his colleagues in his Government, that I have great confidence that our two nations will work together, not only for peace and friendship between Great Britain and the United States but for what we have never had in this century, a generation of peace for the whole world.

And it is in that spirit that our meetings at Chequers earlier this year and our meeting here in Washington today took place and our meeting in Camp David tomorrow will take place. I believe it will contribute to that great goal that all of us feel particularly close to during this Christmas season.

And it is in that spirit that I know that all of you would like to rise and raise your glasses in a toast to the Queen.

The Queen.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:52 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

See also Item 468.

The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President:

I, first of all, thank you for the great honor you have done me as Prime Minister of Great Britain to invite me here to your country on this official visit and to say how much my colleagues and I are enjoying it and to thank you for the very warm welcome which you've given us here and for the kind words which you've just spoken in your toast which you've proposed to the health of Her Majesty, the Queen.

If I may say so, coming here as leader of Her Majesty's loyal opposition and being entertained by you and by Mrs. Nixon was extremely enjoyable. I find only one thing more pleasant, and that is to come here as Her Majesty's Prime Minister and to be entertained in this way.

And I'd like to thank you for bringing together here tonight, not only such a distinguished gathering but also so many friends, some of whom I've known now for a very long time, indeed.

And so it gives me particular pleasure to have been able to meet them here tonight and to find them here seated at your table. It gives me very great pleasure, indeed.

And thank you, too, on this festive occasion for arranging for the Army Chorus to come here and sing carols. I suspect that this was done of intent knowing of my musical interests and my great delight in carols and that they should have chosen to have sung one of the oldest carols, the "Coventry Carol," one of the oldest carols in our language. I think it was a charming gesture and then to end with the "Boar's Head" from Oxford College was also very significant. What my Cambridge colleagues here will say, I shall have to settle with them afterwards. But this was a very touching gesture which I much appreciate.

And you have referred not only to the happy relationship between our two countries but also to the relationship which has existed between us now for a very long time, indeed.

And there have been times when you were out of office and I was a Minister. There was a time when you were in office and I was in opposition. And now this is the first occasion on which we have both been in office together and I hope that this will continue within the bounds of the Constitution for as long as possible. We have a rather more flexible approach, if I may say so, in these matters. We are not quite so bound by law.

I may perhaps reveal the fact that there was one moment when it seemed to me that our relationship was endangered. Indeed, I thought that the relationship between our two countries might have broken down.

On the night of the British elections, I finally got to bed at 5 o'clock in the morning and left a note for my housekeeper saying, "In no circumstances to be woken up before noon, and then with breakfast," knowing that no more results would come through before lunchtime.

And at noon I was woken up and breakfast was brought. I was very sleepy. And I said to her, "Has anything happened?"

She said, "Yes, President Nixon has telephoned."

I said, "What?" And, "What did you say?"

She said, "I told him very firmly that you were in no circumstances to be disturbed before noon."

At that moment I thought the friendship between ourselves and our countries was endangered.

"Good heavens," I said, "I must do something about it."

She said, "You need do nothing. He said he would telephone at 3 p.m.," which the President very kindly did.

And so that happy relationship still remains.

And here tonight, Mr. President, I am very glad that you should have brought together the two Ambassadors of our countries. Mr. Annenberg and his wife are here, who have come over for this occasion, and John Freeman and his wife also. And I feel that the relationship between our countries depends so much on the work of our Ambassadors that we are able to have meetings from time to time, but they, day by day, are in contact with the people of our countries, and we so much appreciate what they are able to do to maintain this close connection which we have.

Indeed, we are blessed, thrice blessed tonight, because Monsieur Alphand is here, formerly a very distinguished Ambassador of France in your own Capital. And so, we are, indeed, happy to have so many ambassadors and particularly in view of the risks which ambassadors run today in the lives which they lead.

Indeed, I recounted to our own Ambassador earlier this evening that when I was at the Foreign Office I remembered in the course of research which my private secretary was doing, he stumbled across a dispatch from an ambassador living in a rather remote part of the world, in 1882 I think it was, when the Foreign Secretary was in the Lords and there had been a revolution.

And his dispatch ended with a rather vivid description of what had happened and then said, I recall, "My Lord, as I write this dispatch, the revolutionary mob is outside the compound. They are now battering against the gates. Should they batter them down, they will then descend upon the residence in which I write this dispatch, and should they batter against the doors, I fear they will give in. And, then, My Lord, the mob will enter this residence, and then, My Lord, I shall no longer remain Your Lordship's humble and obedient servant."

Mr. President, as I said, this is a very festive occasion. And earlier this evening, enjoying your hospitality at the Blair House, I recalled

that Mr. Churchill was here in the Christmas of 1941 at a very dark moment for my own country in the war.

And the Christmas tree was lit by the President, and Mr. Churchill made a short speech. And I reread it tonight, because the book of his speeches was not quite by my bed, but almost there.

And in it he had one rather remarkable phrase in which he said, "I cannot feel other than at home here where I am tonight at this Christmas time."

And, if I may, perhaps in a very simple way, sum up how it seems to me: With the relationship between our two countries, I cannot feel other than at home here tonight on this festive occasion. It is perfectly natural so to do. It doesn't require any effort. It doesn't require any policy.

We are of the same stock and origin and language and background, and I think the simplest thing is to say one cannot help but feel at home, and how thankful one is for it.

And so, Mr. President, I would like to thank you for all that you have done to make this possible. Our talks have been of the greatest value and I hope that you feel the same way about it and that they will be of continuing value to the relationship between our two countries, and we can continue them tomorrow knowing that we do so not only in the interests of the United States and Britain but also of our friends and allies, because this happy and natural relationship which we have is not an exclusive one.

It is one in which we join, but also one which we wish to share with others, our friends and allies, in a common cause.

And we have a common purpose which you have aptly described as to bring about a generation of peace and a growing prosperity, not only for we, the more fortunate ones, but those who are less fortunate in the world and who by their own efforts haven't yet been able to achieve those good things which we can enjoy together.

And so at this Christmastime, I would like to thank you and your wife very sincerely for this splendid gathering tonight, and for your admirable hospitality.

And I would ask everyone here to rise and drink to the health of the President of the United States.

The President.

471 Statement on Signing the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1971. *December* 22, 1970

I AM TODAY signing H.R. 17923, the Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1971, even though it adds $342.5 million in budget authority and a similar amount in budget outlays to the amounts I requested for fiscal year 1971. This bill includes funds for many programs which are essential to farmers and consumers, to the needy, to our rural communities and the agriculture industry, including such important programs as meat inspection, food stamps, child nutrition, farm commodity programs, small watershed projects, rural development activities, and others. We cannot risk possible disruption of programs so essential to so broad a part of our society.

Nevertheless, in addition to my concern over large additions to what I considered to be a fiscally sound budget, I wish to point out several other areas of concern.

My 1971 budget proposed elimination of the Special Milk program. In its place, I supported a greatly expanded and vastly improved Child Nutrition program. The Congress has, for the most part, accepted my recommendations for the Child Nutrition program, but in addition has retained the Special Milk program, adding $104

million to my budget. I have accepted the judgment of the Congress and earlier this year directed the Secretary of Agriculture to implement the Special Milk program for the school year 1970–71. I still believe, however, that in the long run, Government support for food programs should concentrate on helping the needy rather than subsidizing rich and poor alike as the Special Milk program does.

Another program which I recommended for elimination was the Agricultural Conservation program. This program has been in operation for about 35 years assisting farmers in learning about and in establishing practices to conserve the use of their soil and water resources. Over the years, however, much of the taxpayers' money in this program has been used to stimulate farm production or to carry out farming practices the Federal Government need not support, rather than to support environmental preservation. For these reasons, four Presidents have proposed elimination or sharp reduction of this program. Congress insists upon continuation. I now propose a changed program.

—Changed to focus upon preserving our environment.

—Changed to focus upon demonstration of good environmental enhancement practices.

—Changed to return more public benefits at less public cost.

In this way, I hope, with the support of the Congress and of the agricultural community, to bring this program into line with the needs of today and tomorrow. I am directing the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to go forward with a program whose funding is consistent with these new directions and to review the management of the program to ensure attainment of these objectives as economically as possible. To lend emphasis to these new dimensions, the program will be renamed the Rural Environmental Assistance program.

My budget request assumed enactment of the proposed amendments to the Food Stamp Act which would permit an expanded Food Stamp program. Immediate action on this important legislation is essential if we are to continue this program beyond January 1, 1971.

This bill also includes a number of increases over my budget request for various programs of the Rural Electrification Administration and the Farmers Home Administration. I am requesting the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to make a critical review of these items and recommend to me appropriate program levels to be implemented.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 17923 is Public Law 91–566 (84 Stat. 1480).

472 Letter to the House Minority Leader on Social Security Legislation. *December* 22, 1970

Dear Jerry:

In response to your question about my attitude toward the Social Security legislation [H.R. 17550] now stalled in the Senate, be assured that I favor quick enactment.

Some Senators contend that Social Security legislation cannot be salvaged in

this Senate unless welfare reform, appropriations bills and other vital measures are sacrificed. I am not yet willing to concede the Senate's indifference or impotence. I have urged the Senate to bring to vote all of this important work that lies before it. There is still plenty of time to do what is necessary before January 3.

Should the Senate be unable or unwilling to adopt these vital measures by then, I will resubmit the Social Security benefit increases and welfare reform, along with the other key bills that remain unenacted. And I will propose that the Social Security increases be retroactive in their effect to January 1, 1971, so that no Social Security recipient is harmed by the Senate's failure to act.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

[Honorable Gerald R. Ford, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515]

473 Statement on Signing Executive Order Establishing a Water Quality Enforcement Program. *December* 23, 1970

I HAVE TODAY directed the establishment of a Federal permit program covering facilities which discharge waste into navigable waters and their tributaries in the United States. This new program will enhance the ability of the Federal Government to enforce water quality standards and provide a major strengthening of our efforts to clean up our Nation's water.

Last February I transmitted to the Congress a comprehensive water pollution program, as part of my 37-point program designed to protect our environment. My proposals included legislative measures to make the establishment and enforcement of water quality standards more effective and expeditious. Unfortunately, no congressional action has been taken on my water pollution control proposals. I will continue to seek enactment of these proposals during the next session of the Congress.

In the meantime, I am directing the immediate initiation of a new, coordinated program of water quality enforcement under the Refuse Act of 1899, an act whose potential for water pollution control has only recently been recognized.

This law, which we have relied upon for many of our water pollution enforcement actions to date, prohibits the discharge of refuse matter, except that flowing from streets and sewers, into navigable waters or their tributaries without a permit from the Army Corps of Engineers. Through a more activist utilization of this act, we will be able to require industries to submit to State authorities and the Federal Government data concerning effluents which they plan to discharge into navigable waters. For those firms that are complying with water quality standards, the issuance of a permit, agreed upon by the Federal Government and the States, will assure all parties that standards are being met. To deal with those who are disregarding our pollution control laws, a swift and comprehensive enforcement mechanism is provided by this authority.

The most effective use of the Refuse Act will require close coordination between the Corps of Engineers and the

Environmental Protection Agency as well as other Federal and State authorities. The Executive order [11574] I am signing today will ensure that such coordination is provided and that the program is initiated promptly. As this order makes clear, the Environmental Protection Agency will make the necessary determinations on behalf of the Federal Government for all water quality aspects of this program.

The Refuse Act permit program makes maximum use of all existing provisions of law relating to water quality. It will apply to discharges both from new installations and from existing facilities. Implementation of the program will begin when proposed regulations, soon to be issued for comment, are promulgated. Permits for new discharges will be required immediately. For existing discharges, the deadline for filing applications will be July 1, 1971, to provide the States an opportunity to mobilize for this program. In the meantime, violators of water quality standards will not be exempt from prosecution under the Refuse Act.

I wish to make clear that although the Refuse Act generally does not apply to municipal discharges, we will continue to vigorously employ other authorities for dealing with violations of water quality standards by municipalities. The Environmental Protection Agency recently put three large cities on notice that it will take legal action under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act if they do not take steps to correct water quality violations.

Implementation of a program of this magnitude will not be easy. It involves a number of Federal agencies, 50 States, and many thousands of industries. But we cannot afford to wait. We must move ahead to clean up our waters. I invite the help and cooperation of the States, private industry, and all citizens in making the Refuse Act permit program an effective tool to promote our water quality objectives.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the water quality enforcement program by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, Robert E. Jordan III, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army for Civil Functions, Department of the Army, and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

474 Christmas Statement. *December* 24, 1970

CHRISTMAS is a family time. Let us make it, at Christmas 1970, a time when we have a very special sense of Americans as a national family. Let us put aside what divides us and rediscover what unites us—concern for one another, love of liberty and justice, pride in our own diversity. Let us resolve to work together to right old wrongs and heal old wounds, to do what needs to be done to make this a better country and a better world for all of our children.

Our greatest hope at Christmas 1970—and at every Christmastime of course—is for peace in the world. This Christmas we can be thankful that we are making progress toward peace.

Peace is a fragile thing, and there are dangers that threaten it in many parts of the world. But I firmly believe that, in this

Christmas season, we can look forward with greater confidence than at any time since World War II to the prospect that our children can have, at last, what we all devoutly hope for: a generation of peace.

475 Memorandum of Disapproval of a Bill for the Relief of Miloye M. Sokitch. *December* 24, 1970

I HAVE WITHHELD my approval from H.R. 3571, "Relief of Miloye M. Sokitch."

This bill would permit the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to consider the claim of Miloye M. Sokitch under the Italian claims program administered by the Commission. The amount determined by the Commission to be due to Mr. Sokitch would be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury out of the Italian Claims Fund.

After World War II the Italian Government transferred funds to the United States for the payment of claims of Americans for the loss or damage of their property in Italy during the war. While the statutory authorization for this program originally limited the eligibility of claimants to those who were American nationals at the time their property was lost or damaged, the law was amended in 1958 to include persons, so-called late nationals, who had become nationals of the United States prior to August 9, 1955, and who had filed claims under the original statute prior to September 30, 1956.

Mr. Sokitch has a claim of $215,200 for property losses he suffered in Italy during the war. He was not eligible to have his claim considered under the original legislation, however, because he did not become an American citizen until 1947, and he was not eligible to have his claim considered as a late national under the 1958 amendment because he had not filed a claim within the time prescribed in that amendment.

In 1967, the Executive Branch recommended general legislation which would have recognized the claims of Mr. Sokitch and approximately 50 other late nationals similarly situated but Congress refused to enact it. At the same time, since approximately $1 million was still left in the Italian claims program, Congress did authorize the settlement of the claims of Americans who lost property in areas ceded by Italy after the war, primarily the Dodecanese Islands.

I can find no true equities to support approval of H.R. 3571. Mr. Sokitch's claim is no different from those of the 50 other late nationals whose claims for property losses in Italy are barred by existing law. Along with these other claimants, Mr. Sokitch was also denied relief when the general legislation that would have recognized their claims was rejected by Congress. Mr. Sokitch would thus be given special and preferential treatment over a number of other persons whose cases differ in no material respect from his.

Further, permitting Mr. Sokitch to have his claim adjudicated and paid, if otherwise found meritorious, would be unfair to those persons whose claims for property losses in the areas ceded by Italy are now under consideration. I am advised that asserted claims under this ongoing program aggregate approximately $24 mil-

lion as compared with the $1 million available for their payment. Any settlement paid Mr. Sokitch under the preferential provisions of H.R. 3571 will obviously reduce the settlements that can be paid to the persons already eligible for payment under the general provisions of the ceded areas program.

For the foregoing reasons, I feel compelled to withhold my approval from H.R. 3571.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 24, 1970

476 Memorandum of Disapproval of a Bill To Promote Training in Family Medicine. *December* 26, 1970

I AM WITHHOLDING my signature from S. 3418, a bill designed to promote training in family medicine. The authority provided in this bill is unnecessary and represents the wrong approach to the solution of the nation's health problems.

In my press conference on December 10, I stated that a health program will be one of the highest priority proposals I will submit to the Congress next year. We will propose a broad pattern of reforms to deal with the nation's health problems and needs on a systematic and comprehensive basis. In contrast, the piecemeal bill I am rejecting today simply continues the traditional approach of adding more programs to the almost unmanageable current structure of Federal Government health efforts.

The Federal Government already has at least four programs on the books that provide funds which can be used to promote the training of family medicine practitioners. Moreover, the entire concept of American medicine is in an evolutionary stage. There are differing opinions on how best to organize and train personnel to provide comprehensive and continuing care to individuals and families.

Under these circumstances, I do not believe it wise to place heavy emphasis on the establishment of separate departments of family medicine in medical schools, as S. 3418 would do. This is only one—and not necessarily the most efficient—method of achieving our national health care objectives, and should not be fixed in law.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 24, 1970

NOTE: The memorandum was dated December 24, 1970, and released December 26, 1970.

477 Statement on Signing the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970. *December* 26, 1970

ON JULY 18, 1969, I sent to the Congress a message proposing the creation of a Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. The Congress acted promptly on my proposal and the act establishing the Commission was signed by me on March 16, 1970. The Commission is now functioning: its interim report will

be due in the spring of 1971, and its final report will be submitted in the spring of 1972.

At the same time, I called for a national commitment to provide adequate family planning services within the next 5 years to all those who want them but cannot afford them. It was clear that the domestic family planning services supported by the Federal Government were not adequate to provide information and services to all who want them on a voluntary basis.

To implement this national commitment, I asked for expanded research in contraceptive development and the behavioral sciences, reorganization of family planning service activities within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and legislation which would help the Department to implement this important program by providing broader and more precise legislative authority and a clearer source of financial support. The National Center for Family Planning Services was established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare shortly after my message.

The bill before me today, the "Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970," completes the legislation I requested in my message on population. This measure provides for expanded research, training of manpower, and increased family planning services. In addition, it provides for the development of family planning and population growth information and education.

It is noteworthy that this landmark legislation on family planning and population has had strong bipartisan support. I am confident that by working together—at Federal, State, and local levels—we can achieve the goal of providing adequate family planning services within the next 5 years to all those who want them but cannot afford them.

I am proud to affix my signature to this important legislation and share this pride with so many who have worked so hard toward its enactment.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (S. 2108) is Public Law 91–572 (84 Stat. 1504), approved December 24, 1970.

478 Open Letter to Wives and Families of American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia. *December* 26, 1970

ALTHOUGH I have corresponded with many of you individually, I would like, during this Christmas season, to address this letter openly to each and all of you—to all the wives and families of our men held prisoner and missing in Southeast Asia—and also to the many others who care so intensely about them. I know that nothing I say could truly comfort you, and I only wish my words could bring back your loved one at once. However, I would like to tell you about our efforts to solve this problem, what we have achieved so far, and what we plan to do.

The basic obstacle, of course, is the barbaric, inhuman attitude of Hanoi in violation of the Geneva Convention and all standards of human decency. In the face of this, during the past two years there has been a wide range of efforts on behalf of our men lost in Indo-China. Early in 1969 I directed that there be an intensive review of the prisoner of war problem. I decided that it was time to take

new measures, that the enemy's cruel and manifestly illegal policy toward our men should be exposed fully to public attention in this country and around the world.

One of the subjects we have emphasized continually, at the Paris Talks and elsewhere, has been to gain mail privileges for our men. This effort has produced only limited success. As you know, by the start of 1969 families had received less than 600 letters from only 100 men held in North Vietnam during the entire period of the war. As of today, 332 families have received over 3,000 letters, and we are confident there will be more. Although these letters are short, obviously written under scrutiny and censorship, they are welcomed. And from these letters, over 30 previously listed as Missing in Action have been reclassified as prisoners of war. There has, however, been only one letter ever from a prisoner held in South Vietnam and none from our men in Laos.

We have also consistently demanded that Hanoi should permit our men to receive packages from their families on a regular basis. This has also brought about some improvement although the situation remains unacceptable. Prior to January 1970, Hanoi leaders had allowed our men to receive packages only three times. In January 1970, Hanoi made it known that it would allow our men in North Vietnam to receive a package every other month. They added that an extra large package—11 pounds—would be permitted at Christmas.

These limited gains are of course not enough. They do not extend to our men lost in South Vietnam or in Laos. Even for those lost in North Vietnam there is no certainty that all letters and packages reached them. And Hanoi has cruelly played on the hopes and suffering of innocent people.

In recent weeks, the Hanoi authorities have released lists said to identify the American prisoners they hold. These lists duplicated others we already have. As you know, the military services have information identifying others as having been captured in North Vietnam. These lists also tell us nothing about our men lost in South Vietnam or elsewhere in Indo-China. We will, of course, continue to hold the Communist authorities fully accountable for all the Americans they hold and for the fullest possible accounting of the dead and the missing.

Of even greater concern is the treatment of our prisoners and their early release. To know that our men are well treated, we have proposed repeatedly that there should be impartial inspection of the other side's prisoner camps just as there is for the prisoner of war camps in the Republic of Vietnam. We have frequently reiterated our concern about this in Paris. At my specific direction, Ambassador Bruce renewed our proposal for impartial inspection in the Paris meeting on December 3. Despite world-wide support for our position on this question, the Communist authorities again cruelly rejected this proposal, although impartial inspection of prisoner of war camps is among the most elementary requirements of the Geneva Convention.

As part of our wide-ranging diplomatic effort, I sent Frank Borman to twelve nations this past summer to enlist support for our cause. Wherever he went, Colonel Borman found sympathy and understanding, and renewed offers of assistance. This did not surprise me, for in my own meetings with foreign leaders I have

found sympathy for our concern and support for our efforts. These main public efforts are but a small part of our continued diplomatic campaign. Our Ambassadors throughout the world have used our diplomatic resources fully to help convince the other side to treat our men humanely and to release them soon.

In these efforts we have welcomed the support of private organizations, the Red Cross and, above all, the families of our prisoners and missing personnel who by their conduct have personally testified to the depth of feeling on this subject. Many have travelled to far places to appeal directly to leaders of the other side. The news media throughout the world have helped make sure that our prisoners are not forgotten men.

Our Government and the families of our men are not alone in their efforts to improve the lot of our prisoners of war in Indo-China. The United States Congress, as you know, has been united in expressing its opinion on this subject. The United Nations on December 9 passed a strongly worded resolution calling for compliance with the Geneva Convention. The International Conference of the Red Cross has also registered its deep concern about any failure to comply with Geneva Convention requirements. Hanoi has adamantly refused to budge from its position of holding our men as hostages, denying us even elementary information.

As we approach 1971 we face above all the question of the release of our men. On October 7, in my Indo-China peace initiative, I proposed the immediate release of all POWs on both sides. On December 10 we proposed, as a first step, the release of all North Vietnam prisoners of war held in South Vietnam in return for the release of all American and free world prisoners in Indo-China and any South Vietnamese prisoners held outside South Vietnam. This is as generous a prisoner-release proposal as history has known. We have, in effect, offered to exchange 8,000 North Vietnamese prisoners for 800 free world prisoners. I have sought to approach this subject on a humane basis and to keep it separate from the political and military issues of the war. Despite the other side's abrupt rejection of our proposals they remain in effect. You have my assurance that we are ready instantly to proceed toward arrangements for the release of all prisoners of war on both sides.

In the meantime, to demonstrate our readiness to comply with the appropriate international standards, the South Vietnamese Government each year has released groups of sick and wounded North Vietnamese prisoners. Another such release will take place shortly.

Hanoi, however, has so far rebuffed every effort to obtain release of our men or to verify the conditions of their treatment. This attitude violates not only the Geneva Convention, which Hanoi had pledged to observe, but all common standards of human decency. It is barbaric. It has been universally and justifiably condemned.

In closing, may I say how deeply I feel the sorrow you have known from this conflict. Along with the others in the Government closest to this problem, I will not forget the strength, the loyalty and the dignity with which you have borne your burden. I can do no less than pledge to you that we will not rest until every prisoner has returned to his family and the missing have been accounted for.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: Copies of the letter were sent to the wives and families of all U.S. prisoners of war.

A resolution calling on all parties to any armed conflict to comply with the terms of the 1949 Geneva Convention including the humane treatment of prisoners of war was adopted by the Social Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 1, 1970, and by the General Assembly on December 9.

A statement by White House Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, dated December 2, on the Committee's passage of the resolution is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 6, p. 1618).

479 Statement on the Death of Representative L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina. *December* 28, 1970

FOR 30 YEARS, Mendel Rivers served the State of South Carolina and the Nation with dignity, with distinction, and with high integrity in the Congress of the United States. Throughout his career, Congressman Rivers held unswervingly to the belief that the freedom that exists in the modern world is inextricably tied to the military strength of the United States. He fought for that belief in committee, in the Congress, in the country. No shifting national opinion, no amount of hostile criticism, deterred him from the course he deemed right for America. In his death, I have lost a friend upon whom I could rely in times of grave difficulty; South Carolina has lost one of the most distinguished men in her history; and America has lost a patriot.

NOTE: Representative Rivers, age 65, died following open-heart surgery at University Hospital, Birmingham, Ala.

He served in the House of Representatives from 1941 until the time of his death, and as chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services from 1965.

480 Remarks on Signing the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. *December* 29, 1970

Mr. Secretary and all of our distinguished guests:

Before I sign this bill and then hand the signing pen to the Secretary of Labor—and others will be available to all of the guests here so that you can have a memento of the occasion—I would like to respond to the remarks of the Secretary in these closing days of the Congress, to speak about the system of government which has been taking some pretty hard knocks recently, I noted, in some of the columns and editorials, and on the floor of the House and the floor of the Senate.

It is always the case, and perhaps this year more often than usually the case, that at the conclusion of a Congress, emphasis is on those particular matters that didn't get through. And often we lose sight of the fact that a number of very important pieces of legislation do get through the legislative mill and benefit the Nation.

We have perhaps one of the most important pieces of legislation to pass in this Congress, but as the Secretary of Labor has already indicated, probably one of the most important pieces of legislation, from the standpoint of 55 million people who will be covered by it, ever passed by the Congress of the United States, because it

involves their lives.

Twelve thousand five hundred people lost their lives in accidents in America's factories and in other places of business, and over 2 million people were injured.

This bill deals with that. It goes beyond that. It deals with the environment in which the people—the 55 million Americans who are covered by it—will be working. And it provides for an institute which will look into the problems of the environment, the problems of noise, the problems of cleanliness, all of these things that can affect health in an indirect way.

And so it is, as the Secretary has indicated, a landmark piece of legislation.

Now let's talk about who is responsible. Usually at an occasion like this the President stands up and says, "I did it," or the Congress says, "I did it," or the Democrats say they did it, the Republicans say they did it, or labor takes the credit, or management takes the credit.

I would like to have the record very clear here that this bill could not be signed by the President of the United States today unless everybody had worked together to get it through.

I submitted the legislation proposal in August of last year. Since that time it has been before the Congress, both the House and the Senate.

And Senator [Harrison A.] Williams, taking the leadership in the Senate, and Congressman [William A.] Steiger, Congressman Daniels working on it in the House along with the other members of the committee who are present here, have refined the bill—I think that is the term we used to use in the House and the Senate—until we have this present proposal.

It differs from some of those propositions that we recommended, but in substance, it attains the goal that we all wanted to reach.

And so this bill could not be signed unless it had had bipartisan support, Democrats and Republicans working together. It couldn't be signed unless both Houses of the Congress—the Senate often does not follow the House, and vice versa—but in this case both Houses of the Congress have worked together so that this bill could be signed.

And it wouldn't be signed today unless it had had the support of organized labor and organized labor is represented here today by Mr. Meany, Mr. Abel, Mr. Fitzsimmons, and others who are leaders of those organizations.

It couldn't be signed today unless it had also had very enthusiastic support by the representatives of business and management who will be affected by the regulations issued under this bill.

And that is why the president of the Chamber of Commerce and the president of the NAM are here today.

And so we see a bill that represents in its culmination the American system at its best: Democrats, Republicans, the House, the Senate, the White House, business, labor, all cooperating in a common goal—the saving of lives, the avoiding of injuries, making the places of work for 55 million Americans safer and more pleasant places.

This is certainly a great goal, and it is one that I think would be particularly appreciated by a man whose picture hangs on this wall behind me. And I think all of you will pardon a personal reference when I say that I suppose in the Eisenhower administration when I was Vice President my closest friend in the Cabinet was Jim Mitchell.

Many of you knew him, too. And I re-

call that he used to talk to me at great length about occupational safety. And I remember he was very proud of the achievement of a bill on maritime safety, which came through during the Eisenhower administration.

But he pointed out then that that was only a beginning. And I am sure that he, as one of the great former Secretaries of Labor, would be very proud of the fact that this bill finally is being signed, and that the principle that he stood for 12 years ago now is enacted to cover all of the men and women who work in America's factories and in places of business—55 million.

And for that reason, I think today is a day when we can all be proud. The Congress can be proud—the Senate, the House, the Republicans, the Democrats, and of course, the administration. And we thank you, therefore, for your part in making it possible for the President of the United States now to attach his name to a bill that took so many hours of work, represents so much devotion, and that is going to do so much good for so many people across this land.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12:05 p.m. in the auditorium at the Department of Labor. Introductory remarks by Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 4).

As enacted, the bill (S. 2193) is Public Law 91-596 (84 Stat. 1590).

A summary of the provisions of the bill, released by the White House on the same day, is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 6).

481 Statement on Signing the Securities Investor Protection Act of 1970. *December* 30, 1970

I AM SIGNING today the Securities Investor Protection Act of 1970. This legislation establishes the Securities Investor Protection Corporation (SIPC), a private nonprofit corporation, which will insure the securities and cash left with brokerage firms by investors against loss from financial difficulties or failure of such firms. Protection is provided up to an aggregate of $50,000 per account, with a limit on coverage of cash of $20,000.

In my message on economic policy and productivity on June 17, 1970, I urged the formation of a corporation to afford protection to small investors, backed first by industry payments and then by funds from the U.S. Treasury. The bipartisan efforts of the Congress, the administration, and the industry have now resulted in this legislation—a vitally important advance in the consumer-protection field.

Just as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation protects the user of banking services from the danger of bank failure, so will the Securities Investor Protection Corporation protect the user of investment services from the danger of brokerage firm failure.

This act protects the customer, not the broker, since only the customer is paid in the event of firm failure. It does not cover the equity risk that is always present in stock market investment, but it will assure the investor that the solvency of the individual firm with which he deals will not be cause for concern. It protects the small investor, not the large investor, since there is a limit on reimbursable

losses. And it assures that the widow, the retired couple, the small investor who have invested their life savings in securities will not suffer loss because of an operating failure in the mechanisms of the marketplace.

Virtually all brokers and dealers in the securities industry will be members of SIPC. These members will provide $75 million from assessments, trust fund transfers, and lines of credit from commercial banks within 120 days. The industry will continue to pay assessments based on a percentage of their gross revenues until the fund reaches $150 million. If, contrary to expectations, this fund at any time should prove inadequate, SIPC may also call upon a $1 billion line of credit from the U.S. Treasury. Any funds provided by the Treasury will be recovered from subsequent assessments.

This legislation contains a specific statutory mandate to the Securities and Exchange Commission to promulgate rules and regulations with respect to the financial responsibility and related practices of brokers and dealers. The SEC is given flexibility in establishing those rules and regulations.

The functioning of the securities industry is a key element in providing the means for continued growth of American business and the economy of this country. Protection for the customer is essential, and has been provided here, as in the mutual fund bill [Public Law 91–547] which I recently signed. The Government and the industry must work together on seeking prompt solutions to the problems of the securities business. While those problems are being defined and resolved, the user of investment services, the small investor, will be protected.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 19333) is Public Law 91–598 (84 Stat. 1636).

482 Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program for 1969. *December* 30, 1970

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the requirements of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, I transmit herewith the Fourteenth Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program. This report covers the year 1969.

Stimulated by continued economic expansion, free-world trade in 1969 rose 14 percent to a new record of about $245 billion. In the United States, monetary and fiscal policies designed to restore stable and balanced growth of the economy were reflected in a slowdown of the increase in imports, while exports continued to rise at about the same rate as in 1968. As a result, the deterioration in the U.S. trade balance that had characterized performance during the previous four years was reversed.

During the period covered by this report, I forwarded to the Congress my proposals for new trade legislation. These proposals, together with others, are still under consideration. The decisions taken by the Congress will have an important bearing on our ability to advance our national interest, both in terms of sound growth of the domestic economy and fur-

ther development of international cooperation so that trade can continue to be an engine of progress rather than a source of conflict among nations.

This Administration remains committed to the objective of expanding mutually advantageous world trade. The record of the United States demonstrates clearly its willingness to assume its obligations in this field. We must continue to do our part, while at the same time defending vigorously the rights of our traders under international agreements.

The economic and political dynamics of the 1970s will enhance the importance of trade in relations among nations. In 1969, part of the essential groundwork was initiated; the Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy is currently examining new approaches tailored to our long term domestic and foreign policy interests. With Congressional support for policies aimed at securing a more open world trading system, I am confident that the United States will reap its full share of the benefits from closer international cooperation to achieve greater prosperity and better relations throughout the world.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House
December 30, 1970

NOTE: The 39-page report is entitled "Fourteenth Annual Report of the President of the United States on the Trade Agreements Program—1969."

483 Statement on Signing the International Financial Institutions Bill. *December* 31, 1970

I AM TODAY signing H.R. 18306—the international financial institutions bill—although it only partially meets my recommendations.

I welcome that part of the bill which approves the $1,540 million increase in the United States quota in the International Monetary Fund as part of a general increase in Fund quotas. This is a major step. The general quota increase will enable the Fund to meet its important responsibilities for providing adequate credit facilities to support expanding world trade and capital movements. Our own quota increase permits the United States to maintain its leadership role in the Fund, and also takes the first step towards enabling us to enjoy the full benefits of the Special Drawing Rights allocation to be made on January 1, 1971.

Similarly, I welcome the authorization for an increase in our World Bank capital subscription. The United States can now participate fully in making available to the Bank $2 billion of subscriptions from other countries in addition to our own increase of $246 million. The increase will maintain our relative voting position in the Bank. It will be of considerable help to the Bank in meeting its expanded program of assistance to the developing countries by expanding the base on which it can borrow in private capital markets around the world, and by adding a substantial amount of paid-in capital immediately available to the Bank.

Unfortunately, the legislative situation did not permit action on my request for $100 million for the Special Funds of the Asian Development Bank. We must not allow further delay to be interpreted as lack of U.S. support for the Bank at a

time when it is coming to play an essential role in encouraging peaceful development in Asia. This Bank, the result of an Asian initiative and managed primarily by Asians, is a major force for peaceful and cooperative development. Six countries have already contributed to the Special Funds in anticipation of a United States contribution. Failure to act early in the next session of the Congress would be a serious setback to the Bank's ability to obtain funds from other donors and build a strong, long-range, concessional lending facility. Accordingly, I wish to stress that I will ask the 92d Congress to take prompt action to provide a United States contribution of $100 million to the Bank's Special Funds.

With respect to the Inter-American Development Bank, H.R. 18306 meets my request to provide an expansion of over $800 million in the United States subscription to the Bank's ordinary capital. This desirable step will greatly strengthen the Bank's capacity for conventional lending.

However, I regret that H.R. 18306 authorizes payment and appropriation of only $100 million for replenishment of the resources of the Bank's Fund for Special Operations, an amount representing the first portion of a planned $1 billion contribution over a 3-year period. The bill does authorize the U.S. Governor to vote in favor of a pending resolution of the Bank which contemplates that the full contribution will be available on schedule, and in accordance with this legislative action the U.S. Governor will cast his votes in favor of the resolution.

Further action by the Congress will be necessary to enable the United States to conclude the subscription procedure envisioned by the resolution, and I will urge the 92d Congress to take action to that end. Full U.S. implementation of this replenishment of the Fund for Special Operations will enable the Bank to continue and expand its role as the hemisphere's major instrument for promoting development financing.

As I indicated in my foreign aid reform message on September 15, international institutions can and should play a major role in the funding of development assistance. I have therefore proposed that the United States channel an increasing share of its development assistance through these institutions as rapidly as practicable. The institutions considered in H.R. 18306 are among the most important to this effort. I therefore welcome the authorizations contained in H.R. 18306, but regret its failure to fully meet my requests and urge that the 92d Congress take early action to do so.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 18306 is Public Law 91–599 (84 Stat. 1657), approved December 30, 1970.

484 Statement on the Coal Mine Disaster in Kentucky. *December* 31, 1970

THE COAL mine explosion which struck yesterday in the mountains of Kentucky also struck at the hearts of all Americans. On their behalf, I extend our deepest sympathy to the families and friends of those who lost their lives in this tragic accident.

I have been assured that Federal and

State authorities are conducting a full investigation of this disaster. The mine has been sealed and inspectors will enter it on January 2d. Every appropriate step must and will be taken to identify the causes of this tragedy and to prevent future mining accidents.

Those who go into the mines perform a vital task on which the country depends. The Nation owes them its very best efforts to reduce their risks and to improve their working environment. In recent years we have made great strides in this direction, particularly since the new Coal Mine Safety Act went into effect last spring. The explosion along Hurricane Creek reminds us, however, that the work of ensuring mine safety is not yet complete and impels all concerned to carry that work forward with the greatest urgency.

NOTE: The explosion occurred about 12:20 p.m. on December 30, 1970, at the Finley Coal Company mine 4 miles east of Hyden, Ky., and took the lives of 38 miners.

485 Remarks on Signing the Clean Air Amendments of 1970. *December* 31, 1970

Ladies and gentlemen:

On the last day of the year 1970, I think it would be appropriate to make a very few remarks with regard to this piece of legislation that I will now be signing, the clean air act of 1970.

And I see in this room a few who were present in San Clemente on the first day of 1970 when I said that this would be the year of the environment, that it was now or never if we were to clean up the air and clean up the water in major parts of the United States and to provide the open spaces that are so important for the future generations in this country.

The year 1970 has been a year of great progress in this field. In February, you will recall that I submitted the most comprehensive message on the environment ever proposed by a President of the United States. During the year, there have been some administrative actions, some legislative actions.

Time, however, has been required for the Congress to consider the proposals of the administration and, finally, to agree on the legislation that will be sent to the President for signature.

This is the most important piece of legislation, in my opinion, dealing with the problem of clean air that we have this year and the most important in our history.

It provides, as you know, for provisions dealing with fuel emissions and also for air quality standards, and it provides for the additional enforcement procedures which are absolutely important in this particular area.

How did this come about? It came about by the President proposing. It came about by a bipartisan effort represented by the Senators and Congressmen, who are here today, in acting. Senator Randolph, Senator Cooper, and Congressman Springer represent both parties and both Houses of the Congress.

And I thank the Congress, and the country owes a debt to the Congress in its closing days, for acting in this particular field.

I would say, however, that as I sign this piece of legislation, it is only a beginning, because now comes the enforcement and

that allows me to comment briefly upon how we in the administration are set up to handle the problems of the environment in the years ahead.

We have, first, the Environmental Quality Council under the chairmanship of Russell Train. That Council advises the President on the policies which should be recommended to the Congress and to the Nation. And consequently, as I submit new recommendations, and there will be very significant new recommendations submitted to the Congress early in the next session on the environment, those recommendations will be the result of the actions that the Council has taken and its studies and its proposals.

And then there is the Environmental Protection Agency, which has been established by the Congress, where Mr. Ruckelshaus is the man responsible. And that is the enforcement agency. He enforces those proposals that, first are recommended by the Council, submitted by the President to the Congress, enacted by the Congress, and then become law.

So, we have the enforcement agency on the one side. We have the policy agency on the other. We have the legislative branch of the Government, both parties represented here, and, of course, the President in the primary role of having to submit the legislation and then backing up those who have the responsibility for enforcing it.

If I can summarize briefly, I think that 1970 will be known as the year of the beginning, in which we really began to move on the problems of clean air and clean water and open spaces for the future generations of America.

I think 1971 will be known as the year of action. And as we look at action, I would suggest that this bill is an indication of what action can be, because if this bill is completely enforced, within 4 years it will mean that the emissions from automobiles which pollute the environment will be reduced by 90 percent.

And the problem of automobile pollution, as we know, is one that not only now plagues my native area of southern California but all the great cities of this Nation, particularly those which have heavy automobile traffic, and most of the great cities of the world have similar problems.

So, what we are doing here is, first, by signing this legislation, to provide the tools through which we can have action to avoid the dangers that continuing air pollution by automobiles and through other methods will be going forward.

So, it seems very appropriate that in this room, the Roosevelt Room, a room that is named for both Roosevelts, Franklin Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt, but particularly in view of the fact that Theodore Roosevelt, who was the man most remembered in American history for his interest in conservation, his interest in the environment, that this bill is being signed here; this, it seems to me, is most appropriate.

And I would only hope that as we go now from the year of the beginning, the year of proposing, the year 1970, to the year of action, 1971, that all of us, Democrats, Republicans, the House, the Senate, the executive branch, that all of us can look back upon this year as that time when we began to make a movement toward a goal that we all want, a goal that Theodore Roosevelt deeply believed in and a goal that he lived in his whole life. He loved the environment. He loved the clean air and the open spaces, and he loved the

western part of the United States particularly, which will be greatly affected by this kind of action.

And if, as we sign this bill in this room, we can look back and say, in the Roosevelt Room on the last day of 1970, we signed a historic piece of legislation that put us far down the road toward a goal that Theodore Roosevelt, 70 years ago, spoke eloquently about: a goal of clean air, clean water, and open spaces for the future generations of America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:11 p.m.

As enacted, the bill (H.R. 17255) is Public Law 91-604 (84 Stat. 1676).

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the act by Russell E. Train, Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality, and William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

486 Statement on Signing the Disaster Relief Act of 1970. *December* 31, 1970

I HAVE TODAY signed S. 3619, the Disaster Relief Act of 1970.

This bill establishes a permanent, comprehensive program to extend emergency relief and necessary assistance to individuals, organizations, businesses, and States and local communities suffering from major disasters. It also strengthens the administration and coordination of Federal disaster assistance efforts.

On April 22, 1970, I sent a message to the Congress outlining this administration's proposals for improving the assistance which the Federal Government can provide in time of major disasters. My recommendations included:

—a property tax revenue maintenance plan for local communities whose tax bases have been partially destroyed;

—authority to permanently repair or fully replace damaged public facilities;

—improvement in the programs that provide disaster loans to stricken individuals; and

—authority to assist States and localities in averting or lessening the effects of potentially major disasters.

The Congress, while altering the particulars of many of these proposals, has incorporated all of the essential features of a sound disaster assistance program. I am pleased with this bill which responds to a vital need of the American people. The bill demonstrates that the Federal Government in cooperation with State and local authorities is capable of providing compassionate assistance to the innocent victims of natural disasters.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 3619 is Public Law 91-606 (84 Stat. 1744).

Executive Order 11575, providing for the administration of the Disaster Relief Act of 1970, was signed by the President on the same day.

Appendix A—Additional White House Releases

NOTE: This appendix lists those releases which are neither printed as items in this volume nor listed in subsequent appendices. If the text of a release was printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, the page number is indicated below. Page references are to Volumes 6 and 7 of the Compilation.

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Appendix A

Appendix B—Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register

[The texts of these documents are also printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations and in Volumes 6 and 7 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.]

PROCLAMATIONS

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
3954	Jan. 20	National Poison Prevention Week, 1970	875
3955	Jan. 21	National Safe Boating Week, 1970	937
3956	Jan. 27	Centennial of the United States Weather Services	1149
3957	Jan. 29	Law Day, U.S.A., 1970	1273
3958	Feb. 3	1976 Olympic Games	2571
3959	Feb. 4	International Clergy Week in the United States	2641
3960	Feb. 9	American Heart Month, 1970	2815
3961	Feb. 12	Small Business Week, 1970	3019
3962	Feb. 12	International Education Year	3061
3963	Feb. 13	Mineral Industry Week	3063
3964	Feb. 21	Modification of trade agreement concession and adjustment of duty on certain pianos	3645
3965	Feb. 23	Save Your Vision Week, 1970	3649
3966	Feb. 25	Red Cross Month, 1970	3875
3967	Feb. 27	Adjustment of duties on certain sheet glass	3975
3968	Mar. 5	Volunteers of America Week	4245
3969	Mar. 10	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	4321
3970	Mar. 10	National Farm Safety Week, 1970	4387
3971	Mar. 20	Cancer Control Month, 1970	4999
3972	Mar. 23	Declaring a national emergency as result of postal strike	5001
3973	Mar. 24	Nineteenth Decennial Census of the United States	5079
3974	Mar. 26	National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1970	5211

Appendix B

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
3975	Mar. 26	Loyalty Day, 1970	5309
3976	Apr. 6	National Maritime Day, 1970	5657
3977	Apr. 9	Senior Citizens Month, 1970	5989
3978	Apr. 10	Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1970	5991
3979	Apr. 17	National Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving	6309
3980	Apr. 24	National Arbor Day	6801
3981	Apr. 28	Drug Abuse Prevention Week, 1970	6803
3982	Apr. 30	Day of Prayer	6999
3983	May 4	World Trade Week, 1970	7105
3984	May 5	Mother's Day, 1970	7169
3985	May 20	Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, 1970	7855
3986	June 5	Fiftieth anniversary of the Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor	8861
3987	June 8	Flag Day and National Flag Week, 1970	8863
3988	June 9	Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1970	8997
3989	June 16	Random selection for military service for registrants who attain the age of nineteen during the current year	9989
3990	June 17	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, relating to import of petroleum and petroleum products	10091
3991	June 29	National Highway Week, 1970	10643
3992	June 29	White Cane Safety Day, 1970	10729
3993	June 30	Quantitative limitations on the importation of certain meats into the United States	10731
3994	July 2	Fire Prevention Week, 1970	10941
3995	July 7	Captive Nations Week, 1970	11007
3996	July 10	United Nations Day, 1970	11217
3997	Aug. 24	National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1970	13567
3998	Aug. 26	Fiftieth anniversary of woman suffrage	13819
3999	Sept. 1	National Machine Tool Week	14053
4000	Sept. 4	Display of the flag at the White House	14187

Appendix B

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
4001	Sept. 8	National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, 1970	14251
4002	Sept. 15	General Pulaski's Memorial Day, 1970	14535
4003	Sept. 18	Leif Erikson Day, 1970	14679
4004	Sept. 18	Columbus Day, 1970	14681
4005	Sept. 24	American Education Week, 1970	14979
4006	Sept. 25	Child Health Day, 1970	15045
4007	Sept. 25	Country Music Month, 1970	15047
4008	Sept. 25	National Day of Prayer, 1970	15049
4009	Sept. 25	National Newspaper Week, 1970	15051
4010	Sept. 25	National School Lunch Week, 1970	15053
4011	Sept. 26	Project Concern Month	15055
4012	Sept. 26	Day of Bread and Harvest Festival Week	15057
4013	Sept. 26	National PTA Week	15059
4014	Sept. 26	Veterans Day, 1970	15061
4015	Oct. 6	National Farm-City Week, 1970	15799
4016	Oct. 7	National Forest Products Week, 1970	15895
4017	Oct. 14	National Volunteer Firemen's Week	16233
4018	Oct. 16	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	16357
4019	Oct. 26	National Blood Donor Month	16673
4020	Oct. 30	World Law Day, 1970	16903
4021	Nov. 5	Thanksgiving Day, 1970	17235
4022	Dec. 7	Bill of Rights Day, Human Rights Day	18653
4023	Dec. 7	National Retailing Week	18655
4024	Dec. 10	Wright Brothers Day, 1970	18905
4025	Dec. 22	Modifying Proclamation No. 3279, relating to imports of petroleum and petroleum products	19391
			36 F.R. page
4026	Dec. 31	Proclamation amending and correcting part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States with respect to the importation of agricultural commodities	5

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Appendix B

EXECUTIVE ORDERS

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
11504	Jan. 14	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	579
11505	Jan. 21	Inspection of income, excess-profits, estate, and gift tax returns by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary	939
11506	Feb. 2	Further amending Executive Order No. 11211, relating to the exclusion for original or new Japanese issues as required for international monetary stability	2501
11507	Feb. 4	Prevention, control, and abatement of air and water pollution at Federal facilities	2573
11508	Feb. 10	Providing for the identification of unneeded Federal real property	2855
11509	Feb. 11	Establishing the President's Advisory Council on Management Improvement	2857
11510	Feb. 16	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	3105
11511	Feb. 27	Amending Executive Order No. 11157 as it relates to basic allowances for quarters for members of the Armed Forces without dependents	3877
11512	Feb. 27	Planning, acquisition, and management of Federal space	3979
11513	Mar. 3	Establishing the President's Commission on School Finance	4113
11514	Mar. 5	Protection and enhancement of environmental quality	4247
11515	Mar. 13	Terminating certain bodies established by the President	4543
11516	Mar. 19	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	4935
11517	Mar. 19	Providing for the issuance and signature by the Secretary of State of warrants appointing agents to return fugitives from justice extradited to the United States	4937
11518	Mar. 20	Providing for the increased representation of the interests of small business concerns before departments and agencies of the United States Government	4939
11519	Mar. 23	Calling into service members and units of the National Guard	5003
11520	Mar. 25	Amending Executive Order No. 11407, relating to the Presidential Service Certificate and the Presidential Service Badge	5171
11521	Mar. 26	Authorizing veterans readjustment appointments for veterans of the Vietnam era	5311
11522	Apr. 6	Assigning emergency preparedness functions to the United States Information Agency	5659
11523	Apr. 9	Establishing the National Industrial Pollution Control Council	5993
11524	Apr. 15	Adjusting rates of pay for certain statutory Federal civilian pay schedules	6247

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
11525	Apr. 15	Adjusting the rates of monthly basic pay for members of the uniformed services	6251
11526	Apr. 22	Establishing the National Council on Federal Disaster Assistance	6569
11527	Apr. 23	Amending the Selective Service regulations	6571
11528	Apr. 24	Changing the jurisdiction and membership of the New England River Basins Commission	6695
11529	Apr. 24	Terminating obsolete bodies established by Executive order	6697
11530	May 26	Amending Executive Order No. 10624, as amended, providing for regulations relating to personnel of the Department of Agriculture assigned to service abroad	8335
11531	May 26	Delegating authority of the President under section 4102(a)(2)(B) of Title 5, United States Code, to designate U.S. Marshals and U.S. Attorneys for training	8337
11532	June 2	Establishing the Interdepartmental Committee for Voluntary Payroll Savings Plan for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds	8629
11533	June 4	Administration of the Export Administration Act of 1969	8799
11534	June 4	Establishing the National Council on Organized Crime	8865
11535	June 12	Inspection of tax returns by the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives	9809
11536	June 13	Establishing the President's Commission on Campus Unrest	9911
11537	June 16	Amending the Selective Service regulations concerning the ordering of registrants for induction	9991
11538	June 29	Delegating to the Secretary of Transportation the authority of the President to establish and conduct an International Aeronautical Exposition	10645
11539	June 30	Delegations of authority to negotiate agreements and issue regulations limiting imports of certain meats	10733
11540	July 1	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	10735
11541	July 1	Prescribing the duties of the Office of Management and Budget and the Domestic Council in the Executive Office of the President	10737
11542	July 2	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	10943
11543	July 7	Creating an emergency board to investigate disputes between the carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees	11009
11544	July 8	Establishing the Vice Presidential Service Certificate and the Vice Presidential Service Badge	11115
11545	July 9	Establishing the Defense Distinguished Service Medal	11161

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
11546	July 9	Establishing the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations	11219
11547	July 10	Amending Executive Order No. 11330 with respect to membership and chairmanship of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity	11221
11548	July 20	Delegating functions of the President under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended	11677
11549	July 28	Revoking Executive Order No. 10361 of June 11, 1952, establishing the Whittier Defensive Sea Area, Alaska	12191
11550	July 30	Amending Executive Order No. 11248, placing certain positions in levels IV and V of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule	12315
11551	Aug. 11	Amending Executive Order No. 11399 with respect to the membership of the National Council on Indian Opportunity	12885
11552	Aug. 24	Providing for details and transfers of Federal employees to international organizations	13569
11553	Aug. 26	Amending the Selective Service regulations	13719
11554	Aug. 29	Suspending the provisions of section 5707(c) of Title 10, United States Code, which relate to the establishment of a maximum percentage of Navy officers who may be recommended for promotion from below the appropriate promotion zone	14189
11555	Sept. 2	Amending the Selective Service regulations	14191
11556	Sept. 4	Assigning telecommunications functions	14193
11557	Sept. 10	Enlarging the membership of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations	14375
11558	Sept. 18	Creating an emergency board to investigate disputes between the carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees	14683
11559	Sept. 18	Creating an emergency board to investigate disputes between the carriers represented by the National Railway Labor Conference and certain of their employees	14687
11560	Sept. 23	Amending Executive Order No. 11508 with respect to the membership of the Property Review Board	14899
11561	Sept. 25	Delegation of certain authority under Title VIII of the Economic Opportunity Act	14981
11562	Sept. 25	Developing and coordinating a national program for physical fitness and sports	15063
11563	Sept. 26	Amending the Selective Service regulations	15435
11564	Oct. 6	Transfer of certain programs and activities to the Secretary of Commerce	15801

No.	*Date 1970*	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
11565	Oct. 13	Amending Executive Order No. 11145 with respect to the membership of the Committee for the Preservation of the White House	16155
11566	Oct. 26	Consumer product information	16675
11567	Nov. 16	Prescribing the compensation of certain officials in the Bureau of Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce	17701
11568	Nov. 16	Exempting A. Everette MacIntyre from compulsory retirement for age	17703
11569	Nov. 24	Amending the Selective Service regulations	18105
11570	Nov. 24	Providing for the regulation of conduct for the Postal Rate Commission and its employees	18183
11571	Dec. 8	Modifying Executive Order No. 6868 of October 9, 1934, as amended, designating the authority to carry out the provisions of the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act	18717
11572	Dec. 10	Providing for the use of transportation priorities and allocations during the current railroad strike	18907
11573	Dec. 21	Excusing Federal employees from duty for one-half day on December 24, 1970	19323
11574	Dec. 23	Administration of Refuse Act permit program	19627
			36 F.R. page
11575	Dec. 31	Providing for the administration of the Disaster Relief Act of 1970	37

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN PROCLAMATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

Date 1970	*Subject*	*35 F.R. page*
Feb. 11	Regulation governing payment of compensation to officers or employees of Federal Contract Research Centers	2951
Apr. 22	Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1970: Office of Telecommunications Policy	6421
May 23	Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1970: Office of Management and Budget and Domestic Council	7959
May 26	Letter: Authority to issue National Contingency Plan for removal of oil	8423
June 2	Letter: Delegation of responsibility to carry out certain provisions of Federal Water Pollution Control Act	8631
Oct. 6	Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1970: Environmental Protection Agency	15623
Oct. 6	Reorganization Plan No. 4 of 1970: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration	15627

Appendix C—Reports of Presidential Task Forces

On September 22, 1969, President Nixon announced the establishment of a series of Presidential task forces to assist the administration with ideas and recommendations for 1970 and beyond. Seventeen such task forces were established by the end of 1969. During 1970, the White House Press Office announced release of final reports by 15 of the 17 task forces. The remaining two reports were scheduled to be issued in 1971.

Date of announcement	*Task Force*	*Title of Report*
Mar. 10	Rural Development	A New Life for the Country
Mar. 20	Improving the Prospects of Small Business	Improving the Prospects of Small Business
May 8	Science Policy	Science and Technology: Tools for Progress
May 27	Prisoner Rehabilitation	The Criminal Offender—What Should Be Done?
June 9	Women's Rights and Responsibilities	A Matter of Simple Justice
June 19	The Aging	Toward a Brighter Future for the Elderly
July 9	Economic Growth	Policies for American Economic Progress in the Seventies
July 22	Low Income Housing	Toward Better Housing for Low Income Families
July 22	Urban Renewal	Urban Renewal: One Tool Among Many
July 25	Oceanography	Mobilizing To Use the Seas
Sept. 10	Model Cities	Model Cities: A Step Towards the New Federalism
Oct. 10	The Mentally Handicapped	Action Against Mental Disability
Oct. 10	Higher Education	Priorities in Higher Education
Oct. 10	The Physically Handicapped	A National Effort for the Physically Handicapped
Dec. 2	Business Taxation	Business Taxation

In addition to the above series, the White House announced on March 8, 1970, release of the report of the Presidential Task Force on International Development. For the President's statement on receiving the report, see Item 74 of this volume.

White House announcements concerning interagency or Cabinet committee task forces during 1970 may be located by consulting the heading "Task forces" in the Annual Index to the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for that year.

Appendix D—Posthumous Awards of Congressional Medals of Honor and Awards of Presidential Unit Citations

POSTHUMOUS CONGRESSIONAL MEDALS OF HONOR

(These medals were presented to the servicemen's families in private ceremonies at the White House.)

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 7, 1970

[The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 6 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 491.]

First Lieutenant Douglas B. Fournet, USA

Sergeant First Class Rodney J. T. Yano, USA

Staff Sergeant Laszlo Rabel, USA

Staff Sergeant Marvin R. Young, USA

Sergeant Ray McKibben, USA

Sergeant Anund C. Roark, USA

Sergeant William W. Seay, USA

Sergeant Lester R. Stone, Jr., USA

Specialist Five John J. Kedenburg, USA

Corporal Thomas W. Bennett, USA

Corporal Michael J. Crescenz, USA

Specialist Four Nicholas J. Cutinha, USA

Specialist Four Edward A. DeVore, Jr., USA

Specialist Four Peter M. Guenette, USA

Specialist Four Kenneth L. Olson, USA

Specialist Four Hector Santiago-Colon, USA

Private First Class James W. Fous, USA

Private First Class Garfield M. Langhorn, USA

Private First Class Milton A. Lee, USA

Private First Class Phill G. McDonald, USA

Private First Class David P. Nash, USA

PRESENTED BY THE VICE PRESIDENT ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 20, 1970

Sergeant Lawrence D. Peters, USMC

Hospital Corpsman Second Class David R. Ray, USN

Corporal Larry L. Maxam, USMC

Hospital Corpsman Third Class Wayne M. Caron, USN

Lance Corporal Kenneth L. Worley, USMC

Lance Corporal William R. Prom, USMC

Lance Corporal Thomas E. Creek, USMC

Private First Class Ralph H. Johnson, USMC

Private First Class Robert C. Burke, USMC

Private First Class Dewayne T. Williams, USMC

Private First Class Oscar P. Austin, USMC

Private First Class Alfred M. Wilson, USMC

Private First Class Robert H. Jenkins, Jr., USMC

Private First Class Ronald L. Coker, USMC

Private First Class Jimmy W. Phipps, USMC

Appendix D

PRESENTED BY THE PRESIDENT ON AUGUST 6, 1970

The texts of these citations are printed in Volume 6 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents beginning on page 1025.]

Lieutenant Colonel William A. Jones III, USAF

First Lieutenant Gary L. Miller, USA

First Lieutenant John E. Warren, Jr., USA

Staff Sergeant Robert W. Hartsock, USA

Sergeant William D. Port, USA

Corporal William D. Morgan, USMC

Lance Corporal Jose F. Jimenez, USMC

Specialist Four Robert D. Law, USA

Specialist Four Thomas J. McMahon, USA

PRESIDENTIAL UNIT CITATIONS

[The texts of these announcements appear in Volume 6 of the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents as cited below.]

Date	*Recipient*	*page*
1970		
Jan. 30	20th Tactical Air Support Squadron, USAF	91
Feb. 11	460th Tactical Reconnaissance Wing, USAF	174
Mar. 7	Battery B, 2d Battalion (Airborne), 19th Artillery, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile), and Attached Units, USA	331
Mar. 20	41st Tactical Wing, Vietnamese Air Force	390
Mar. 24	Detachment 15, 1st Combat Evaluation Group, Pacific Air Forces	440
Apr. 16	3d Platoon, Company A, 2d Battalion, 27th Infantry, 2d Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, USA	532
May 20	2d Battalion, 12th Cavalry, 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) and Troop B, 1st Squadron, 1st Cavalry Regiment, USA	665
May 26	355th Tactical Fighter Wing, Pacific Air Forces	693
June 18	SEAL Team Two	785
July 2	16th Special Operations Squadron, Pacific Air Forces	888
July 2	56th Special Operations Wing, Pacific Air Forces	889
Sept. 9	12th Special Operations Squadron, Pacific Air Forces	1169
Sept. 10	8th Tactical Bombardment Squadron, Pacific Air Forces	1171
Sept. 11	3d Tactical Fighter Wing, Pacific Air Forces	1195
Sept. 11	504th Tactical Air Support Group, Pacific Air Forces	1195
Sept. 18	First Marine Regiment (Reinforced), First Marine Division (Reinforced), Fleet Marine Force	1234
Nov. 25	United States Navy Element of the Mobile Riverine Force (Task Force 117)	1597
Nov. 25	Commander Task Group 194.0 (Units Participating in Operation SEA LORDS)	1597
Nov. 25	Combined Action Program Units, III Marine Amphibious Force	1598
Nov. 25	Commander Task Group 194.9 (Units Participating in Operation GIANT SLINGSHOT)	1598

Appendix E—Presidential Reports to the 91st Congress, Second Session

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
Instructional Television and Radio		Jan. 23	. . . .
Economic Report	H. Doc. 253	Feb. 2	Feb. 2
Aeronautics and Space Report (1969)	H. Doc. 219	Feb. 3	Feb. 3
National Science Foundation (19th annual)	H. Doc. 257	Feb. 16	Feb. 16
Railroad Retirement Board (fiscal year 1969)	H. Doc. 252	Feb. 17	. . . .
Government Employees Training Act of 1958 (fiscal year 1969)		Feb. 19	. . . .
National Science Board (2d annual)	H. Doc. 259	Feb. 19	Feb. 19
National Endowment for the Humanities (4th annual)		Feb. 19	Feb. 19
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (9th annual)	H. Doc. 262	Feb. 26	Feb. 26
Communications Satellite Act of 1962 (7th annual)	H. Doc. 264	Feb. 26	Feb. 26
Foreign Assistance Program (fiscal year 1969)	H. Doc. 248	Mar. 4	. . . .
National Estuary Study	H. Doc. 274	Mar. 12	. . . .
Manpower Report	H. Doc. 287	Mar. 25	. . . .
U.S.-Japan Cooperative Medical Science Program under the International Health Research Act of 1960 (3d annual)	H. Doc. 289	Mar. 31	. . . .
National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts (fiscal year 1969)		Mar. 31	Mar. 31
National Housing Goals (2d annual)	H. Doc. 292	Apr. 1	Apr. 1
Civil Service Commission (fiscal year 1969)	H. Doc. 238	Apr. 7	. . . .
National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development (1969)	H. Doc. 304	Apr. 13	. . . .

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Appendix E

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
Office of Economic Opportunity Grantee Annual Salary Report:			
Fiscal Year 1969		Apr. 21	. . . .
Fiscal Year 1970	H. Doc. 391	Sept. 28	. . . .
Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968 (2d annual)		Apr. 21	. . . .
Federal Disaster Relief Activity (1969)	H. Doc. 325	Apr. 22	Apr. 22
World Weather Program (2d annual)		Apr. 23	. . . .
Department of Housing and Urban Development (4th annual)	H. Doc. 329	Apr. 29	. . . .
Four River Basin Commissions (fiscal year 1969). Pacific Northwest River Basins Commission; Souris-Red-Rainy River Basins Commission; Great Lakes Basin Commission; New England River Basins Commission	H. Doc. 334	May 7	May 7
International Coffee Agreement (1969)		May 11	May 11
National Capital Housing Authority (fiscal year 1969)	H. Doc. 336	May 12	May 12
Special International Exhibitions:			
7th annual		May 13	. . . .
8th annual		Dec. 21	. . . .
National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity (3d annual)	H. Doc. 339	May 19	. . . .
Commodity Credit Corporation (fiscal year 1969)		June 2	. . . .
International Educational and Cultural Exchange Program (fiscal year 1969)		June 15	June 15
Food for Peace Program under P.L. 480, 83d Congress (1969)	H. Doc. 352	June 18	June 18
Study of New York State as it Relates to the Appalachian and New England Regions	H. Doc. 367	July 15	. . . .
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (21st semi-annual)	H. Doc. 314	Aug. 5	. . . .
National Wilderness Preservation System (6th annual)	H. Doc. 372	Aug. 5	Aug. 5
Council on Environmental Quality (1st annual)		Aug. 10	. . . .

Appendix E

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (1969)	H. Doc. 375	Aug. 11	. . . .
National Corporation for Housing Partnerships (1st annual)		Aug. 11	Aug. 11
American Revolution Bicentennial Commission		Sept. 11	Sept. 11
Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission (6th annual)		Sept. 15	. . . .
Interim Report on the Progress in Negotiations on a Compact for the Hudson River Basin		Sept. 22	. . . .
Administration of Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 (2d annual)	H. Doc. 390	Sept. 25	. . . .
Highway Safety Act of 1966 (3d annual)	H. Doc. 397	Oct. 7	. . . .
National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 (3d annual)	H. Doc. 398	Oct. 7	. . . .
Ocean Dumping: A National Policy	H. Doc. 399	Oct. 7	Oct. 7
United Nations (24th annual)	H. Doc. 280	Oct. 13	. . . .
Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 (4th annual)		Nov. 10	. . . .
Alien Property (fiscal year 1969)		Nov. 13	. . . .
National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education (4th annual)	H. Doc. 407	Nov. 16	. . . .
Cash Awards to Members of the Armed Forces and the Coast Guard (fiscal year 1970)		Nov. 25	Nov. 25
Trade Agreements Program (14th annual)	H. Doc. 433	Dec. 30	Dec. 30

Appendix F—Rules Governing This Publication

[Reprinted from the Federal Register, vol. 34, p. 19118, dated December 2, 1969]

TITLE 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Chapter I—Administrative Committee of the Federal Register

PART 32—PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 32 issued under 44 U.S.C. 1506. Sec. 6, E.O. 10530, 19 F.R. 2709; 3 CFR 1954–58 Comp.

SUBPART A—ANNUAL VOLUMES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

§ 32.1 *Publication required.* There shall be published forthwith at the end of each calendar year, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER designated "Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States." Ordinarily each volume shall cover one calendar year and shall be identified further by the name of the President and the period covered.

NOTE: This program started with the year 1957.

§ 32.2 *Coverage of prior years.* After conferring with the National Historical Publications Commission with respect to the need therefor, the Administrative Committee may from time to time authorize the publication of similar volumes covering specified calendar years prior to 1957.

NOTE: The Committee has approved the publication of volumes starting with the year 1929.

§ 32.3 *Format, indexes, ancillaries.* Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style deemed by the Administrative Committee to be suitable to the dignity of the office of President of the United States. Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and shall contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not published in full text.

SCOPE

§ 32.10 *Basic criteria.* The basic text of the volumes shall consist of oral utterances by the President or of writings subscribed by him.

§ 32.11 *Sources.* (a) The basic text of the volumes shall be selected from: (1) Communications to the Congress, (2) public addresses, (3) transcripts of press conferences, (4) public letters, (5) messages to heads of state, (6) statements released on miscellaneous subjects, and (7) formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.

(b) In general, ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources.

Official Distribution

§ 32.15 *The Congress.* Each Member of the Congress, during his term of office, shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during such term. Authorization for furnishing such copies shall be submitted in writing to the Director and signed by the authorizing Member.

§ 32.16 *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court of the United States shall be entitled to 12 copies of the annual volumes.

§ 32.17 *Executive agencies.* The head of each department and the head of each independent agency in the executive branch of the Government shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application therefor in writing to the Director.

§ 32.18 *Governmental requisitions.* Legislative, judicial, and executive agencies of the Federal Government may obtain, at cost, copies of the annual volumes for official use upon the timely submission to the Government Printing Office of a printing and binding requisition (Standard Form 1).

§ 32.19 *Extra copies.* All requests for extra copies of the annual volumes must be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Extra copies must be paid for by the agency or official requesting them.

Public Sale

§ 32.22 *Sale of annual volumes.* The annual volumes shall be placed on sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, at prices determined by him under the general direction of the Administrative Committee.

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